HENRY LANGLEY, A MAN WHO BUILT CHURCHES: RELIGION AND ARCHITECTURE IN 19TH-CENTURY ONTARIO

CANDACE IRON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN HUMANITIES
YORK UNIVERSITY,
TORONTO, ONTARIO

March 2016

Abstract

This dissertation examines the church architecture of Henry Langley (1836-1907) and his firm in nineteenth-century Ontario. Chapter One, the Introduction, introduces the methodological approach used in the dissertation, which includes analyzing Langley's church designs against the liturgical needs of the congregations that commissioned his firm and the contemporary denominational theoretical materials that were available to Langley in the nineteenth century when the church designs were executed. Langley's church architecture is also placed in its broader international architectural context and considered in terms of its effectiveness as a social text in Canada that reflects dominant social and cultural trends in the nineteenth century.

Chapter Two is a biographical sketch of Langley that considers the effect his training, which was based on the British system of apprenticeship, may have had on his professional journey from student and apprentice to mentor and leader in professionalization in Ontario.

Chapter Three looks at the career of Langley's mentor, William Hay. An ecclesiologist, admirer of A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52) and the Gothic Revival, a theoretical author, and a cross-denominational architect himself, Hay likely imparted Langley with the theoretical foundations that underpin his church architecture. Additionally, many of Langley's church designs relate closely to the work of Hay, whose associations with John Henderson (1804-62) and George Gilbert Scott can, at the very least, be partially credited for the success of Langley's firm in Canada.

Chapter Four analyzes Langley's commissions for the Catholic Church. These churches are examined architecturally for their adherence to the 'rules' for Catholic Church building as outlined by Charles Borromeo (1538-84) in 1577. Moreover, they are discussed in terms of their

place within the Gothic Revival Movement of the nineteenth century as it was promoted by A.W.N. Pugin, a Catholic convert and the style's greatest apologist.

Chapter Five surveys Langley's Anglican commissions, many of which seem to have been influenced by the work of his mentor, William Hay (1818-88), and Hay's former supervisor, George Gilbert Scott (1811-78). Additionally, these churches are examined for their adherence to the liturgical and architectural regulations of nineteenth-century ecclesiology.

Chapter Six analyzes Langley's non-Anglican Protestant church commissions, many of which were executed by his apprentices and partners under his supervision as the principal architect of the practice. Although they are eclectic, these churches are examined typologically. Moreover, the churches are viewed as physical and architectural representations of the rise of the Sunday School and the evolution of church planning to accommodate nonconformist religious and social practices in the nineteenth century.

Chapter Seven presents the conclusion of the dissertation and the overall findings. Discussed specifically is the importance of Langley's buildings as social and cultural texts that reflect the religious atmosphere in nineteenth-century Ontario.

Acknowledgements

I would not have been able to complete this dissertation without the guidance of my committee members and the support of my friends and family.

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Malcolm Thurlby, for his expert guidance, advice, kindness, and unwavering support. His mentorship has taught me everything I know about buildings, the practice of architectural history, and how to be an inspiring leader and mentor who leads by pristine example.

Thanks also to Dr William Westfall, whose suggestions have helped me refine my ideas regarding architecture's role in Canada's cultural history.

I would also like to thank Dr Shirley Ann Brown for her encouragement and for patiently correcting my writing and helping me develop as an academic researcher and writer.

Thanks also to the Department of Humanities at York University, Toronto, for providing a supportive atmosphere that encourages interdisciplinary research in Canada.

I would also like to thank Dr Jamie Scott, from whom I have learned a great deal regarding the history of religion in Canada.

Special thanks to Dr Luc Noppen and the Canadian Forum for Public Research on Heritage, who generously provided financial support for my research overseas. Without his generous contributions much of my research would not have been possible.

Many thanks as well to the libraries, archives, and churches that have granted me access to their buildings and their records. I would like in particular to thank the Edinburgh Architectural Association, who generously allowed me to view their records regarding William Hay, and to the Ontario Archives and the Toronto Reference Library for permitting me access to their extensive collections of architectural drawings by Henry Langley and allowing me to document them.

A special thanks to my friends and my family, especially to my mother, Susan Hackett, whose encouragement has been unwavering and (at times) desperately needed.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Marc Van Gerven, who has stood by me throughout the PhD process. I am forever grateful for his patience, love, and support.

A Note on Style and Format

This dissertation has been formatted using MLA. As such references are made using parenthetical citations and a Works Cited has been included for each chapter. Additionally, content footnotes have been included, which provide supplementary and/or explanatory information. Bibliographic footnotes have also been included to direct the reader to sources that elaborate on a given topic.

There are three appendices in this dissertation, which have been added to the end of the text. Appendix A provides a list of Henry Langley's apprentices and details regarding some of their architectural works in Canada after leaving the Langley office. Appendix B includes a list of William Hay's commissions and provides details regarding the commissions and the locations of the architectural drawings (where available). Appendix C is a list of the church commissions executed by the Langley offices broken down by religious group, which includes details regarding each commission and the locations of the architectural drawings (where available).

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter Two Figure

Chapter Three Figures

Chapter Four Figures

Chapter Five Figures

Chapter Six Figures

Foreword: Challenges of Studying Nineteenth-Century Architectural History in Canada

As with most academic studies, there are certain limitations that the scholar of nineteenth-century Canadian architectural history faces. These include a general lack of reliable, scholarly work on the history of architecture in Canada and limited archival resources.[1]

In 1972, Harold Kalman admitted that the literature in Canadian architecture has been very scanty (315). Ironically, in 1996, when Gerald L. Pocius reviewed Kalman's book *A History of Architecture in Canada*, he suggested that not much had changed, indicating that an extraordinary amount of work remained to be done in the field of architectural history in Canada (n.pag.). In point of fact, prior to the 1960's studies of architecture in Canada were virtually non-existent and can primarily be traced to two authors: John Ross Robertson (1841-1918) and Percy Erskine Nobbs (1875-1964).

In 1876, Robertson launched the *Evening Telegram*, a daily newspaper that focused on local Toronto news and featured columns on the early history and buildings of the city. In 1886, Robertson published *Sketches in City Churches*, which traces the histories of twenty-six Toronto churches, including: Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church (1870), St James Anglican Cathedral (1850-53), St Michael's Catholic Cathedral (1845-48), St Basil's Catholic Church (1855), and Jarvis Street Baptist Church (1874-75). Included in the description of each church is some architectural information - architects, seating capacities, and style. Moreover, although not strict architectural histories, between 1894 and 1914, Robertson republished the *Evening Telegram* columns on the early history of Toronto as *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto*, which

[1] The following discussion of literature on Canadian architectural history is geared towards the forthwith study of the church architecture of Henry Langley (1836-1907). Langley was born, trained, and studied in Toronto, Ontario. While this literature review includes materials on the study of architecture in Canada as a whole, the regional studies are limited primarily to English-speaking Canada, with a specific focus on Ontario, where Langley's buildings are located.

features sketches, histories, and stories from the city that range from early fire brigades, to the War of 1812, to information regarding city morgues and executions, to sketches of houses of prominent citizens. Most important for this study, volume four (1904) was devoted to city churches. This book provides etchings and includes some details regarding each church's history, opening, and, in some instances, the look of the buildings. Although outside of style, cost, seating capacity, additions, and occasionally listing the names of architects, the architecture is not discussed in detail, the sketched images in *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto* and those in *Sketches in City Churches* are very useful and provide a nearly contemporary look into the church buildings and their architectural arrangements. Moreover, the descriptions that accompany the sketches portray the early lives of the churches and their congregations.

Where Robertson primarily looked to Toronto for inspiration, Percy Erskine Nobbs, a practising architect in Montreal, was broader in his scope, including Quebec and Ontario in his general surveys of Canadian architecture. For example, in 1914, Nobbs published "Canadian Architecture," in volume twelve of *Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions*. This essay discusses French and English traditions in Canadian building, expressing a clear admiration of the former due to its vernacular domestic architecture. Nobbs principally examines architecture in terms of 'types' and generally does not discuss specific buildings or their architects. Additionally, much of the analysis is based on Nobbs' personal opinions regarding architecture. For example, he describes Gothic Revival churches in English Canada in the second-half of the nineteenth century as "lamentable failures" (673). Moreover, outside of broad periodization, no dates are provided for buildings and there are no images to accompany the text.

Surveys of Canadian Architecture:

The first serious interest in the study of architecture in Canada can be traced to the work Alan Gowans (1923-2001). Gowans' *Looking at Architecture in Canada* (1958), was the first attempt at a comprehensive history of architecture in the country. Organized chronologically and geographically, *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, presents individual essays that address various trends in Canadian buildings of all sorts. While the buildings are discussed in terms of their relationship to popular European (primarily British) books and models, the buildings generally are not analyzed architecturally - their architects are not discussed and in some instances dates for the buildings are not provided. The buildings are presented as exemplars of cultural productions or expressions of social and cultural occurrences in the history of Canada. Essentially, Gowans presents successive periods in Canadian history illustrated by 137 images of buildings, which he admits is a 'popular' rather than a scholarly history of Canadian architecture (*Looking at Architecture* 16).

Likely in response to a critical review of *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, that was written by H. Allen Brooks and published in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* in 1959, Gowans published *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, in 1966. This book was an expanded version of the first, which includes 245 plates that follow the text. While the content in the chapters is nearly identical to that of *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, the chapters were amended to include introductory context and sub-headings that clarify the time periods in question. For example, in *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, Gowans included buildings of the 1930's in his chapter on Late Victorianism, however the Victorian era historically ended in 1901. In *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, Gowans attempts to rectify this problem by renaming the chapter "From Confederation to the Second World War: 1867-1939." Although the subheadings for the chapter

still include references to the Victorian Period, Gowans explains that he is examining tastes, which spread past their historical time periods in Canada (132).

Making reference to Gowans' *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, in 1963 R.H. Hubbard published *The Development of Canadian Art*. While this book addresses the history of all forms of art in Canada, "Chapter One: The Early Architecture of Canada," surveys the stylistic developments within Canadian architectural history between the seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. While the discussion largely ignores buildings west of Ontario, five pages of the fourteen-page chapter are devoted to the Gothic Revival style and there is some discussion of several Ontario architects, including Fred Cumberland (1821-81), Thomas Fuller (1823-98), and William Thomas (c.1799-1860). Furthermore, the chapter is illustrated with 31 plates of buildings of all sorts.

In 1959, Thomas Ritchie, a research officer with the Division of Building Research of the National Research Council of Canada, published *Canada Builds, 1867-1967*. This book traces one hundred years of Canadian development through an examination of building technologies, breaking the development down into four distinctive periods: Confederation, Settlement and Building, Building Materials, and The Growth of Communities. Each period is illustrated with photographs and sketches of buildings; however, many of them are undated and their architects are not included. While the majority of the book is devoted to building materials – their development, production, and use, Part One includes a detailed examination of the Parliament buildings in Ottawa as they were constructed in the nineteenth century.

In 1967, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada published *Historic Architecture of Canada*. This was a booklet intended to record images that were displayed in a photographic exhibition that was produced jointly by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, the Ontario

Historical Society, the Federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and the National Gallery of Canada in 1964. It is evident that the primary focus of the book is the images, which are reproductions of the exhibition's display boards, accompanied by brief descriptions and legends to the photographs. The descriptions are vague, but on occasion describe the style and list the architect.

A wide gap in historical surveys exists between the 1960's and the 1990's. In fact, until late in the twentieth century, Gowans' books were considered to be the most comprehensive examinations of Canadian architecture. In 1994, however, Harold Kalman published *A History of Canadian Architecture*, which was the first complete architectural history of Canada's built environment. Unlike the authors that came before him, Kalman did not focus on the cultural history of Canada, illustrated with buildings. His two-volume text is intended to introduce Canada's architecture, providing brief contextual essays followed by detailed analyses of individual buildings as exemplars of historical periods, building traditions, and regional developments. Kalman's text is building-focused and covers all of Canada geographically, including the western provinces, from all time periods until the end of the twentieth century. While extensive in its inclusion of all building types, including houses, churches, mills, grain elevators, and indigenous buildings, Kalman's text is limited in its examination of the theoretical underpinnings of the buildings. For example, when discussing Early Gothic Revival church architecture in the Atlantic provinces and Ontario, there is no mention of the influence of the Church Building Act of 1818. Furthermore, in relation to Rational Gothic architecture, A.W.N.

Pugin (1812-52), the styles greatest proponent and instigator, is mentioned only once.[2] Although currently out of print, Kalman's survey remains the authoritative text on Canadian architectural history to date.

Studies of Ontario Architecture

During the years between the publication of Gowans' books and Harold Kalman's survey of Canadian architecture, books on Canadian architectural history were primarily devoted to regional studies. While there are some surveys on the architecture of the Maritime Provinces, British Columbia, and the Prairie provinces, there are an impressive number of surveys of Ontario buildings that were produced in the second-half of the nineteenth century.[3]

In 1960, Ralph Greenhill published *The Face of Toronto*, which contains an introduction by Alan Gowans, who indicates that one should think of photographs as documentation of the architectural appearance of a particular city, in this case Toronto. Gowans emphasizes the importance of architecture as a man-made product of culture, indicating it is human history made manifest, which through documentary photographs can also be admired as art (n.pag.). As the introduction indicates, *The Face of Toronto,* is a photo book containing images of eighteenth-century Georgian Toronto, nineteenth-century Victorian Toronto, and modern Toronto of the 1940's. The images include full façades, as in Fig. 3, the Bank of Montreal (1885-86), and

[2] Issues of stylistic architectural theory were examined in 1992 by Shannon Ricketts, Leslie Maitland, and Jacqueline Hucker in *A Guide to Canadian Architectural Styles*, which, as the title suggests, is a survey of architectural stylistic trend, each described by a brief essay and followed by examples of buildings. As with most surveys of style, this book is limited in the number of buildings presented, which are often-cited examples, like the Church of Notre Dame, Montreal (1823-29), and the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa (1856-66).

[3] Some examples of surveys outside of Ontario, include: Leroux, John and Thaddeus Holownia. *St. Andrews Architecture 1604-1966*; Smith, H.M. *The Historic Houses of Prince Edward Island*; Tuck, Robert. *Churches of Nova Scotia*; Ralko, Joe. *Building Our Future: A People's Architectural History of Saskatchewan*; Hryniuk, Margaret and Frank Korvemaker, *Legacy of Stone: Saskatchewan's Stone Buildings*.

architectural details, as in Fig. 6, a detail from the capitals found on Old City Hall. Amongst the photographs of buildings and architectural details are those of used car lots (Fig. 39), and children playing in the courtyard of low-income housing (Fig. 40). While, as Gowans indicated in his introduction, the photographs serve a documentary purpose, the book itself does not present a scholarly architectural history of Toronto, rather it captures a particular view of the city from 1960.

In 1969, Ralph Greenhill published a slightly more advanced photo book, *Rural Ontario,* with text by Verschoyle Benson Blake. This book includes ninety photographs of rural scenery and buildings, primarily houses and churches, up to the turn of the twentieth century. The essays by Blake include discussions of the development of the rural environment and some analysis of architectural styles in terms of their characteristic elements, such as the usual placement of doors and windows. The paragraphs that accompany the photographs, however, do little more than describe the style of the buildings.

In 1974, Ralph Greenhill, Ken MacPherson, and Douglas Richardson produced another photo book, *Ontario Towns*. While the majority of this book is devoted to photographs and descriptive paragraphs, the first fifty-two pages are dedicated to an academic study of architectural typologies in Ontario. Houses, churches, public buildings and schools, and industrial buildings are contextualized through an analysis of the possible origins of architectural ideas and styles. Although their descriptions are somewhat brief, undoubtedly due to the type of book (a photo book), some individual buildings are also analyzed more closely, as, for example, Christ Church, Lakefield designed by Kivas Tully between 1853 and 1854, and Henry Langley's All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby (1865) (n.pag.).

One of the most impressive surveys of regional architecture and one that is still considered the authoritative text on Toronto buildings is Eric Arthur's *Toronto: No Mean City*. Originally published in 1964, it has been reprinted no less than five times and is now in its third edition, which has been revised by Ontario historian Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City* traces the history of the city from eighteenth-century village to prosperous Victorian urban centre, examining its people and buildings along the way. While the text is primarily relegated to historical information and discussions of Toronto society, hundreds of buildings are depicted through drawings, photographs, and sketches, many of which are now demolished, and each is accompanied by a brief description. It should be noted that some are also addressed in a more detailed manner in the text. That is the case, for example, with Holy Trinity Church (1846-47), St Michael's Cathedral (1845-48), St Lawrence Hall (1849-50), and Trinity College (1851-52). Beyond providing a record of Toronto's architecture and society, *Toronto: No Mean City*, includes very useful appendices regarding the architectural profession and the founding of the Ontario Association of Architects, as well as biographical sketches of architects that worked in the city, including John George Howard (1803-90), Fred Cumberland (1820-81), Thomas Fuller (1923-98), Henry Langley (1836-1907), and Edward James (E.J.) Lennox (1855-1933).

Many of the surveys of Ontario architecture that were published in the second-half of the twentieth century were provincial or community history books produced by local historians and historical associations. The majority of these books are not what one would consider scholarly, but they may serve as a useful starting point to locate buildings fir further examination. For example, in 1967, Nick and Helma Mika published *Toronto: Magnificent City*, which is an illustrated look at Toronto through the eyes of the authors. It contains 107 silk screened sketches of Toronto buildings, scenery, and historical and daily activities. The silk screens are beautiful,

but the information that accompanies them is general and brief and does not include any references. Each silk screen image is accompanied by a description of the aesthetic qualities of the building depicted. There is, however, a section devoted to Places of Worship. Featured are: Little Trinity Church (1843), the Church of the Holy Trinity (1843), St Michael's Cathedral (1845-48), the Church of the Redeemer (1879), Metropolitan Methodist Church (1870), and St Andrew's Presbyterian Church (1874-76). While the descriptions of the churches are historical, there are no citations provided for the information. For example, when discussing Little Trinity Church, the author describes it as the oldest surviving church in the city and discusses the first rector working without pay, but there is no indication of where that information came from (96). There is little discussion of the actual architecture of Little Trinity, but it is described as a "fine example of the early Gothic Revival style" (96). The discussion of Metropolitan Methodist Church has even less to do with the architecture, describing its organ, rather than the building itself (99).

Similar to *Toronto: Magnificent City*, *Trenton Past and Present: An Illustrated Glimpse into History*, also written by Nick and Helma Mika, presents an early history of Trenton as a United Empire Loyalist Settlement and describes its development throughout the nineteenth century to become a centre for shipping grain. Like *Toronto: Magnificent City*, there is a series of silk screened images that are accompanied by descriptions. Featured in particular is the Post Office and Customs House (1888), which is described as having a "rather unique architectural style" (34). There is also a section entitled "Houses of Worship," which features three churches: St George's Church (1845), the Church of St Peter-in-Chains (1874), and King Street United Church (1876-77), which although not mentioned, was designed by Henry Langley. The descriptions of the churches are very general. For example, King Street United Church is

described as having a seating capacity of 800, but is not discussed in any other architectural terms and no other architectural details are provided (80).

Published in 1969, *Around Toronto*, is another regional picture book, but with hand-drawn images. In the introduction the authors, John Richmond and Bruce West, lament the loss of buildings in Toronto and admit that the book is intended to help prevent the demolition of more structures and to draw awareness to the architecture of the city. Throughout the book stories surrounding each building are featured. For example, when describing the Old Mill, the authors explain that it was abandoned until a real estate developer, R. Home Smith turned it into a tea room and restaurant (n.pag.). Moreover, the building is described in romantic terms, indicating that it, "huddles in the shadow of a tall new apartment building near a subway stop…" (n. pag.). Also featured in *Around Toronto*, is St James Cathedral, which is described as serene (n.pag.). While the architecture is not addressed specifically, the author indicates that to "stroll through the portals of St. James is to enter ancient surroundings which tell of the deep Britishness which was once such an important part of Toronto's character" (n.pag). Like many other surveys, *Around Toronto*, is sentimental and does not include much information regarding the architecture of the buildings.

Surveys like these abound; for example, in 1972 the Ajax Historical Board published *A Pictorial History of Ajax*. It is a picture book featuring farms, the former shell-filling plant, and a series of modern churches, including the Ajax Baptist Church (1969) and the Ajax Pentecostal Church. Included as well are yearbook photos of students at St Andrew's Senior Public School (1955), and sports teams that played at the Ajax Community Centre before it burned in a fire in 1966, an event that is also commemorated in the book.

More recently in 2002, *Acton: The History of Leathertown*, written by John Mark Benbow Rowe, was printed by the Esquesing Historical Society, which looks at the history of the town and is illustrated with buildings. The role of various churches plays heavily in this book, as Acton was founded by a Methodist circuit rider, The Rev. Ezra Adams (1787-1871). Although the focus of the book is industry, specifically the tanneries and the leather industry, there are pages set aside for the discussion of each church. These vignettes are not, however, architectural and focus solely on the history of the church congregations.[4]

One regional study that is particularly useful is Jennifer McKendry's, *With Our Past Before Us: Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area* (1995). This book presents a very thorough examination of the history of Kingston, and a formalist analysis of its buildings. McKendry also includes information regarding house planning, builder's guides, building materials (wood, stone, brick, and iron), and Kingston architects, especially William Coverdale (1801-1865), who designed no less than thirty-nine buildings in Kingston, including the St George's Cathedral (1839-42). The only downfall to *With Our Past Before Us*, is that there are relatively few references to source materials.

Studies of the Gothic Revival in Canada

In 1947, Robert H. Hubbard published an abstract for a paper that he was to present in Boston in 1948, in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. The paper was entitled "Victorian Gothic in Canada" and it traced the evolution of the use of the Gothic Revival in style

[4] Other examples of regional and community surveys include: Ashenburg, Katherine. *Going to Town: Architectural Walking Tours in Southern Ontario* (1996); Chapple, Nina Perkins. *A Heritage of Stone* (2006); Henley, Brian. *Hamilton Back Then* (1998); Brown, Ron. *Downtown Ontario: Unusual Main Streets to* Explore (2003); Maitland, Leslie. *Historical Sketches of Ottawa* (1990); Mika, Nick and Helma. Kingston: Splendid Heritage; Mika, Nick and Helma (1989). Niagara-on-the-Lake: The Old Historical Town (1990); Stokes, Peter John. Old Niagara on the Lake (1971).

in Canada in the nineteenth century. Beginning with a discussion of its early manifestations in Quebec with the building of Notre Dame, Montreal, Hubbard describes how the style gained momentum in Canada throughout the nineteenth century, becoming extremely popular after its archaeological use was introduced in the country by Frank Wills (1822-57). Hubbard describes Wills' cathedrals at Fredericton and Montreal, with some detail. Besides churches, Hubbard discusses collegiate buildings and the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, which he describes as the chief monument of the style in the country (6,34).[5]

In 1975, Hubbard followed his initial discussion of Victorian Gothic with an article on Modern Gothic Revival architecture (more commonly known now as Collegiate Gothic) in Canada. Hubbard describes his article as a "preliminary essay" intended to introduce the Modern Gothic style and illustrate it with Canadian examples (n.pag.). Examining buildings from the late nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, Hubbard articulates the difference between Victorian Gothic, which he describes as romantic, and Modern Gothic, which he indicates is a reflection of the eclecticism of the Beaux-Arts tradition. Moreover, he contextualizes his description through a brief examination of the Gothic Revival style in England and Canada. Much of the article discusses the influence of Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942), an American architect who wrote on architecture and architectural theory as it relates to the Modern Gothic design, and who designed several churches in that vein in Canada. Hubbard examines two: All Saints' Cathedral, Halifax (1907-10), and St Mary's Church, Walkerville (1903-04). The rest of the article focuses on the work of Canadian architects, including Henry Sproatt (1866-1934), E.J. Lennox (1855-1933), John A. Pearson (1867-1940) and Eden Smith (1858-1949).

[5] In 1954, Hubbard re-published a 6-page, illustrated version of "Victorian Gothic In Canada" entitled "Canadian Gothic" in the *Architectural Review* 116: 102-08.

Surveys of the use of the Gothic Revival in Canada are limited to one book: *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*, which was written by Mathilde Brosseau in 1980.[6] Brothseau's study is part of a series of Canadian style guides that were produced by Parks Canada between 1980 and 1990.[7] Although the majority of the book contains images of Gothic Revival buildings accompanied by brief descriptions, the first twenty-four pages discuss the history of the Gothic Revival style in Canada. This discussion of style is divided into four periods: The Romantic Gothic Revival, The Rationalist and Ecclesiological Gothic Revival, High Victorian Gothic, and Gothic Revival in the Beaux-Arts Manner. Each of those periods is further divided by building type – religious, domestic, and public. Although each of the four periods is treated as a separate essay, architectural ideas, theories, publications, and key personalities are included to contextualize the Canadian Gothic Revival buildings that follow the text.

The Study of Church Architecture in Canada

The study of church architecture in Canada is still in its infancy; however, there have been several books devoted to regional surveys of church buildings. While some are better than others, most are not scholarly in the traditional sense and only three focus on Ontario.[8]

---

[6] It should be noted that in 2008, Peter Coffman published *Newfoundland Gothic*, but it is dedicated to a study of church architecture and will be discussed in that regard in the coming pages.

[7] Other books in the series include: Cameron, Christina and Janet Wright. *Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture* (1980); Clerk, Nathalie. *Palladian Style in Canadian Architecture* (1984); Maitland, Leslie. *Neoclassical Architecture in Canada* (1984); Wright, Janet. *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada* (1984); Maitland, Leslie. *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (1990).

[8] Examples of church surveys outside of Ontario, include: Downs, Barry. *Sacred Places: British Columbia's Early Churches* (1980); Hyde, Susan and Michael Bird. *Hallowed Timbers* (1995); Kalman, Harold and John de Visser. *Pioneer Churches* (1976); Smith H.M. Scott. *The Historic Churches of Prince Edward Island* (2004).

Hallowed Walls: church architecture of Upper Canada, was written by Anthony Adamson and Marion MacRae in 1975.[9] While it provides no references for information and relies heavily on sketched illustrations, it is to date considered the preeminent book on church architecture in Ontario. *Hallowed Walls* examines the churches of Ontario thematically by style and chronology. In each chapter there are discussions of style and examinations of individual buildings, their histories, and their architects. In several instances the architects are the focus and several of their buildings are examined. This is, for example, the case with John George Howard (1803-90), Henry Bower Lane (1817-78), and William Thomas (c.1799-1860). *Hallowed Walls* is thorough; however, its title is misleading since it does include some post-Confederation churches, and its greatest downfall is its complete lack of sources.

Another book devoted solely to Ontario church architecture is a small picture book, *Steeple Chase: Ontario's Historic Churches*, which was published in 1990 by James and Susan Preyde. *Steeple Chase* is a compilation of photographs the couple took on various road trips throughout the province. Each photograph is accompanied by the name of the church, its location, and a brief description that includes the building's date. In some instances the description contains historically relevant, although uncited, information, but in others the descriptions are based on the authors' personal aesthetic interpretations. The description of St John the Baptist Anglican Church, Haliburton County is one such instance of latter; it is described as sitting attractively at the foot of a small treed bluff (25).

The final book dedicated to church architecture in Ontario is also the most scholarly. *Sacred Space and Structural Style: The Embodiment of Socio-Religious Ideology*, written by Vicki Bennett in 1997, primarily focuses on the Ottawa Valley, but churches of all

[9] *Hallowed Walls* was a follow-up to MacRae and Adamson's 1963 publication *The Ancestral Roof*, which is a survey of domestic architecture in Upper Canada.

denominations are examined and their architectural concerns are discussed. The theoretical and contextual background of Anglican churches monopolizes much of this discussion. Chapter Three is especially important in this regard, as it presents the European background of High Church practice and Gothic Revival ideologies, including rationalism and ecclesiology (113-67).

In recent years there have been three excellent books published that discuss church architecture in Canada.[10] The most comprehensive of the three was undertaken by Peter and Douglas Richardson in 2007. *Canadian Churches: an architectural history,* surveys church architecture geographically and chronologically by province to discuss regional or vernacular architectural trends and widespread architectural styles that were employed across the country. The survey spans early missionary buildings to post-Modern churches of varying denominations and includes full-page colour images to illustrate the history of church building in Canada.

The second recently published book is Peter Coffman's *Newfoundland Gothic*, which examines the Gothic Revival churches in the maritime province from the nineteenth century. Far from being a survey in the traditional sense, *Newfoundland Gothic* examines the colonial situation in Newfoundland, the theories that underpin the use of the Gothic Revival for Anglican churches, the transmission of architectural ideas - especially that of ecclesiology - from Britain to the colony, and the roles played by key church figures in the province regarding the construction of Anglican churches. Chapter Four, for example, discusses the building of St John the Baptist Cathedral in Newfoundland, a building designed by George Gilbert Scott, and describes the integral role played by Bishop Edward Feild in its construction (77-112). While its scope is

[10] Although not specifically a publication on Canadian architecture, it should be noted that Phoebe Stanton's *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856* (1968), provides a thorough examination of the history of the Gothic Revival as a style for churches and its transmission from Britain to North America. Moreover, Chapter IV is a discussion of Christ Church Cathedral and St Anne's Chapel, Fredericton, which were designed by Frank Wills under Bishop John Medley.

limited to an examination of Newfoundland and the Anglican Church's use of Gothic, *Newfoundland Gothic* comes together to relate the history of the Gothic Revival style and its use as an Anglican missionary tool in the nineteenth century.[11]

The third book, *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada, 1867-1914*, was written by Barry Magrill in 2012. *A Commerce of Taste*, traces the rise and spread of the Gothic Revival style in pre- and post-Confederation Canada for church architecture as it was commodified through pattern books produced in Britain and the United States. Magrill examines church architecture from the perspective of economics combined with architectural history to analyze how church building in Canada in the second-half of the nineteenth century was essentially a business. Beyond the examination of the practical business aspects of church building - the acquisition of capital and hiring of labour – which are discussed at length in Chapter Four, *A Commerce of Taste*, examines how architectural pattern book production and dissemination intersected with the practice of building churches in Canada to influence social development and the spread of religious ideologies in the newly formed country, all under the guise of 'taste'.

While nearly half of this book examines pre-Confederation Canada's use of English country churches as models that were perpetuated by modern economic systems, wherein architects turned pattern book makers advertised architectural plans by appealing to the sensibilities of commercial society, Magrill includes much information in the second half of the book regarding westward expansion in the years following Confederation. The development of

[11] Peter Coffman also published an article on St John's Cathedral, Newfoundland in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* in 2006. This article examines the history of the cathedral and the choice of its style (Gothic Revival). Included is a discussion the first design for the building produced by James Purcell (b. c.1804), which was never built, and the subsequent design by George Gilbert Scott, which was executed under the direction of Scott's clerk of works, William Hay.

the Canadian Pacific Railroad into provinces west of Ontario is considered in terms of settlement, the establishment of a network of booksellers, and church building, which ultimately combined to control land and social development in the west. Magrill also analyzes the affects westward expansion had on the First Nations and how textual materials, pattern books, and ultimately architecture became tools of First Nations colonization. Additionally, as pattern books became available in the west, architectural taste was marketed to all, affecting not only the architectural landscape, but also the spread of religion. Although there is not much discussion of whether the pattern books Magrill analyzes were available in Canada or sold at specific stores, his formal approach to case studies is very convincing and contributed greatly to the methodological approach of this dissertation.[12]

In addition to the three books already described, there have been a number of articles and/or chapters written on church architecture in Canada, most dealing with the Gothic Revival. For example, in 2012, Peter Coffman published "The Introduction of Ecclesiology to Nova Scotia" as part of the anthology *Ecclesiology Abroad: The British Empire and Beyond*, which was edited by G.A. Bremner. Coffman's chapter examines the slow rate at which the Gothic Revival was taken up for church architecture in Nova Scotia, especially when compared to New Brunswick and Newfoundland, both of which had large Gothic Revival cathedrals by the middle of the nineteenth century. Coffman traces the rise of ecclesiology in Nova Scotia to the appointment of Bishop Hibbert Binney (1819-87), whose tractarian leanings led him to promote ecclesiologically-correct churches within his diocese. Although only one of his churches remains

[12] Magrill also published an article dealing with pattern books and journals in nineteenth-century Canada in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* in 2008. In this article, Magrill explores the use of pattern books as educational tools by architects, specifically by Vancouver architect R. Mackay Fripp (1858-1917), and by building committees.

(St Michael's Church, Windsor Forks), his four Gothic Revival church projects are analyzed in this article.

Many of the articles published on church architecture and the Gothic Revival have been written by Malcolm Thurlby. For example, in 1987, he published "Nineteenth-Century Churches in Ontario: A Study in the Meaning of Style" in *Historic Kingston*. This article traces the rise of the Gothic Revival style, which became the established style for all church denominations in Ontario by the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Thurlby examines the vernacular and neoclassical styles that preceded the Gothic and discusses the spread of classical and neoclassical ideas through published books, among them Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (1758), and James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728). Moreover, the article examines early examples of Gothic Revival architecture and the Rationalist/Ecclesiological phase, where Pugin and the role of the Ecclesiological Society are discussed. The article ends with a discussion of denominational rivalry between church groups, which Thurlby sees as represented by the use of the Gothic Revival in grand church designs in urban centres in Ontario.

Malcolm Thurlby also published "Ottawa Gothic" in *Rotunda* in 1988. Here he discusses how the Gothic Revival was adopted by Catholics, Anglicans, and Nonconformists is Ottawa for church architecture. With particular emphasis being placed on ecclesiology for Anglicans and preaching for other Protestants, Thurlby analyzes examples of buildings from each religious group. The article ends with a discussion of the Parliament Buildings (1859-66) and their contextual importance as eclectically-inspired monuments within the Gothic Revival Movement.

In 2005, Thurlby published "Nonconformist Architecture in Canada" in *Ecclesiology Today*. This article is one of the earliest to focus on the adaptation of the Gothic Revival to non-Anglican Protestant churches in Canada. Featuring buildings from Quebec, Nova Scotia, New

Brunswick, and Ontario, this article examines the manners in which the traditional Gothic plan, the longitudinal plan, was adapted to better suit nonconformist preaching. Canadian examples, like that of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872) by William Tutin Thomas (1829-92), are presented as analogous to American ones, where pattern books recommended the Gothic Revival for Protestants of all types.

In 2006, Malcolm Thurlby also published "Nineteenth-Century Churches in Prince Edward Island and their Place in the Gothic Revival" in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*. In this article, through a formal analysis, Thurlby investigates the use of the Gothic Revival in church architecture in Prince Edward Island and contextualizes it against analogous American and Canadian architecture and the history of the Gothic Revival as it developed in England. Discussed specifically are the influences of James Gibbs (1682-1754), the Church Building Act of 1818, and Ecclesiology. Thurlby concludes that the province was behind the rest of Canada in terms of Gothic Revival architectural developments. While Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and Ontario had moved into the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival phase by the late 1840's – 1850's, the Gibbsian tradition of the Romantic Gothic Revival era extended into the 1860's in Prince Edward Island. Once the style was used, however, it took on a local character and was executed in wood, which ultimately was perpetuated through the work of William Critchlow Harris (1854-1913), who designed Gothic Revival churches for Catholics, Anglicans, and Nonconformist groups in the province.

Malcolm Thurlby also discussed the Gothic Revival in 2009, when he published "Parisian Gothic: Interpretations of Gothic in Three Victorian Buildings in Paris, Ontario" which he published in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*. This article analyzes St James Anglican Church (1839), the Paris Townhall (1853-54), and Sacred Heart

Catholic Church (1857), the latter two of which were designed by a local architect, John Maxwell (103-89), although Sacred Heart Catholic Church was completed by John Turner (1806-87) in 1881. The buildings are analyzed for their use of the Gothic Revival style and as exemplars that demonstrate the development of the style throughout the nineteenth century. In the case of St James Anglican Church, a chancel was added in 1865, which demonstrates a trend across Ontario, wherein churches built before the advent of ecclesiology would be modified to make them more ecclesiologically-correct. In addition, the town hall in Paris is examined formally to demonstrate the manner in which its architect made reference to medieval Gothic published specimens and as an early exemplar of Gothic Revival applied to civic architecture in Canada. Finally, Sacred Heart Catholic Church is discussed in terms of Pugin, who Thurlby suggests the architect likely became aware of through secondary publications by William Hay (1818-88) and Frank Wills (1822-57).

In 2013, Paul Christianson examined the use of the Gothic Revival style for church architecture in Canada in his article “St. John’s Anglican Church, Portsmouth, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West.” This article includes a history and formal analysis of St John’s Anglican Church against the theories of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, largely as promoted by Frank Wills in North America, as an early example of Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario. Built only a few years after St Anne’s Chapel, Fredericton, New Brunswick (1846-47), and St James-the-Less, Philadelphia (1846-47), St John’s likely model was St Michael’s, Longstanton the thirteenth-century parish church that was recommended for imitation in the colonies by the Cambridge Camden Society.

Studies of Architects and their Works

There have been several books and articles devoted to the work of individual architects. For example, in 1983, Stephen Beszedits published *Eminent Toronto Architects of the Past: Their Lives and Works*, which presents biographical information regarding the careers of twenty architects that practised in Toronto between 1830 and 1950. Within each biographical chapter a sample of the buildings produced by the architect are described in detail.[13]

In 1975, Shirley G. Morriss published "The Nine-Year Odyssey of a High Victorian Goth: Three Churches by Fred Cumberland" in the *Journal of Canadian Art History*. In this article Morriss analyzes three Gothic Revival churches that were designed by Cumberland in Ontario: Church of the Assumption, Hamilton (1850-51), St James Cathedral, Toronto (1850-53), and the Cemetery Chapel of St James-the-Less, Toronto (1857-61). Through a formalist analysis, the churches are discussed in terms of their significance as representatives of the rapidity with which the Gothic Revival developed in the 1850's and 60's. For example, Church of the Ascension, Hamilton, is compared to early ecclesiological churches in England, and specifically to R.C. Carpenter's St Paul's Church, Brighton (1846-48), which is suggested as a possible model. St James Cathedral, however, is viewed as a complicated endeavour for Cumberland, who had to contend with its dual purpose as both a cathedral and a parish church in the urban environment of Toronto, and the Cemetery Chapel of St James-the-Less is discussed as a High-Victorian interpretation of the picturesque.

In addition to Shirley G. Morriss' article on Cumberland, Geoffrey Simmins published *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, in 1997. This monograph surveys the life and

[13] Pages 65-71 are devoted to a discussion of Henry Langley. Among the building examined are his rebuilding of St Stephen-in-the-Fields Anglican Church, Toronto (1866), his design of the Government House (1868-70), Toronto, and his design for Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870).

career(s) of Cumberland. The book is divided into two parts. The first examines Cumberland's life in Ireland and England and his 1847 move to Canada, which was fast becoming an industrialized land characterized by railways. Simmins examines Cumberland's work as the Northern Railway of Canada's chief engineer and his life in politics, as well as his personal and family life.

Part Two, is devoted to Cumberland's career as an architect and presents architectural case studies. Examined are examples of his designs for schools, University College (1856-59), post offices, courthouses, public buildings, and churches. Chapter twelve discusses the history of the Gothic Revival style in Britain and then includes an analysis of four ecclesiastical commissions: The Church of the Ascension, Hamilton (1850-51), St James Anglican Cathedral, Toronto (1850-53), Queen Street Wesleyan Church, Toronto (1856-57), and St James's Cemetery Chapel, Toronto (1857-61).

In 1989, Gilbert A. Stelter published "Henry Langley and the Making of Gothic Guelph" in *Historic Guelph*. Stelter discusses the manner in which the Gothic Revival came to characterize many of the churches in Guelph through an examination of three churches by Henry Langley: Chalmer's Presbyterian Church (1869), St George's Anglican Church (1869), and First Baptist Church (1871). Chalmer's is analyzed formally without much attention to the plan or its importance in terms of nonconformist liturgics, but this initial neglect is rectified when Stelter discusses the arrangement of First Baptist Church. Unfortunately Stelter suggests that a nearly identical design was use by Langley for his Catholic commission in Newmarket, which is misleading to say the least. As Chapter Four of this dissertation indicates, Langley had a very distinctive style of designing for Catholic churches. Stelter's analysis of St George's Anglican Church is very thorough. Beyond relating the history of the church and the complicated

circumstances surrounding the design of the new building, St George's is discussed within the context of Pugin's Gothic Revival and High Church ritualism.

One of the best monographs dedicated to the life and work of a Canadian architect is Angela Carr's *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke* (1995), which surveys the career of Edmund Burk, who trained in the office of Henry Langley, becoming partner in his firm in 1872. Carr examines Burke's education and time as an apprentice in the office of Henry Langley in Toronto. To that end she executes a close study of Burke's draughting style and his membership in many of the professional organizations in Toronto. Rather than chronologically, Burke's career as an architect is divided by buildings type. This allowed Carr to analyze the buildings against their various influences. Churches, for example, are examined in terms of their stylistic inspirations and an essay is devoted to Gothic Revival churches in particular. These buildings are discussed in terms of their functional qualities - the inclusion of a Sunday School and amphitheatre seating at Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, for example, is described at length. The influence of the Richardsonian Romanesque and the Arts and Crafts Movement are also discussed, each illustrated by examples of Burke's designs. Besides churches, Carr also surveys Burke's domestic, institutional, public, and commercial designs. While the number of buildings examined in the chapter on churches is limited, Carr's survey of Burke's career is comprehensive, well researched, and the sources of information are well documented.

In 1986, Malcolm Thurlby published the first of a series of articles on the work of the architect Joseph Connolly (1840-1904). "The Irish-Canadian Pugin: Joseph Connolly" discusses Connolly as a champion of Pugin's Gothic Revival principles through their application in his Canadian Catholic churches. Connolly's churches are analyzed against Pugin's English and Irish churches, the churches by J.J. McCarthy, and E.W. Pugin and G. Ashlin. For example, St Mary's

Church, Grafton (1875), is compared to Pugin's St Wilfrid's, Hulme (1839), while details are examined against Pugin's Irish churches at Tagoat and Barntown. The article also addresses Connolly's use of Hiberno-Romanesque in St John the Evangelist Church, Gananoque, which is compared to Pugin's St Michael's, Gorey (1839), a round-arch style church based on medieval Irish examples.

Thurlby followed this article with another in 1990, "Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly," which introduced Pugin's social theory regarding the Gothic Revival as a harbinger of the moral values that were prevalent before the Reformation in England. In the article, Thurlby argues that the use of Puginian Gothic for Catholic churches in Ontario was negligible before the arrival of Joseph Connolly in the 1870's. Through an analysis of several of Connolly's churches, although primarily the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (formerly St Bartholomew's), Guelph (1876), Connolly is established as a proponent of Pugin's architectural style and principles in Ontario.[14]

In 2013, Malcolm Thurlby shifted his focus to the work of Bishop John Medley and the architect Frank Wills in New Brunswick, with the article "Christ Church, Maugerville, New Brunswick: Bishop John Medley, William Butterfield, Frank Wills, and the Transmission of Ecclesiological Principles in Anglican Churches in New Brunswick," which was printed in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*. In this article he introduces John

[14] In 2001, Malcolm Thurlby also published "Two Late Nineteenth-century Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto by Joseph Connolly: St Mary's, Bathurst Street and St Paul's, Power Street," where he compares the use of the Gothic Revival style, which he traces to Pugin and J.J. McCarthy in St Mary's Church (1885), against the classically-inspired St Paul's Basilica (1887-89). He concludes that both styles are distinctively Catholic – one Irish and Gothic, the other Italian and ultramontane. In 2005, Thurlby also published "Joseph Connolly in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston," where he formally analyzes Connolly's churches in the Kingston area, which are in the Gothic and Romanesque styles, and discusses the significance of their forms and stylistic associations. Of particular interest is the comparison between the façade tower of St Mary's Cathedral and the crossing tower of Canterbury Cathedral.

Medley's background in Exeter, his publications on architecture, and his associations with Frank Wills (1822-57). Through an examination of Christ Church, Maugerville, Thurlby assesses the significant role played by Medley and Wills in the translation of ecclesiology into wood and uses Christ Church as an introduction to the manners in which medieval models had to be adapted for small Anglican churches in Canada through the use of printed materials, models, and knowledgeable churchmen and architects.

In the same issue of the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada,* Peter Coffman published "The Canadian Churches of Stephen C. Earle." In this article Coffman analyzes Trinity Church, Digby (1878), and then traces the trajectory of the church's drawings, which were created by American architect Stephen C. Earle (1839-1913), to Windsor, Nova Scotia, Hantsport, Nova Scotia, and Trinity, Newfoundland. The movement and reuse of Earle's plans are subsequently discussed as essential to the transmission of the Gothic Revival style within Atlantic Canada.

In 2015, Malcolm Thurlby revisited the work of Medley and Wills in the article "Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), Frank Wills (1822-1857), and the designs of Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, New Brunswick, with some elementary remarks on the impact of Bishop Medley and Frank Wills on the arrangements of Anglican churches in New Brunswick." As the title suggests, the article looks closely at the work of Medley and Wills; however, Medley's writings on church architecture, which are grounded in the theories of Pugin and ecclesiology, are discussed at length as a backdrop to the buildings that he and Wills designed and erected. After a thorough analysis of Christ Church Cathedral and St Anne's Chapel, their influence on the built environment of New Brunswick is traced through formal

analyses of several other churches, some by Wills, and others influenced by the architectural forms and principles that were introduced to New Brunswick by Medley and Wills.

In addition to the published architect-centred materials already discussed, there are two unpublished theses that deal specifically with the work of Henry Langley. In 1979, Mary Louise Mallory, completed her Master's thesis at the University of Toronto. Entitled, "Three Henry Langley Churches: Victorian Gothic Architecture and the Diversity of Sects in Ontario," Mallory uses a formalist approach to examine three churches designed by Langley: St Thomas, Brooklin (1869), Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), and Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church (1880). While she discusses materials, architectural theory, and provides a history of the area in which each church is located, the examination is limited to three primary buildings with others mentioned only for comparative purposes.

Euthalia Lisa Panayotidis, completed her unpublished Master's thesis at York University, Toronto, in 1991. "Gothic and Romanesque: A Question of Style and Arrangement of Protestant Churches and School Houses in Nineteenth Century Ontario: The Work of Henry Langley," examines several of Langley's nonconformist churches in terms of their stylistic differences and architectural arrangements. While much of the thesis is devoted to context and the history of the Gothic Revival and Richardsonian Romanesque styles, there is a thorough examination of the history of amphitheatrical planning. Moreover, the history and architecture of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1874-75), Woodstock Wesleyan Methodist (Central Methodist) (1875), Trinity Methodist (Trinity-St Paul's) Church, Toronto (1889), and Parkdale Methodist Church, Toronto (1889-90), are analyzed thoroughly. Much of the work on Jarvis Street Baptist and the latter two is, however, attributable to Edmund Burke and not Langley. Panayotidis also discusses

Langley's influence on Edmund Burke through an examination of Knox Presbyterian Church, Woodstock (1896-97).

Besides the printed information regarding architects in Canada, there are two exceptionally useful online resources: the *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950* and the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. The *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950* (http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/), which was compiled and published online in 2009 by Robert G. Hill, contains information regarding more than 2300 architects who worked in or had buildings that were constructed in Canada between 1800 and 1950. The information is sorted by architect and then the work of that architect is arranged chronologically, although in some cases it is arranged by type. This is the case with Henry Langley's page, where the buildings are grouped by building type: ecclesiastical, commercial and institutional, and residential. For each architect buildings are listed and the dates of each building's construction, and (when applicable) alterations and/or demolition are provided. This website also provides a list of resources available for each building, including references to newspaper articles and archival materials.

Originally begun in 1959 by the University of Toronto and the Université Laval, the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* has been available online since 2003 (http://www.biographi.ca/en/). While not devoted to architecture or architects specifically, the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* includes information about many of Canada's architects, including Frank Wills (1822-57), William Hay (1818-88), and Henry Langley (1836-1907). Written by Douglas Richardson and Angela Carr, the article on Henry Langley is particularly detailed and discusses several of his buildings, including St Peter's Church, Toronto (1864-65), the Eighth Post Office, Toronto (1871-74), and the completion of the spires for St Michael's

Cathedral (1866) and St James Cathedral (1873), both in Toronto. Although limited to a discussion of Langley's Toronto buildings, the descriptions of the buildings that are featured are detailed. Metropolitan Methodist Church (1870), for example is analyzed in architectural terms, describing its exterior, seating arrangement, and gallery (Richardson and Carr n.pag.).

Studies of Gothic Revival Worldwide

The study of Gothic Revival worldwide has recently shifted from surveys of the style – its history, theoretical underpinnings, and uses in Britain and on the continent, to a concern with the role that individual architects have had on the development of the style in Britain. Moreover, contemporary studies are increasingly focusing on the spread of the Gothic Revival throughout the English-speaking world.

Histories of the Gothic Revival, like those written by Charles Eastlake, Kenneth Clark, Michael J. Lewis, and Chris Brooks, are indispensible for the student of Gothic Revival architecture in Canada, as they establish a contextual point of reference for the style as it was invented and used in England, and its spread to the rest of the world.

Eastlake's *A History of the Gothic Revival* (1872), was the first attempt to document the history of the style from the mid-seventeenth century to 1870. Eastlake's book contains detailed comments on the style, architects, literature, and buildings, which are often described at length. Although written at the height of the Gothic Revival Movement by a High-Church supporter, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, is not a moral essay and, although it does promote the Gothic Revival, it surveys all periods and manifestations of the style equally. For example, Chapter III, discusses Horace Walpole and Batty Langley, two architects that were generally not admired by Pugin, the Ecclesiologists, or Ruskin, but here are discussed in a positive light – Walpole is credited with first discovering and using the Gothic Revival style and Langley is credited for his

originality (43- 53).[15] While much of the book is devoted to the discussion the revival of Gothic for church architecture - the role of the Royal Commission and the Church Building Act of 1818, A.W.N. Pugin, the condition of Church services, the Cambridge Camden Society and the Ecclesiologist, the Oxford Society, and architects of the revival - there is a considerable amount of attention paid to printed media and books that helped to spread the Gothic Revival throughout England and abroad. Among the publications Eastlake reviews are: *The Builder*, *The Ecclesiologist*, Brandon's *Analysis of Gothic Architecture* (1847), Paley's *Gothic Mouldings* (1845), Bloxom's, *Principles of Gothic Architecture,* and Robert Billings' *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845).

In 1928, Kenneth Clark published the first edition of *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste,* which was reprinted a number of times throughout the twentieth century. In this book Clark analyzes the possible roots of the Gothic Revival, which he is adamant is a purely English movement. Interestingly he contemplates whether Gothic ever ceased to exist and whether the Gothic Revival is a revival at all. Clark also examines the link that exists between Gothic Revival architecture and the Gothic literary tradition, which he indicates was perhaps the 'real' start of revived Gothicism, describing the Gothic mood as it was perpetuated in the poetry of Spenser and Milton (27-45). The relationship between Gothic poetry and Gothic architecture is not direct, but in the form of a prevailing taste. Regarding Gothic Revival architecture, Clark traces it to the Romantic Movement of the eighteenth century, and specifically to country houses in England, like Strawberry Hill, Twickenham. The style then became fashionable for public buildings and churches. The rest of Clark's analysis of Gothic Revival architecture is devoted to

[15] It is worth noting that while Eastlake gives Batty Langley more credit than most authors from the nineteenth century did, he does refer to Langley's book as worthless (54). One can only assume that Eastlake was referring to Batty Langley's *Ancient Architecture Restored* (1742), which was republished in 1747 as *Gothic Architecture, improved by Rules and Proportions.*

the buildings and people that he associates with the spread of the Gothic style in England: the Houses of Parliament, Pugin, the Ecclesiologists, George Gilbert Scott, and John Ruskin.[16]

Chris Brooks' 1999 analysis of the Gothic Revival style consolidated many of the issues presented in earlier texts, but updated them dramatically by including a chapter regarding Gothic outside of England, in Europe and North America. For most of the book, Brooks traces the development of the Gothic Revival to the seventeenth century in England, and then follows its manifestations chronologically and developmentally to the garden follies of the eighteenth century, the churches of the first-half of the nineteenth century, and the buildings of High Victorianism. Beyond presenting key buildings and figures of the Gothic Revival, Brooks also analyzes Gothic novels of the eighteenth century, as well as films and music in the twentieth century, ending with a discussion of historical and contemporary fascinations with Gothic forms, amusingly examining Disney's use of the Gothic Castle in popular culture and theme parks.

Likely spurred by the 2007 publication of Rosemary Hill's biography of Pugin, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, in recent years there has arisen an interest in the contributions of individual architects to the spread and development of the Gothic Revival. In 2011, for example, Christopher Webster, best known for his republication of the early pamphlets of the Cambridge Camden Society (*'temples...worthy of His presence': the early publications of the Cambridge Camden Society* 2003), compiled *Episodes in the Gothic Revival:*

[16] Although not purely an examination of the Gothic Revival Movement, J. Mordaunt Crook's *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (1987), includes an examination of the Gothic Revival and approaches the subject in a unique manner. Crook was interested in the battle of the styles, which he sees as originating in the Picturesque Movement in England. For Crook, the Picturesque introduced England to the possibility of stylistic options, which in turn created the dilemma after which he named his book. In terms of Gothic, there is a chapter devoted to Pugin and ecclesiology, another to Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc, all of which he asserts complicated the dilemma – Pugin and ecclesiology by adding a moral component to the discussion, and Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc by introducing emotion through ornament and reason through structural expression.

six church architects, an anthology featuring architects that are representative of differing periods of development within the Gothic Revival. An important work, this book examines the careers and buildings of architects that are often overlooked or glossed over in favour of more popular architects, like Pugin or William Butterfield. Included in this volume are: John Carter (1748-1817), who is associated with the Georgian form of Gothic, Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), who is discussed not only for his publication of *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, but also as an architect, Thomas Taylor (1777/78-1826), R.C. Carpenter (1812-55), George Edmund Street (1824-81), and John Thomas Micklethwaite (1843-1906).

One of the most thorough examinations of the life and work of an architect, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America*, was published in 2014 by Michael Hall. Beginning with a biography and examination of Bodley's time in George Gilbert Scott's office, this monograph examines his work chronologically, providing detailed histories and analyses of his commissions. Far from being a straightforward examination of the work of an architect, Hall's book considers the cultural context of his work, discussing Anglo-Catholic belief systems and nationalist tendencies, which inform Bodley's work. Especially compelling is the discussion of Bodley's design principles, which emphasize the meanings embedded in architecture. Essentially Bodley felt churches had to function and be symbolic of their purpose – they had to encourage religious adherence in a time of rapid social change in England. Ultimately, Bodley encapsulated the planning and design elements he deemed necessary for sacramental worship in a Perpendicular Gothic Revival shell. Although Bodley was an English architect, his influence extended beyond England. Hall examines his colonial work, including his church design for St Philip, Fingo, South Africa (1863-65). He also analyzes his work in the United States, specifically the design for a cathedral in Washington, D.C., which

was a joint effort between Bodley and his former pupil Henry Vaughan (1845-1917), and Grace Cathedral, San Francisco.

In 2014, P.S. Barnwell, Geoffrey Tyack, and William Whyte compiled twelve essays on the life and career of George Gilbert Scott and published *Sir George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878: An Architect and His Influence*. Each essay addresses a different element of Scott's life, his career, or his architecture. Most important for this dissertation is G.A. Bremner's chapter "Scott and the Wider World: The Colonial Cathedral, 1846-74." Describing Scott as a global architect, Bremner examines his relationship to the colonies and family ties to missionary work. He also introduces Scott's non-cathedral projects, among them the library, convocation hall, and clock tower at Bombay University (1864-78), and St Alban's parish church, Muswellbrook, Australia (1864-69), both of which presented Scott with the problem of designing Gothic building in differing climates – the first tropical, the second humid. The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to an examination of Scott's cathedrals in Newfoundland, Canada (1846), Grahamstown, South Africa (1861), and Christchurch Cathedral, Christchurch, New Zealand (1862). The discussion of St John the Baptist Cathedral, Newfoundland is particularly interesting as Bremner describes it as heralding in a new age of design in the colonies based on original use of ecclesiological principles, rather than imitation of pre-existing models (76). This originality, which negotiated the intellectual background of the Gothic Revival and the practical application of its forms abroad, is deemed to be Scott's greatest contribution to the colonial built environment.

One year after the publication of *Sir George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878: An Architect and His Influence*, Gavin Stamp published *Gothic for the Steam Age: An Illustrated Biography of George Gilbert Scott*. 'Biography' in this instance is perhaps more accurately described as

'career trajectory' because the book begins with a detailed discussion of Scott's reputation as an architect – good and bad – detailing commissions, their public reviews, and examining Scott's publications. The rest of the book describes and illustrates Scott's career through the buildings that resulted from it. The buildings are divided by architectural type and examined chronologically, beginning with churches, then cathedral, monuments and memorials, public buildings, college chapels, commercial buildings, domestic architecture, and finally restorations. Each section includes an introductory essay followed by hundreds of photographs of Scott's various commissions throughout the British empire, including St John the Baptist Cathedral, Newfoundland, which is described as austere, but fine due to the need for economy together with a hostile climate (140).

As demonstrated by G.A. Bremner's chapter on George Gilbert Scott's colonial cathedrals and Gavin Stamp's illustrated history of Scott's career, and perhaps foreshadowed by Chris Brooks' discussion of the Gothic Revival outside of England in *The Gothic Revival*, much contemporary work is being done on the spread of Gothic architecture through colonialism. The previously mentioned *Ecclesiology Abroad*, presents a collection of essays that follow the Gothic Revival throughout the British Empire, examining key figures and churches in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, India, and South Africa, with the intent of expanding the current scholarship on Victorian culture and architecture. This volume of *Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design* is a compilation of papers presented at a conference and is, therefore, broad in its scope and subject matter.

A more cohesive study is presented in G.A. Bremner's *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire c.1840-1870*. A survey of Anglican churches and cathedrals built in the British Empire in the mid-Victorian period, this

book covers the use of Ecclesiological Gothic for architecture from New Zealand to India to Canada. Central to Bremner's argument that Anglicanism, and concomitantly Gothic, became a global machine promoting High Anglican liturgy, morals, and political stability throughout the empire, is the role of educated British churchmen. Key figures, like John Medley of New Brunswick, are credited with spreading Tractarian liturgical ideals, which in turn were facilitated through the construction of ecclesiologically-sound Gothic Revival churches and cathedrals. While some of those churches were designed by the churchmen themselves, who would often use models – printed and three-dimensional – others were designed by prominent architects in England, like George Gilbert Scott, William Butterfield, and G.F. Bodley. Most interesting is Bremner's discussion of the acclimatisation of Gothic design, which he examines through a series of case studies in various colonial climates. In relation to Canada, economy, keeping out the cold, and the availability of building materials were primary concerns for churchmen and architects alike. This is examined through an analysis of the design and construction of St John the Baptist Cathedral, Newfoundland, and through a discussion of the emergence of wooden Ecclesiological Gothic churches in New Brunswick. The colonial environment necessitated inventive solutions on the part of architects, who had to develop their designs around the colonial situation, while maintaining ecclesiological acceptability through the incorporation of the architectural (and moral) principles that they held dear – truth to materials and honesty in construction. The transmission of architectural ideas is at the heart of *Imperial Gothic*; the role of various missionary societies, the Oxford Architectural Society, the Cambridge Camden Society and it journal *The Ecclesiologist*, printed media, and sketches and letters to and from churchmen, are all analyzed in regard to how the mother country came to understand the colonial environment and how the colonies came to adopt and adapt the Gothic Revival.

Documentary and Archival Resources in Canada

While books like *Imperial Gothic*, demonstrate the impressive archival materials available to one working on colonial architecture, the limited availability of documentary and archival resources are a challenge faced by the historian of the immediate pre- and post-Confederation period of nineteenth-century architecture in Canada, when correspondences between churchmen and the motherland ceased in exist. The *Canadian Architect and Builder* did not begin publication until 1888; therefore, prior to this time most of what is known regarding architecture is through articles in newspapers, business ledgers, building committee minutes, architectural drawings, and the buildings themselves.[17] In some instances correspondences between architects and potential clients exist, as in the example of a letter between William Hay and Bishop John Strachan of Toronto written in 1846, which is recorded in John Strachan's letter books held at the Archives of Ontario, but in the case of Henry Langley, that does not seem to be the case.[18] Because of the lack of documentary sources available regarding Henry Langley, central to this dissertation is the examination of the buildings themselves and their drawings, and a formalist analysis of those buildings against the theoretical materials regarding church architecture, form, and style that were available in the nineteenth century.

Additionally, by continuing the contemporary international scholarly trend of examining the contributions of an important architect, this dissertation is intended to address the hole which

[17] Stephen A. Otto discusses his use of these sources in his preface to the third edition of *Toronto: No Mean City* (vii-viii).

[18] In the case of Henry Langley, it seems likely that many of his commissions were attained due to their proximity to others. Many communities, like Guelph, had multiple churches designed by Langley in them; therefore, rather than Langley answering calls for plans, it seems likely that building committees went to him after seeing one of his other churches. This was the case for St John the Evangelist Catholic Church, Whitby, where the local newspaper documented that the parish had seen Langley's design for All Saints Anglican Church (1865) and requested something similar ("Laying of the Foundation").

exists in the current scholarship regarding church architecture in Ontario. This dissertation will, therefore, provide a scholarly analysis of Langley's churches to discuss why churches were in demand in the nineteenth century and how Henry Langley dealt with the immediate pre- and post-colonial cultural environment of a rapidly growing province to create a form of church architecture that would suit the needs of denominational, and particularly Protestant, worship. Moreover, the career of Henry Langley will be placed within the broad context of Canadian architectural history, and specifically that of Ontario, while his churches will be situated within the realm of the Gothic Revival worldwide, a movement that monopolized much of Langley's church-designing practice and concomitantly came to dominate the built environment of nineteenth-century Ontario greatly.

Chapter One: Introduction

In 1841, the Cambridge Camden Society described church architects as, "those whom God has given, not only the means, but the will, to undertake a work, the noblest perhaps in which man can engage, the building a House in some degree worthy of His majesty" (Neale 3). Within twenty years of that being published, Henry Langley (1836-1907) began his career as an architect in Canada West, which would be renamed Ontario with the British North America Act in 1867.[1] This career would span approximately forty years and include more than one hundred 'noble' commissions. This dissertation examines the church-designing career of the architect Henry Langley, a Toronto-born professional who trained and practised solely in Canada.[2]

Generally, the areas of architectural history and cultural and social history are studied independently; however, as Spiro Kostof explains, architecture is, "the material theater of human activity…[and] a social act – social both in method and purpose" (3-7). As such, a thorough study of Langley's church commissions must combine these fields, having the architectural and the cultural and social reflect one another. Essentially,

---

[1] From 1791-1841, the area now known as Ontario was called Upper Canada. In 1841, after the passing of the Act of Union (1840-41), which merged Upper Canada with Lower Canada to create the Province of Canada, the area was renamed Canada West. In 1867, with Confederation, it was renamed Ontario. For the purposes of avoiding confusion, Ontario will be used to describe this geographical area for the majority of this dissertation unless the use of another name is warranted.

[2] When examining the career of Henry Langley it is necessary to establish that his practice was extremely large and included several partners and many pupils. While hundreds of drawings are attributed to the Langley firm, many do not have delineator initials. For this reason, for the purposes of this dissertation, Henry Langley's 'work' will be considered within the framework of the Langley firm. Langley governed his firm in the manner of a workshop and therefore, where possible, the architect responsible for a particular design will be acknowledged; however, much as it was in the nineteenth century, it will be under the guise of the Langley firm as a whole, with Langley ultimately receiving credit for the design.

architecture is viewed not merely as an aspect of the built environment, but is rather a part of the lived environment, constructed to fulfill a cultural need. As Alan Gowans explains in his book, *Building Canada: an Architectural History of Canadian Life*, "...architecture, considered as cultural expression, is the product and reflection of a number of patterns of development, operating simultaneously, and superimposed one on the other... " (xviii). Langley's church buildings, therefore, communicate a very particular history of the congregations that required them.

In *Sacred Power, Sacred Space*, Jeanne Halgren Kilde examines the architecture of worship critically, describing church architecture as 'dynamic' in its ability to contribute to the meaning of ritual practice by facilitating some activities while impeding others (3). When viewed in this manner, architecture mediates and facilitates the relationship a worshiper has to the divine; therefore, much can be learned about individual congregations and Christianity as a whole solely through the guise of architecture. In Canada, various architectural styles were preferred by different Christian denominations and church designs were developed to better facilitate their particular forms of worship. Langley, as the most prolific church architect in nineteenth-century Ontario, therefore, made a significant contribution, not only to the built environment of Canada, but to its cultural practices as well. Each of his churches represents an accumulation of responses to local economic growth and change, to national and international architectural trends, and to the development of the liturgics each church was

intended to facilitate.[3]

Henry Langley's career bridged pre- and post-Confederation and he was one of the few architects born and trained in Canada to design domestic, commercial, government, and ecclesiastical buildings; however, until now there has not been a complete study of his career.[4] His churches are particularly important for the history of Ontario, as he designed more than one hundred of them for every major religious denomination that existed in the province at that time. As both William Westfall and John Webster Grant conclude in their studies of religion in nineteenth-century Ontario, the provincial ethos was religious.[5] Henry Langley, as an architect was, therefore, fulfilling a societal need for an architecture that could accommodate religious services and the social/community functions of a church. To accomplish this Langley designed churches

[3] The idea that a church could be representative of multiple converging cultural, social, and religious factors was expressed by Colin Cunningham, when he investigated the function and symbolic associations of church architecture in England in his book *Stones of Witness: Church Architecture and Function*.

[4] While there has not yet been a complete study of Henry Langley's work, Angela Carr's *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*, does devote most of the first chapter to Langley while surveying the educational lineage of his nephew and protégé, Edmund Burke (1850-1919).
Additionally, as mentioned in the foreword, in 1979, Mary Louise Mallory, completed an unpublished Master's thesis at the University of Toronto, "Three Henry Langley Churches: Victorian Gothic Architecture and the Diversity of Sects in Ontario" and in 1991, Euthalia Lisa Panayotidis, completed an unpublished Master's thesis at York University, Toronto, entitled, "Gothic and Romanesque: A Question of Style and Arrangement of Protestant Churches and School Houses in Nineteenth Century Ontario: The Work of Henry Langley."

[5] In his book, *Two Worlds: the Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, William Westfall examines the Protestant culture of nineteenth-century Ontario through an analysis of its cultural roots, its relation to politics, its social significance, and its built environment, and ultimately finds that Protestant religion was a central feature of life in Ontario in the nineteenth century. In *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, John Webster Grant conveys the religious history of Ontario through an examination of religious institutions as they were transplanted in the province in the nineteenth century, taking root to form an Ontario religious tradition characterized by political debates, denominational growth, missionary activity, and social outreach.

that were informed by the theoretical writings of various religious and architectural scholars in order to produce a functional architecture that was conducive to denominational worship. In turn, his churches communicate an architectural narrative that reflects the early history of Ontario, its colonial past, its society, and their religious habits and heritage.

Douglas Richardson and Angela Carr have suggested in their biographical sketch of Langley that, architecturally, Langley's career and the churches that resulted from it demonstrate an evolution physically and theoretically from a colonial architectural type that appropriated and imitated fashionable European architectural ideas, to a modern North American architectural brand promoted by a generation of architects educated in North American stylistic trends. Moreover, in *Architecture in Transition,* Kelly Crossman suggests that this change in attitude, wherein there was an explicit concern for the creation of an architecture firmly rooted in North American, and specifically Canadian, soil was perhaps the most significant development in Canadian architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century (3). As will be discussed in the coming chapters, while Langley incorporated American building technologies and planning in his later church designs, a thorough analysis of his churches reveals that this Canadian architectural identity descended largely from the British tradition of neo-Medievalism and was tempered by British architectural theory. This was likely solidified by the educational practice of apprenticeship and the establishment of Canadian architectural associations and organizations, which had been modeled after those in Britain, leading to a sense of British continuity within the Canadian architectural practice.

The Langley firm can be traced back to John Henderson (1804-62) and Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78) in Britain through Langley's mentor, William Hay (1818-88); however, this lineage also progressed through the work of Langley and his students, who became the architectural leaders of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century.[6] It is therefore not surprising that Langley's firm held such a monumental position within the Canadian profession; its links to Scott's practice legitimized the firm as one grounded in the British tradition and lent a certain reputation to the office. In nineteenth-century Ontario, this was essential since the colonial spirit thrived leading up to Confederation. Conversely, Langley's desire to further the profession in Canada and his willingness to incorporate building methods and styles being developed in the United States meant that his firm also contributed to the creation of a Canadian architecture that suited post-Confederation society in the province.

Through an examination of the church designs that were created by Henry Langley and his office, and a close analysis of those works against the architectural literature and theories that were in existence in the nineteenth century, this dissertation traces the architectural career of Henry Langley, while demonstrating how the churches that resulted from it are effective social and cultural texts that reveal their religious, social, and architectural associations and communicate a cultural history of Ontario.

As explained in the Foreword, central to this investigation is a formalist approach to Langley's work, wherein the drawings of the churches and the buildings that resulted from them are viewed as primary texts that reflect Langley's approach to designing for multiple religious groups. While a formalist approach does present certain limitations

[6] For a list of Langley's students and some of their architectural commissions, see: Appendix A.

because it relies on educated interpretation, the goal of this dissertation is to situate Langley within the broader context of international architectural practices in the nineteenth century, and specifically within the Gothic Revival movements that occurred mid-century and spread throughout the colonial world. As such, this dissertation examines issues of style, the transmission of architectural and stylistic ideas, especially from England to Canada, and the development of the Gothic Revival in Ontario post-confederation. As this dissertation will prove, for Langley, this development required an adaptation of British architectural theory regarding the Gothic Revival to the needs of the growing Protestant culture and urban environment in Ontario.

Chapter Two: Henry Langley (1836-1907): from apprentice to architect and leader in professionalization

Early Life and Education:

Henry Langley was the most prolific architect to have practised in the nineteenth century in Ontario. Although chiefly known for his church commissions, Langley also executed designs for civic, public, and commercial buildings, and designed houses for many of the prominent citizens of Toronto; however, his influence on Canadian architecture of the nineteenth century extends beyond his commissions. Langley trained many of the leading architects of the next generation and his architectural career spans many of the most significant debates, transitions, and changes surrounding the architectural profession that occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century.[1]

Not much is known about Henry Langley outside of his professional career and, as Mary Louise Mallory admits in her 1979 Master's thesis, little is known of his character (92). What is known of Langley's demeanor comes from his obituary, which was printed in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* in 1907. It indicates that he was, "...a man of great kindness of heart, upright in all his dealings with his fellow men...who

[1] Henry Langley's obituary lists his former students as: Charles Herbert Acton Bond (1860-1924), Edmund Burke (1850-1919), Frank Darling (1850-1923), Robert John Edwards (1853-1927), Henry Bauld Gordon (1854-1951), John Charles Batstone Horwood (1864-1938), William Ford Howland (1874-1948), Fred Kelley, Charles Edward Langley (1870-1951), Fred Langley, James Herbert Marling (1857-95), Wesley Peters, Albert Asa Post (1850-1926), Murray White (1870-1935), Ernest Wilby (1869-1957) ("The Late Mr. Henry Langley").
For a list of Langley's apprentices and their works, see: Appendix A.

practised honorably his chosen profession" ("The Late Mr. Henry Langley").[2]

Henry Langley (fig. 2.1) was born 26 November 1836 in Toronto to William Langley, a shoemaker, and Esther Anderson, who together had immigrated to Canada from Ireland in 1832 (*Census returns 1861*; Richardson and Carr). Henry was the youngest of four children who would all be influential in the architectural profession in Canada. His eldest brother, Edward Langley, born in 1832 in Ireland, was also an architect (*Census returns 1881*), his other brother, Benjamin Langley, born in Toronto in 1835, was a carpenter and clerk (*Census returns 1861*, *Census returns 1871*), while Langley's sister, Sarah, born in 1826, would be the mother of Edmund Burke, Henry Langley's future pupil and architectural partner (*Census returns 1871*).

Henry Langley's training as an architect began at the Toronto Academy, a private school that was established by the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1846 as a subsidiary of Knox College (Beszedits 65; Richardson and Carr). While biblical studies and the establishment of a seminary were central to the educational program at the school, the intention from its inception had been to obtain the co-operation of other Christian denominations; therefore in 1849, the Toronto Academy became a non-denominational institution (Spreull 1, *Toronto Academy*). While at the Toronto Academy, Langley likely would have been exposed to the school's regular program of study, which included: Mathematics, English, French, the classics, commercial subjects, and, most importantly for his future career, the principles of linear drawing, which was directed by the Toronto

[2] It is worth noting that the architectural profession has remained a family legacy with the Langley's. Henry Langley's great granddaughter, Elizabeth, was a practising architect in Toronto until 2013. While this author has not been able to establish contact with her, I am sure those interested in the work of Henry Langley would enjoy any additional insight she or the rest of the Langley family may have regarding Henry Langley's personal and/or professional life.

Academy Drawing Master, Edward Claxton Bull, an artist and designer (*Toronto Academy*; Richardson and Carr).[3]

Around the age of eighteen, Langley became an apprentice to the Scottish-born architect, William Hay (1818-88) at his Toronto office.[4] While there is very little documentation regarding the nature of architectural apprenticeships in Canada, most scholars agree that, although the University of Toronto did offer courses in civil engineering as early as 1853, until 1889, when the first architectural lecturer was appointed at the School of Practical Science at the University of Toronto, and 1890, when the university established the Department of Architecture, the only way to obtain an architect's education in Ontario was through apprenticeship to a successful practitioner

[3] According to R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, these subjects, especially the classics, were a requisite part of a liberal education, which in nineteenth-century Ontario preceded specialist professional training (5). Additionally, as indicated by Sharon Vattay in her unpublished dissertation, "Defining "Architect" in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: the Practices of John George Howard and Thomas Young," most aspiring architects in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century would attend either a grammar school or a private school before undergoing a period of pupilage (35-36). Moreover, the guidelines regarding the qualifications and education of an architect were prescribed in 1773 in *An Essay on the Qualifications and Duties of an Architect, with Some Useful Hints for the Young Architect or Surveyor*, where it was indicated that before the start of an apprenticeship, a pupil should have acquired a background in drawing, arithmetic, geometry, designing, optics, perspective, hydraulics, and mechanics (10).

[4] Since no apprenticeship agreement survives, there is a general degree of uncertainty surrounding the age at which Langley entered Hay's office as an apprentice. The Toronto Board of Trade Souvenir of 1893 indicates Langley was seventeen when he began his apprenticeship (Toronto Board of Trade). Stephen Beszedits suggests that Langley entered Hay's office at the age of nineteen (65), while in *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*, Angela Carr suggests a broader date range of seventeen to eighteen (7); however, Hay left Toronto in 1861-62 and Langley had a seven-year apprenticeship, which indicates that Langley was likely eighteen years old when he began his apprenticeship with Hay.

(Ure 106; Crossman 51-52).[5] As R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar explain in *Professional Gentlemen*, most professional education in nineteenth-century Ontario, including that for the clergy, law, and medicine, followed a similar pattern, first relying on a system of either formal or informal apprenticeship that later gave way to formal university education, which incidentally was not instructed by trained academics, but by practitioners turned lecturers (153-79).

In the nineteenth century, one could legally call themselves an architect after training as a surveyor or civil engineer, and in practice many 'architects' had no formal training whatsoever. For this reason, the apprenticeship system was looked upon favorably in the architectural field in nineteenth-century Ontario (Stelter n.pag.). Additionally, as Gidney and Millar explain, in some professions apprenticeships were preferable to formal institutional education. Professional training was not just a matter of learning about a trade, but of learning how to do it in practice (152). Evidently this was the case with architecture, as apprenticeship agreements indicate that many future architects opted for the established tradition of apprenticeship over university training, even after the opening of the Department of Architecture at the University of Toronto. For example, the article agreement between Fred E. Leighton Abrye (1888-1975) and Burke and Horwood, indicates that he entered his apprenticeship in 1903, and the article agreement between Charles H. Linch and Burke, Horwood and White, is dated 1909

[5] Sharon Vattay does include a section on the apprenticeship system in Chapter II of her 2001 unpublished dissertation, "Defining "Architect" in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: the Practices of John George Howard and Thomas Young" (36-46).
As a founding member of the Architectural Draughtsmen's Club, whose primary concern was the bringing together of architectural practitioners and students, Langley was fundamental in terms of acquiring the endowment necessary for the creation of the lecturer position at the University of Toronto.

(*Articles of Agreement: Student Apprentice, Fred E.L. Abrey; Articles of Agreement: Student Apprentice, Charles H. Linch).*

Generally, pre-Confederation Ontario was ostensibly linked to Britain (Carr, "Indices of Identity" 11-12). Many of the people who resided in Ontario were of British descent or were descendants of United Empire Loyalists. Architecturally, ideas primarily made their way to Canada with immigrating British architects and through printed texts and journals, many of which were produced in England (Magrill, "Architecture of the Printed Page" 33-34; Magrill, *A Commerce of Taste* 4, 27). Once in Canada, British-trained architects would establish a practice and take on the occasional student as an apprentice; therefore, the apprenticeship programs that existed in Canada in the mid-nineteenth century were very similar to those that could be found in Britain (Carr, *Toronto Architect* 6). In their study of Victorian Architecture, Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, found that in the Victorian period pupilage was the usual form of architectural education in Britain, which meant that the average Victorian architect acquired his skills working in the office of another, more experienced practitioner (14).[6] As such, students would attach themselves to an established professional in their chosen field and read the texts he recommended, follow him in his daily work activities, and assist with simple tasks under his supervision (Gidney and Millar 153).

In describing the role of an architectural student in a monograph he wrote after a lecture delivered to the (British) Architectural Association in 1874, R. Phene Spiers indicated that a student was expected, almost as soon as he entered an office, to assist in

[6] For example, George Gilbert Scott had at least ninety-two apprentices and pupils work in his office at varying periods between 1839-78, with as many as twenty-seven to thirty working at one time (Cole 232-35; Whyte 213-14).

the making of working drawings (11). Further, the elements of design and the development of a student's drawing style were to be invariably undertaken by the student in his leisure time. In the pupilage system a student was to execute and, in many cases, copy the work of the principal designer until his articles were terminated or until he was an advanced pupil, at which time he could be given some opportunity to test his knowledge of simple design (Spiers 11-30).[7]

A historical sketch of Langley that was included in *A Souvenir*, a historical account of Toronto and its Board of Trade, indicates that he first completed a term of pupilage and then a clerkship with Hay (Hopkins).[8] Combined this education lasted seven years. While the terms of Langley's indentureship are not recorded or surviving, that of William Critchlow Harris (1854-1913), who indentured with David Stirling (1822-87), are, and since Stirling was Hay's architectural partner from 1863-64, it is likely that his experience would have been similar to Langley's.[9] The indenture agreement between Harris and Stirling was signed in 1870 and indicates that Stirling was to impart Harris

[7] The practice of copying the work of an architectural mentor as part of one's training was not uncommon. As William Whyte explains, pupils in John Soane's office and George Gilbert Scott's office were part of an office hierarchy, trained to mimic their mentor's drawing style to create an office style that reflected the work of the master draughtsman (220-21).

[8] The language used to describe the practical training of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architects is often vague and used at random; however, there are nuanced differences in meaning between the terms indentureship, apprenticeship, pupilage, and clerkship. An indentureship implies the term of an educational training agreement as a whole, while an apprenticeship is the practical training an architect would receive through work in a functioning office under the supervision of a practising professional. Pupilage is the counterpart of apprenticeship, and like an apprenticeship, the student would usually pay the professional upon the commencement of the training. A clerkship implies employment wherein the student, near the end of his training, would be paid for his services to the architectural firm.

[9] For more information regarding David Stirling and his partnership with Hay, see: Buggey and Shutlak's biographical sketch of the architect in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*.

with the business and practical knowledge necessary for an architect. In return, Harris was to faithfully and diligently serve Stirling as an apprentice, attend to the business at all times, and obey all of Stirling's lawful commands (Tuck, *Gothic Dreams* 22). After three years of apprenticeship Stirling was to pay Harris a salary, which indicates that Harris, like Langley, was given a clerkship and in turn would likely have had more responsibility within the firm at that time.[10]

While Langley's experience and participatory role within Hay's office is somewhat unclear, a careful analysis of the architectural drawings produced in Hay's office during the time of Langley's indenture provides some insight into what it meant to be a pupil with William Hay.[11] As Angela Carr describes in, "From William Hay to Burke, Horwood & White," an architectural drawing must be considered in terms of the draughting style of the firm producing it, which is under the direction of the design partner, and the individual artistic style of the person that executed the drawing. This personal style, among other things, is tempered by contemporary drawing methods and practices (41). Through careful observation, Carr found that Hay's 1855 drawings for Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (figs. 2.2, 2.3, 2.4), now located in the Metropolitan Reference Library, were likely autograph based on their outdated methods

[10] The terms of Harris' articles seem fairly standard. Article agreements between Charles Acton Bond and Langley & Burke, and John Thomas Townsend and William George Storm held at the Ontario Archives are worded similarly (*Articles of Agreement, Charles Acton Bond*; *Articles of Agreement, J.T. Townsend*).

[11] Angela Carr was first to do this kind of analysis when she was researching Edmund Burke. She includes some of her findings in, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*, and, "From William Hay to Burke, Horwood & White: A Case History in Canadian Architectural Draughting Style".

of shading to define variations in plane levels.[12] In contrast, Langley's drawings tended to be more linear, indicating that he was familiar with more progressive drawing methods that showed a concern for clarity to allow for easy communication with contractors (Carr, "From William Hay to Burke, Horwood & Wood" 42-43). In Langley's practice this would be absolutely essential, as he sent drawings and plans across the province and also to Saint John, New Brunswick, and Winnipeg, Manitoba, for local contractors, builders, and architects to execute.

Some of the drawings produced in William Hay's office, including those for the Yorkville Town Hall, indicate that Langley was given some draughting responsibilities during the later part of his apprenticeship or while serving as a clerk. These drawings demonstrate a high-degree of linearity and employ block-lettering for drawing titles (figs. 2.5, 2.6).[13] Both of these draughting techniques would become regular features of Langley's work in the 1860's and 1870's, and are both well-demonstrated in his drawing for the Hellmuth Ladies College, London, Ontario (1868) (fig. 2.7), in the undated drawings for the Government House, Toronto (fig. 2.8), and in the drawings for the Eighth Post Office, Toronto (c.1871-74) (fig. 2.9). Moreover, the drawings of the Yorkville Town Hall demonstrate a high-degree of tinting, wherein the tint is used to define the materials and planes of the building. This method of draughtsmanship allows the architect to differentiate between brick, which is normally tinted red, wood, which is normally tinted brown, and stone, which is usually tinted blue or gray. Additionally, dark and warm tints indicate the foreground of a drawing, while cooler and lighter tints specify

[12] According to R. Phene Spiers, the method of shading areas to delineate planes was outdated by the 1870's (18).
[13] For a more in-depth examination of the Yorkville Townhall drawings, see: Angela Carr's, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*.

the rear plane (Spiers 21). The technique of tinting linear and geometrical drawings for ease of communication between architects and contractors was coming into fashion in the second half of the nineteenth century and is a signature of Langley's early drawings, including those he prepared for St John the Evangelist Church, Whitby (1868) (fig. 2.10), and St Patrick's Catholic Church, Toronto (1869) (fig. 2.11). The change in draughting style that occurred within William Hay's office indicates that while Langley was an apprentice he was not limited to the methods of his mentor, but rather remained current in terms of the profession's evolution in draughting techniques.[14] This staying architecturally up-to-date in terms of the practice of architecture was essential for Langley's future practice, as his firm would be a leader in architectural style and design in Canada, using British styles and assimilating American architectural ideas simultaneously.

The Firm of Gundry and Langley

Upon his departure from Toronto in 1862, Hay left his practice to Thomas Gundry (1830-69), a British-trained architect and civil engineer with whom Hay had worked for less than one year.[15] Gundry immediately took Langley into partnership forming the firm of Gundry and Langley. According to Langley's obituary, he became responsible for the designing duties, while Gundry was left to handle the business side of the practice ("The Late Mr. Henry Langley"). The early drawings produced by the firm of Gundry and

[14] This type of analytical approach to differentiate between the work of a master and his pupil dates to the early twentieth century when Reginald Blomfield attempted to discriminate between the work of Inigo Jones and John Webb; however, Blomfield analyzed drafting abilities rather than examining methods of draftsmanship (73-76).
[15] The firm of Hay & Gundry was formed in 1861 and advertised in *The Globe* on 9 December 1861: 3. For information regarding Thomas Gundry, see: Robert Hill's, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada* <*http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/757*>.

Langley demonstrate restraint in terms of draughting innovation and rely heavily on the style of work that was produced in Hay's office. For example, the drawings of the interior of St Patrick's Catholic Church, Toronto (1869-70), demonstrate Langley's tinting technique; however, the exterior indicates a return to the shading methods that had been used by Hay for his church designs (fig. 2.12). This example serves to demonstrate that Gundry and Langley's early footing as a church-designing firm in Ontario was reliant upon the reputation of Hay, whose status as a church architect was recognized in his obituary in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* in 1888, where he was described as having an extensive practice in church and domestic work ("The Late Mr. Wm. Hay, Architect").

While the firm of Gundry and Langley was well known for church design, they were also commissioned for domestic and public buildings. One of their earliest commissions was for a parsonage for St Stephen's Church, Toronto (1865). This design accompanied their reconstruction of Thomas Fuller's (1823-98) St Stephen-in-the-Fields Church, which had been destroyed by fire earlier that year (figs. 2.13, 2.14).[16] The design of the parsonage displays the same kind of asymmetrical outline and door and window placement as William Hay's 1860 design for the rectory for Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, located on Trinity Square, and was likely inspired by it (fig. 2.15).

Additionally, Gundry and Langley designed the aforementioned Government House (fig. 2.8), a residence for the Lieutenant-Governor, located at the corner of King and Simcoe Streets, Toronto (c. 1867). The design was one of the earliest manifestations

[16] St Stephen-in-the-Fields was originally erected in 1858; Gundry and Langley's reconstruction followed Fuller's plans closely.

of the Second Empire style in Canada and has been credited with truly launching the style in the country (Cameron and Wright 13).[17]

Be that as it may, in Canada, William Hay's 1854 design for the Toronto General Hospital, which was published in the *Anglo-American Magazine* in 1854, was inspired by French Renaissance models (fig. 2.16). [18] Additionally, dormer windows, a hallmark of the Second Empire style, were used by William Thomas (1799-1860) in St Lawrence Hall, Toronto, in 1850, before the official introduction of the style in Paris with the extension of the Louvre in 1852-57. Furthermore, the Second Empire style was taken up for the government buildings in Ottawa in 1859-66, which combine Gothic Revival details with Second Empire pavilion massings and mansard roofs. The style's association with the government buildings in Ottawa made it an appropriate stylistic choice for Langley's design of the Toronto Government House, which acted not only as a residence for the head of state, but functioned as the centre of Toronto society at a time when Canada was on the verge of Confederation (Cameron and Wright 13). This social significance further solidifies the choice of the architectural style. As Cameron and Wright indicate in their book, *Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture*, the style was also becoming popular in the United States in the 1860's -70's (11). Examples can be found at the Boston City Hall by the architects G.J.F. Bryant and Arthur D. Gilman, and

[17] The Second Empire style takes its name from the second empire of Napoleon III of France, who along with his prefect Baron Georges Haussman, undertook a grand program of public works and urban renewal in Paris in hope of making Napoleon's court the cosmopolitan centre of fashion (Cameron and Wright 9).

[18] Ironically, although perhaps not coincidentally, the *Anglo-American Magazine* often wrote about and illustrated up-to-date French fashions, which indicates Canada was completely up-to-date with European stylistic trends. For example, in the 1850's, the Second Empire style had begun to influence English High Victorian town halls, including the Leeds Town Hall (1855-59) (Hitchcock 226-29).

at the State, War and Navy Department Building in Washington D.C. (1871-87), by the architect Alfred B. Mullet. Furthermore, the 1867 International Exhibition was held in Paris at the height of the Second Empire, making the style architecturally up-to-date and avant-garde in terms of Canadian architecture.

Langley's Lone Practice

The partnership of Gundry and Langley lasted until Gundry's death in 1869, at which time Langley began practising alone. At this time Henry Langley was, however, assisted by talented apprentices, including Frank Darling (1850-1923), Albert Asa Post (1850-1923), and Langley's nephew, Edmund Burke (1850-1919), who had begun articling with Langley in 1865 (Richardson and Carr).[19] This lone practice represents Langley's most productive period and earned him a popular reputation as a church architect in his own right. Langley's most important church design during this period was for the Methodists of Toronto, who awarded him the commission for Metropolitan Methodist Church in 1870 (fig. 2.17).[20] To this point Langley had primarily designed churches for the Catholics and Anglicans of Ontario; however, with this showpiece design his firm became popular for nonconformists, who brought him no less than

[19] Frank Darling began an apprenticeship with Langley in 1866. While the exact date that A.A. Post joined Langley's office is unknown, his initials appear on drawings by 1875. Langley's other apprentices included: W.F. Howland (1850-99), John C.B. Horwood (1864-1938), and Murray White (1870-1935), but they would join the Langley office in the 1880's-90's.

[20] The design of Metropolitan Methodist Church was chosen through a competition wherein architects were invited to submit drawings under a pseudonym. First prize was originally awarded to William George Storm (1826-92); however, upon discovering that the design would be too expensive to execute, Langley was awarded the commission (St. John 44). The church was damaged by fire in 1928, but was rebuilt under the direction of J. Gibb Morton (1876-1949) ("Fine New Church").

seventy-five additional commissions and solidified his reputation as a cross-denominational church architect in the province. [21]

The Firm of Langley, Langley and Burke

In 1872, Langley went into partnership with his former pupil, Edmund Burke, and with his brother, Edward, a builder, who took on the responsibility of site supervisor for the team ("The Late Mr. Henry Langley"). Under the name of Langley, Langley and Burke, the firm executed designs for commercial pursuits in varying styles and was commissioned to design numerous churches throughout Ontario. Amongst their most prominent commissions was the completion of Christ Church Anglican Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario (1873-75). Christ Church was begun in 1835 by Robert Charles Wetherell as a frame church; however, between 1852 and 1854, the nave was extended by two bays and a Gothic chancel was added by William Thomas. Langley, Langley and Burke continued the renovations by removing the wooden façade tower, adding a stone gothic façade, creating a stone nave, and further altering the chancel arrangement with the addition of one bay to the east (figs. 2.18, 2.19, 2.20).

This point in Langley's career also marks a fundamental change wherein the firm began to increasingly employ 'modern' materials and building methods and look to North

[21] This number of commissions includes full church commissions and alterations. Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Unitarians, and members of other non-Anglican Protestant sects generally fall under this heading (Pope vii; Helmstadter 61). In point of fact the term cannot be used with 100% accuracy to describe these denominations in Canada because the Acts of Uniformity, which were enacted in England in the sixteenth century, did not overtly apply to Canada, and Canada, although a Dominion under British imperial control, was no longer a colony after 1867. In architectural writing, however, the term has been used to describe non-Anglican Protestant architecture in Canada by Malcolm Thurlby, and, for lack of a better word, it will be used throughout this dissertation for its cultural meaning to describe non-Anglican Protestant denominations and the churches built for them.

American sources for inspiration in design. This is best exemplified by the designs for Jarvis Street Baptist Church (1874) (fig. 2.21, 2.22) and Allan Gardens' Horticultural Pavilion, sometimes nicknamed the Palm House (1876-78) (fig. 2.23).

While both of these buildings are located in Toronto, they are significant for different reasons. Jarvis Street Baptist Church incorporates an amphitheatrical seating plan. The first of its kind in Toronto, the amphitheatre plan was based on American precedents as a means of accommodating the needs of nonconformist social and religious services, in this case for Baptists. Allen Gardens was a three-storey structure made almost entirely of iron and glass, which was referred to in 1877 as, "a pleasant and favorite [sic] resort of the citizens during the summer months," (Timperlake 242). To this point the use of iron within the Langley firm had been primarily relegated to architectural supports in churches or commercial storefronts and warehouses, such as the Thomas May and Company Importers building (1877) (fig. 2.24).

The Firm of Langley and Burke

In 1883, Edward Langley retired and moved to California leaving the practice to Langley and Burke. In the new firm of Langley and Burke, while both partners were listed and advertised as principal designers, Langley primarily took on the role of administrator (Richardson and Carr). The firm now ran its offices akin to the large architectural firms in the United States. A plan of their offices that was printed in the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, indicates that by 1890, the firm had permanent spaces allocated for contractors and draftsmen within their offices. Moreover, as Angela Carr has noted in *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*, Edmund Burke's office, which was outfitted with both a desk and a drafting table,

overlooked the drafting room, while Henry Langley's office included only a desk and bookshelves (13) (fig. 2.25).

The Firm of Langley and Langley

In 1892, Burke left Langley's office to assume the practice of the late William George Storm (1826-92). At this time Henry Langley's son, Charles Edward Langley (1870-1951), joined the practice, which continued under the name Langley and Langley. Charles was academically trained at the University of Toronto, and was the first graduate from the Department of Architecture on 3 May 1892 (*Charles Edward Langley Diploma*). Henry and Charles worked together for the remainder of Henry's career, which ended with his death from pneumonia on 9 January 1907 in Toronto (*Death Registration*). Langley was buried at the Toronto Necropolis, a nondenominational cemetery for which he had designed the chapel and lodge (fig. 2.26).

Leader in Professionalization

Besides being a leader in the practice of architecture in Ontario, Langley was also part of the move towards the professionalization of the architectural field that occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Architects of the time found themselves involved politically in architectural debates surrounding organization and formal education. As Alan Gowans indicates in *Building Canada: an Architectural History of Canadian Life*, this period of time marked a change in Canadian sensibilities from colony to country (114).[22] This growing sense of national consciousness and increasing urbanization was apparent in architecture through a call for organization, which increased

[22] This sense of national awareness present in the Dominion of Canada does not necessarily imply a denial of British cultural identity. As Carl Berger has argued in *The Sense of Power*, imperial unity was a dominant form of nationalism in urban English Canada from 1869 to the end of the First World War (5, 10-11, 259-65).

dramatically post-Confederation. While the methodological approach to architectural education in the nineteenth century had closely followed the apprenticeship practices of England, with American architectural publications circulating in Canada and the establishment of American architectural schools, Canadian architects banded together to fight the increasing American influence in building (Crossman 10-27). [23] This led to the founding of numerous professional organizations, many of which rallied for the establishment of professionalization and university training in architecture in Canada.[24]

Although the fear of an American dominance of the architectural field was at the heart of the creation of organizations and standardized educational practices, discourses surrounding professionalization and the role of the architect in Canada were also central. In Canada, this debate can be traced to England where the concept of a professional architect and his role in society had become a particular topic of interest in the eighteenth century (Tausky & Di Stefano 58). The Industrial Revolution had been perceived as a threat to architects who were afraid they would be rendered unnecessary or trivial in a time when large-scale contractors and developers were emerging in the architectural environment (Crinson & Lubbock 3). This perceived threat sparked debates surrounding the role of the professional architect in England and architects began defending and defining their professions. John Soane, for example, described the role of the architect,

[23] The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was the first educational institution to have an advanced program in architecture in North America. It began in 1865, with William R. Ware (1832-1915) as its first professor and department head.

[24] Whilst in Canada the initiative to form architectural associations was inspired by American developments, the first recorded initiative to develop an architectural organization took place in 1791 when a British architectural club was formed. Its members included James Wyatt (1746-1813), Henry Holland (1745-1806), George Dance (1741-1825), Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1753-1827), William Chambers (1723-96), Robert Adam (1728-92), and John Soane (1753-1837) (Card 3).

indicating it should include making the designs and the estimates, directing the works, and measuring and making valuations for the different parts of the building process (Tausky & Di Stefano 59). In nineteenth-century Canada, however, the role of the architect was less defined and often he would take on a broader range of responsibilities. This was, for example, the case with John Howard (1803-90), a Toronto architect of the 1830's and 40's, who acted as architect, surveyor, engineer, speculator, developer, landscaper, landlord, and lumber procurer for many of his projects (Beszedits 14-21). [25] While some offices used this model of incorporating an architect's professional duties with related business interests, many others viewed their profession as an art and therefore ran their practices in the manner of an artist's studio, with the duties of the firm being divided amongst the office practitioners. The drawings produced by the Langley firm located in the Baldwin Room of the Toronto Reference Library and in the Ontario Archives indicate that this is how Langley ran his office. It is, therefore, no surprise that he became active in the move towards professionalization in Ontario.[26]

Early in the debate surrounding professionalization it was clear that practitioners would have to be the driving force behind the cause. As explained in the revised edition of Eric Arthur's, *Toronto, No Mean City*, in 1834, Dr W.W. Baldwin announced in a lecture delivered to builders, carpenters, masons, and architects of the Mechanics' Institute that an improvement in Toronto's architectural quality was in their hands (237). In 1834, Baldwin also suggested the formation of an architectural society was essential. It was not until 1849, however, when the Canadian Institute was established by surveyors,

[25] John Howard owned his own lumber mill.
[26] Many of the Langley firm drawings have delineator's initials, which indicate different members of the firm performed varying drafting roles.

engineers, and architects that this would occur (Crossman 28).[27] Additionally, in 1849, a number of working mechanics in Toronto lobbied for the establishment of a provincial school of art and design to prepare those intent on an artistic or mechanical career for their professional apprenticeships. Their petition was denied by the House of Assembly, but their mandate was revived in 1857 when the Board of Arts and Manufactures was established. Its membership was comprised of the leading architects in the city at the time, including William Hay and Henry Langley, who were both committee members. (*Board of Arts and Manufactures Annual Report* 7; "Board of Arts and Manufactures - Annual Meeting").[28] The aim of the association was to create a museum to display models and drawings and to establish a free reference library. Both of those aims were intended to support the creation of a school of design that would employ lecturers in art, science, and manufactures. The association was also concerned with communication between professionals and students, and, therefore, sought the circulation of information through publications that could easily be made available to the students at the proposed school of design (Annual Report 3). Although the Board was organized and their intentions were clear, the association was not successful and it folded in the 1860's before accomplishing these ambitious goals. While there is no record indicating why the association failed, a letter published on page three in volume one, issue two of the *Canadian Architect and Builder* in 1888, indicates that surveyors were permitted to join

[27] The Canadian Institute continues today as the Royal Canadian Institute. It is the oldest scientific society in Canada.

[28] Hay was also a member of the Association of Architects, Civil Engineers and Public Land Surveyors, an association that focused on bringing together like-minded practitioners in Toronto.
Other members of the Board of Arts and Manufactures included: George Brown (1843-?), Charles Baillairgé (1826-1906), William Kauffman (1823-75), Joseph Sheard (1813-83), William Tutin Thomas (1828-92), and John Tully (1818-86).

the association, which caused dissention amongst the ranks, leading to the association's demise ("An Appeal for Organization").[29]

In the years following the collapse of the Board of Arts and Manufactures numerous failed attempts were made towards organization and professionalization, including the formation of a society that would later be known as the Canadian Institute of Architects in 1876. This association was formed by the first generation of Canadian-trained architects, including Henry Langley, Edmund Burke, Frank Darling, William Irving (1830-83), Samuel Hamilton Townsend (1856-1940), and James A. Smith (1832-1918). The members of the society met on several occasions, a secretary was named, committees were appointed, by-laws were drawn, a membership tariff was established, and an Institute library was created. Unfortunately, like its predecessors, this group's success was short-lived, likely due to professional jealousy and rivalry, and the association disbanded in 1878 ("An Appeal for Organization"). It was approximately ten years before another attempt would be made at organization. At this time many of the former members of the Canadian Institute of Architects, including Henry Langley and Edmund Burke, formed the Architectural Guild of Toronto, a social and professional club open exclusively to architects to promote the discussion of topics pertinent to the practice of architecture (Crossman 30) (fig. 2.27). It was largely due to the work of the Guild and its members that formal architectural education would be offered in the province (Simmins 28-29). In 1880, the Royal Canadian Academy was founded primarily by members of the Guild, including James A. Smith (1832-1918), William George Storm

[29] Although published anonymously, according to Kelly Crossman, this letter was likely written by William George Storm (30).

and Henry Langley (Arthur 239).[30] Additionally, the initiative of the Guild members also contributed to the creation of the Department of Architecture in the School of Practical Science at the University of Toronto, which was established in 1890 (Arthur 238-39).

Despite the influence and success of the Architectural Guild of Toronto, by 1889 it was clear that the establishment of an organization with a broader base was necessary in Ontario ("The architects in Ontario," *Canadian Architect and Builder* 2.3). This led to the formation of a committee, which included Edmund Burke, Frank Darling and Henry Langley, who were appointed the task of contacting architects across the province with the aim of forming a new society (Simmins 32-34). [31] The result of this effort was the establishment of the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA), which first met on 21 March 1889 and was incorporated a year later in 1890 ("The architects in Ontario," *Canadian Architect and Builder* 2.4; Card 3). According to their constitution, the objects of the OAA were:

> ...to unite in fellowship the architects of the Province; to combine their efforts so as to promote the artistic, scientific and practical efficiency of the profession; to cultivate and encourage the study of kindred arts; and to endeavor to obtain legislation by which a standard of professional knowledge and experience will be hereafter required of all persons practicing the profession (*Constitution and By-Laws* 5).

[30] In fact, Henry Langley was one of the first practicing architects to submit a diploma piece to the Royal Canadian Academy. In 1880, he deposited his work on Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto (1870) as his diploma work.

[31] Other Guild member on the committee were: S.G. Curry, D.B. Dick, A.R. Denison, H.B. Gordon, W.A. Langton, E.J. Lennox, W.G. Storm, W.R. Strickland, and S.H. Townsend (Simmins 32).

Essentially through the founding and incorporation of the OAA, architects in the province were resolving the issues of organization, professionalization, and formal education, and ultimately, formulated a definition of what being an architect in Ontario was.

While the buildings that resulted from Henry Langley's practice are a testament to the success of his office, Langley's role within the architectural landscape of Ontario stretches beyond the built environment.[32] Through his work as a mentor for the next generation of architects and his involvement in contemporary debates regarding organization, professionalization, and education, Langley became an integral part of the Canadian architectural profession in the second half of the nineteenth century.

[32] For a list of Langley's church designs and reference to the archives that hold the drawings, see: Appendix C.

Chapter Three: Henry Langley's Mentor, William Hay (1818-88)

As was discussed in Chapter Two, Henry Langley received his architectural training from the prominent Scottish-born architect William Hay (1818-88) (fig. 3.1). From Hay, Langley garnered an extensive knowledge of medieval and Gothic Revival architecture, developed a draughting style, and became part of a network of prominent architects in Canada and abroad.[1] Though Hay designed buildings of all sorts, he is primarily remembered as a church architect, who, likely under the influence of his strict Episcopalian upbringing, principally designed churches for the Anglican Church.[2] Through Hay, Langley acquired an appreciation for the Gothic Revival architectural doctrines of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52), and learned the 'science of ecclesiology', which was established by the Cambridge Camden Society, renamed the Ecclesiological Society in 1845 (White, *The Cambridge Movement* 49,198).[3]

Besides being a prolific architect and mentor, Hay was also active in several professional organizations and also wrote on architecture. Most of his articles, which were published in both Canada and Britain, promote the Gothic style, especially in terms of ecclesiastical buildings.

William Hay was born 17 May 1818, in Dykeside, Peterhead (Aberdeenshire) Scotland. He was originally trained as a joiner, a type of carpenter that cuts and fits

---

[1] As will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, Hay's association with George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), seems to have had a profound impact on Henry Langley's work throughout the 1860's and 1870's. Moreover, it is likely through Hay's association with Scott that one of Langley's apprentices, Frank Darling (1850-1923), was afforded the opportunity to work with George Edmund Street (1824-81), who had worked in Scott's office at the same time as William Hay.

[2] For a list of Hay's church commissions, see Appendix B.

[3] Both Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society will be examined in detail in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

wooden joints; however, after having an accident while working on Ellishill House in Inverugie, Peterhead, which resulted in a broken leg, Hay studied to become an architect (DSA).

In 1842, Hay undertook his first architectural commission, designing St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Aberdeenshire (fig. 3.2). St James Church exhibits a clear indication that even early in his career Hay was up-to-date with British ecclesiastical architectural theory. The design and arrangement of the church is in accordance with the suggestions made for church architecture by the Cambridge Camden Society in *A Few Words to Church Builders*, a pamphlet outlining rules for Anglican church architecture that had been published only one year earlier by John Mason Neale (1818-66).

Constructed of stone, St James is executed according to medieval planning principles in the Early English variety of the Gothic Revival, the style that is cited as best-suited to small churches and chapels in *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Neale 4). Additionally, following Pugin's ideas regarding Gothic architecture, the façade of the church is marked by a central tower that is surmounted by a tall spire, which calls attention to the building in Cruden Bay.[4]

In accordance with the Early English style, the exterior of St James has single lancet windows on the façade, tower, and the liturgical north and south sides. The chancel, which was added by Hay in 1876, departs from this arrangement by including a triple lancet window, the form most often recommended by the Cambridge Camden

[4] As will be discussed in great detail in Chapter Four, according to Pugin, towers and those topped with spires in particular, were essential for Gothic Revival church architecture for their symbolic ability to mark a building as a Christian place of worship (Pugin, *The Present State* 21).

Society for chancels because of their ability to evoke the doctrine of the Holy Trinity (fig 3.3, 3.4). Hay, himself described triplet windows as holding expository value in an article he published in the Toronto-based, *Anglo-American Magazine*, in 1853, where he described them as, "symbolic" (Hay, "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada" 254).

Hay's second church commission was for St Anne's Episcopal Church, Coupar Angus, Perthshire (1847) (fig. 3.5). At St Anne's, Hay designed a small two-cell church with a nave, chancel, and south porch, which was Pugin's preferred plan for parish churches (Pugin, *The Present State* 12). Additionally, St Anne's, Coupar Angus, was likely modeled after Pugin's 1845 design for St Lawrence, Tubney, Berkshire, which was Pugin's only full Anglican church commission (fig. 3.6). At St Anne's, however, probably under the influence of the Cambridge Camden Society, Hay incorporated a triple-lancet chancel window instead of using the traceried window that Pugin had included at Tubney.

The articulation of the two-cell plan on the exterior of St Anne's demonstrates honesty in design, a central ethical doctrine for Pugin. As Michael J. Lewis explains, Pugin subjected architecture to a moral analysis in relation to the society that had produced it (84-85). Specifically, he associated the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, as well as the classicizing architecture he connected with them, as morally corrupt, preferring the cultural cohesion of the Middle Ages when the Church was at the centre of cultural life. For Pugin, since the Gothic style was developed in the Middle Ages to serve the Catholic Church, it was Christian and by implication had to embody Christian values and be morally sound. This Pugin equated with the notion of 'truth' – truth to materials and truth in design. Pugin's concept of 'truth' evolved into his

principles of Gothic Revival architecture: that all parts of a building must be functionally and/or symbolically necessary and that all ornament must consist of the enrichment of the structure. These guiding architectural principles were published by Pugin in 1841 in *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. With *True Principles*, Pugin developed his argument against classicism, which used applied decoration in entablatures and pediments, by demonstrating how buttresses and pointed windows lent themselves to truthful (structural) ornamentation (Lewis 86).

As will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Five, in 1839, Pugin's moralist Gothic Revival argument combined with the High Church liturgical reforms of the Oxford Tractarian Movement when the Cambridge Camden Society was formed. They too promoted truth in design, but discussed it in symbolic terms. Parts of a church had to be distinct to facilitate High Church liturgy and theology. For example, the chancel had to be separate from the nave because one was reserved for the Eucharist and, therefore, had to remain a sacred space (*Neale* 5). This type of expressive and honest design, they argued, only had precedence in the Gothic style.

The interior of St Anne's demonstrates the kind of truthful ornamentation and design that Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society recommended. It has a striking open-timber, scissor-truss roof, which displays the church's building materials truthfully (fig. 3.7). Additionally, the chancel at St Anne's is elevated, which enhances the division of the internal spaces and reflects the importance of the chancel as the area of the church reserved for religious services.

St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay (1842), and St Anne's Episcopal Church, Coupar Angus (1847), represent an introduction to Hay's theoretical foundations. These

early commissions would prove vital to his future career in Canada, as they became a point of reference for his later work and ultimately for the work of his pupil, Henry Langley. Moreover, these churches also demonstrate that Hay's belief in the theoretical writings of Pugin and the architectural doctrines of the Cambridge Camden Society were established early in his career, although they were undoubtedly solidified further by his work in Edinburgh, and later in London, England.

In 1844, with his new wife Janet Reid, Hay relocated to Edinburgh to apprentice with the architect, John Henderson (1804-62) (*DSA*). An ecclesiologist and tractarian, Henderson is best known for his Early English and Middle Pointed/Decorated ecclesiastical designs. Moreover, the Cambridge Camden Society credited Henderson with introducing ecclesiological architecture to Edinburgh with his 1846 design of St Columba Church (Hope 9). To gain experience in the architectural field, Hay worked as Henderson's assistant until 1846, when he travelled to London to work for Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), who, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, was one of the greatest architects of his day and well-admired by the Cambridge Camden Society. Scott contracted Hay as the clerk of works for St John the Baptist Cathedral, Newfoundland. For this project Hay travelled extensively throughout England and Scotland employing tradesmen and studying Medieval and Gothic Revival architecture ("Colonial Architecture.-Newfoundland" 276).

In 1846-47, Hay moved to Newfoundland to oversee the building of the cathedral under Newfoundland's High Church Gothic supporter, Bishop Edward Feild (1801-76) (*Newfoundland Gothic* 109-10). During his tenure in Newfoundland, Hay executed the nave of the cathedral (fig. 3.8), and a missionary church in Pouch Cove (1848) In 1848,

however, he travelled to Bermuda to execute James Cranston's design for Holy Trinity Cathedral in Hamilton, a commission he would revisit in 1885, when he completed the east end of the building.[5] In Bermuda, Hay also designed St Peter's Church in St George, where he adapted ecclesiological principles to suit Bermuda's tropical climate; however, the church, while started, has never been completed (Magrill 16).

In 1850, Hay's work in the maritime provinces of Canada commenced. He designed Anglican churches in Burin, Newfoundland (1850), St Francis Harbour, Labrador (1850), and Lamaline, Newfoundland (1855) (fig. 3.9). While none of Hay's Maritime designs survive, the church at Burin was discussed in 1850 in *The Church*, a Toronto weekly, which described the church as cruciform, suggesting it be considered a model for both beauty and convenience that reflects Hay's good taste (*The Church* 45). Additionally, St Thomas, Pouch Cove, was reported on in *The Ecclesiologist,* where it was described as a beautiful wooden church, which attempts to return to the original character of wooden buildings by introducing narrow pointed windows and a steep-pitched roof. The report further indicates that the church represents the best example of a

[5]While the architect for St Thomas Church, Pouch Cove was not named specifically, the furnishings were reported to have been designed by Hay in the 11 January 1849 edition of *The Church*, and in the February 1849 edition of *The Ecclesiologist*. It is, therefore, very likely that he was the architect for the church as well.
For information regarding Edward Feild and the building of St. John's Cathedral, see: Coffman, Peter. *Newfoundland Gothic*. Quebec: Editions MultiMondes, 2008, and Coffman, Peter. "St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 31.1 (2006): 3-22.
For information regarding William Hay's work in Bermuda, see: Magrill, Barry. ""Development" and Ecclesiology in the Outposts of the British Empire: William Hay's Gothic Solutions For Church Building in Tropical Climates (1840-1890)." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 29.1,2 (2004): 15-23.

wooden church in Newfoundland, recommending it as a model for subsequent colonial churches ("Colonial Church Architecture - St. Thomas, Pouch Cove " 216).

Hay's design for a mission church in St Francis Harbour was also described in *The Ecclesiologist*; however, this time in a letter that was likely written by Hay, himself. The letter reports that, "...the skilful and intelligent clerk of works in the new cathedral, Mr. Hay…has got hold of the right idea of a wooden fabric…" ("New Churches" 200). While describing the merits of the church at St Francis Harbour, the article emphasizes its adherence to the rules of ecclesiology as it applies to wooden construction and indicates that the author (Hay) possessed a copy of a paper published in *The Ecclesiologist*, on the topic ("New Churches" 200).[6]

While the church in St Francis Harbour breaks one of Pugin's cardinal rules for church architecture - truth in design - by concealing the nave, aisles and chancel under one continuous roof, it was a mission church, which Hay described as, "small and rude" ("New Churches" 200). Further, Hay's church at Lamaline, a sketch of which was included in a letter written by The Revd William Rozier of Newfoundland in 1855, to The Revd Ernest Hawkins of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, had a continuous roofline, high walls, an elaborate wood finish, and a tall tower (fig. 3.10). Rozier claimed the Lamaline church could, "...be seen for many miles from the cardinal points…especially sea-ward" (Rozier 2). Small and 'rude' as Hay's missionary churches may have been, they are akin to many High Victorian churches, including his own at Pickering Village, Ontario (1858) (fig. 3.11).

[6] While the letter does not name the paper that Hay is referring to, it is likely *On Wooden Churches*, by The Revd William Scott, which was printed in August 1848 after a talk he gave to the society on 7 June 1848.

In 1850, Hay returned to Scotland where he designed St John's Episcopal Church, Longside, Aberdeenshire (fig. 3.12).[7] This church follows the plan for St Anne's Episcopal Church, Coupar Angus closely, but adds a tower located at the junction of the nave and chancel. The type of tower Hay designed for Longside, known as a saddleback tower, is fairly unusual. In *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), Pugin states that every tower built should be surmounted by a spire (10); however, saddleback towers do not allow for a spire, but include a gable. Hay's use of the saddleback tower may have been influenced by an article published in 1846 in *The Ecclesiologist*, titled, "On the Peculiarities of the Ecclesiology of Scotland," which listed saddleback towers as a remarkable peculiarity characteristic of Scottish Medieval architecture (162). Further, Pugin used a saddleback tower when he designed St Marie's Church, Rugby (1845-46), which, like St John's, Longside, is a two-cell plan. The placement of the tower at Longside is unusual; however, the Cambridge Camden Society described appropriate tower positions, stating that a tower placed between the nave and chancel was equally good as one placed at the façade. Additionally, they indicate that the only position a tower should not occupy is over the altar (Neale 8). These recommendations and Pugin's belief that vertical architectural elements, like pinnacles and towers, were representative of the Resurrection, a concept he wrote about in *True Principles*, combine to justify the placement of the tower at the junction of the nave and chancel (Pugin, *True Principles* 9-11).

[7] There are indications that Hay was in touch with the Longside building committee while in Toronto, but since he also designed a house and a commercial property in Peterhead (c. 1851), it is likely that he spent some time in Scotland to execute these commissions (*DSA*).

After his short sojourn in Scotland from 1850-53, Hay returned to North America and settled in Toronto. At this time, he began publishing articles dealing with his, now developed, architectural beliefs, often expressing his desire to adapt those doctrines to the colonial setting. In 1853, Hay published, "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," in the *Anglo-American Magazine*. This article is essentially a eulogy for Pugin that demonstrates Hay's affinity towards Pugin's architectural doctrines. In the opening sentence Hay explains that,

> Christian Architecture is the name given to that peculiar style of building, commonly called Gothic…It derived its origin from the efforts of Christians of preceding ages to embody the principles and characteristics of their faith in the structures which they reared for the services of their religion (Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin" 70).

Hay follows this avowal of Gothic being synonymous with Christian, by associating classicism with paganism, suggesting that classical churches and cathedrals, "...bear the outward marks of heathenism…" (Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin" 71). Hay was clearly an admirer of Pugin, who communicates many of the same sentiments in his book, *Contrasts: or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; shewing the Present Decay of Taste* (1836).[8] In chapter one, Pugin describes classical architecture as representative of polytheism and emblematic of mysticism, but describes Pointed (Gothic) architecture

[8] The title of Pugin's text is often presented with slight variations. For example, the "Fourteenth and Fifteen Centuries" are often replaced with "Middle Ages" and "Corresponding" is sometime replaced by "Similar". The variation used in the above text is modelled after that used by Timothy Brittain-Catlin, in his introduction to the 2003 reprint of *Contrasts* and *True Principles*.

as having higher claims on our admiration because, "...in it alone we find the faith of Christianity embodied, and its practices illustrated" (Pugin, *Contrasts* 2-3).

"The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," includes biographical information regarding Pugin, some of which indicates that Hay may have known him in some respect, and summarizes *True Principles*, indicating that it is the treatise that, "set forth the consistent canons of ancient design, and furnished the means of testing architectural excellence apart from mere fancy" (Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin" 73).[9]

Hay's article goes beyond recapitulating Pugin's principles for Gothic Revival architecture and illustrates that Hay was a Gothic scholar himself. Hay describes English Medieval Gothic buildings and writes about the history of Gothic Revival architecture. While criticizing the likes of Batty Langley (1696-1751), and other Romantic Gothic Revivalists, Hay describes the work of Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), and his book, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, first published in 1817. Hay clearly admired Rickman's earnest, enthusiastic attempt to correctly define the various phases of Gothic architecture; however, distinguished between Rickman's attempts to define Gothic architecture and Pugin's ability to put the nomenclature upon a solid theoretical and architectural basis (Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin" 71).

Furthermore, while recounting Pugin's and his own admiration for Gothic architecture and the fundamentals deemed essential for the style, Hay discusses his desire

[9] Hay may have met Pugin while working in the office of George Gilbert Scott. In *Personal and Professional Recollections*, which was published posthumously, Scott recalls being a great fan of Pugin's and meeting him for the first time in 1841, only five years before Hay entered his office (Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* 88-89).

to apply Pugin's doctrines to the colonial environment. For example, when describing the desirability of a steeply-pitched roof, an element Pugin deemed essential for a Gothic church in *True Principles*, Hay indicates that a low pitch, which he equates with classical architecture, is not conducive to, what he calls, "our climate" (Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin" 72).

Elaborating on his concern for the development of Canadian architecture, Hay published "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada," in the *Anglo-American Magazine* in 1853. While incorporating Pugin's principles and an ecclesiological approach to building, this article promotes the adaptation of Gothic Revival architecture to the Canadian setting in hopes of it becoming a national style. The article begins by suggesting that the convenient arrangement of the internal space of a building ought to always be the primary concern of an architectural design. Elaborating on this, Hay suggests that a well-ordered interior generally provides architectural expression to the exterior of the building without the aid of meretricious ornament (Hay, "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada" 253). This makes clear reference to Pugin's first principle of Gothic architecture published in *True Principles,* wherein he states, "…there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety" (Pugin, *True Principles* 1).

Hay employed this principle in all of his architectural designs, as demonstrated in All Saints Church, Niagara Falls (1856), the oldest extant Hay church in Ontario (fig. 3.13). The internal spatial arrangement of All Saints is reflected in the exterior profile of the church. The nave, porch, tower, and chancel are all articulated by separate roofs, creating an asymmetrical exterior composition. This composition, while Puginian, also evokes the ecclesiological doctrines of the Cambridge Camden Society, who, throughout

A Few Words to Church Builders, expressed a desire to have each spatial element of a church distinct from the other (6-13).[10]

In "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada," Hay next evoked Pugin's principle of employing a steeply-pitched roof in church architecture. As will be explained more thoroughly in Chapter Four, Pugin describes a roof based on an equilateral triangle to be of the soundest principle of utility and, therefore, also the most beautiful. In addition, he describes flat-pitched roofs as exceedingly ugly in appearance and ill-calculated to the action of weather (Pugin, *True Principles* 11). Hay transposes this idea to a Canadian context by explaining that a high-pitched roof, while being an object of pictorial beauty, is necessary in the Canadian climate in order to throw off the snow of the winter and deflect the rays of the sun in the summer (Hay, "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada" 253). To bolster the legitimacy of the steep roof as an essential and already established tradition in Canada, Hay depicts a log hut calling it unpretentious and beautiful, while being founded on the principle of utility (Hay, "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada" 253) (fig. 3.14).

[10] Hay was not the first architect in Canada to adopt Pugin's principle of truth and the Ecclesiologists' expansion on it, Frank Wills, who will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, moved to New Brunswick around 1845 to supervise the construction of Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton. In 1846, he designed St Anne's Chapel to the exacting standards of the Ecclesiological Society (former Cambridge Camden Society). All of its primary parts – nave, chance, and porch – are truthfully displayed inside and out. Moreover, the interior has an open-timber roof, which, for Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, was an ideal way of displaying building materials truthfully. Wills also advocated truth to materials in 1850, when he published *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles, applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*. Plate 8, for example, depicts open-timber roofs, architectural elements that he admired in his appendix where he describes St Anne's Chapel as "very striking owing to its beautiful wood" (109).

Hay goes on to describe the importance of utility in design and the need to eliminate excess ornament, recommending Pugin's approach of introducing decoration only as enrichment of essential building construction (Hay, "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada" 253). As will be explained more thoroughly in forthcoming chapters, for Pugin, no features were to be introduced that were not essential to the building or its convenience, and most importantly, no materials were to be hidden or paraded as something that they were not; materials were to be used truthfully. Hay takes these premises and again applies them to Canada, suggesting that in log structures the ends of the logs allow for the legitimate placement of ornament (Hay, "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada" 253).

Returning to the example of All Saints Church, Niagara Falls, Hay followed these "rules" on the exterior carefully; ornament is used only on label stops or entry ways and, as previously noted, the church is asymmetrical with the various parts of the building standing for themselves and not concealed (figs 3.15, 3.16). Moreover, inside the wood construction is left exposed and not hidden above a ceiling (figs 3.17, 3.18).

In "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada," after Hay describes all of the architectural principles that he had pre-established as necessary for Gothic architecture in "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," he declares boldly that the, "Old English style of building is admirably adapted to the climate of Canada" (Hay, "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada" 254).

With the two articles "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," and "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada," Hay was attempting to

transpose Pugin's 'Christian' Gothic Revival to Canada, and through historical and practical justification, establish that as a national style.

These articles were followed by another in 1854, "Village Churches," which was also printed in the *Anglo-American Magazine*, and was also likely written by William Hay. The article professes that there is no class of edifice that expresses the poetry of architecture as well as English village churches (Hay, "Village Churches" 20). According to Hay, "the mere exterior outline of their buildings [are] capable of striking awe and wonder into the minds of the rude and unlettered, while…the walls, the roof, the pavement, and other parts spoke [sic] volumes to the learned in architectural symbolism" (Hay, "Village Churches" 20). Hay likely inherited this notion from, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, which indicates that no other style is better-suited to a small chapel (4), or from Pugin, who wrote that, "an old English parish church…was one of the most beautiful and appropriate buildings that the mind of man could conceive" (*True Principles* 49).[11]

"Village Churches" again restates Pugin's principles and promotes the use of English architecture as a model for Canada; however, it is accompanied by a sketch of Hay's 1854 design of (the now demolished) Christ Church, Brampton (fig. 3.19).[12] Christ Church, in this context, represents a pristine English-styled Gothic Revival specimen for

[11] Pugin expanded on this notion in 1843 in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, where he states that there is no class of religious edifice greater than the ancient parish churches of England, suggesting that they will sustain the faith of England (1).

[12] All Saints Church, Niagara Falls (1856), was modeled after Christ Church, Brampton. While most studies of Hay's work indicate that All Saints did not make it past the proposal stage, it was built on Joseph Street, but was small (3 bays) and demolished in the 1880's when the congregation moved to a new building, which was more than double the size of Hay's church.

Canada. Every architectural element of the church is described in detail and in doing so, Hay justifies Pugin's theories through their practical application in this church. Beyond this, Hay also draws upon architectural symbolism, which he undoubtedly found in the writings of the Cambridge Camden Society, who often imbued the architectural parts of a church with theological meaning.[13]

To begin, Hay describes Christ Church, Brampton, as, "unmistakably English" (Hay, "Village Church" 21). He explains that the church has no fanciful, extraneous ornament, but is rather a substantial looking edifice with low walls and a high-pitched roof, which he indicates provides a bold and fearless outline that is expressive of dignity and humility (Hay, "Village Churches" 21).

The tower at Christ Church recalls that at St John's Episcopal Church, Longside (1853) (fig. 3.20). The window arrangements are identical; however, the placement of the tower is slightly different. At Longside, the tower was located centrally over the junction of the nave and chancel. The tower at Christ Church, Brampton stands on its own foundation, rather than being appended to the roof. In *True Principles*, Pugin described the proper arrangement of English parish church towers, stating they were, "...not formed of detached and misapplied portions of architectural detail stuck over one another to make up a height, but solid buttresses and walls rising from a massive base (Pugin, *True Principles* 49). In "Village Churches," Hay elaborated on this describing these kinds of towers as indicative of strength (21).

Throughout the rest of the article, truth, a principle Hay acquired from Pugin, is of primary concern. Hay advocates the use of wood, an abundant material in the colony,

[13] For example, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, indicates that the division of the church body into nave and aisles is symbolic of the Holy Trinity (139).

suggesting that in Canada, it should be allowed to enter ecclesiastical designs more often than was generally practised.

The acceptance of wood as a legitimate material for ecclesiastical designs equal to that of stone was expressed in 1843, when James Barr published *Anglican Church Architecture with some Remarks upon Ecclesiastical Furniture*, which elaborated on many of the architectural concerns of the Cambridge Camden Society and was inscribed to The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, to be used as a guide for those who build and restore churches (vii-viii). When discussing nave ceilings, Barr indicates that, "...an open wooden roof…has always an excellent effect…is less costly, and [is] more easily executed" (39). Additionally, in 1844, *The Ecclesiologist*, discussed wood as a viable option for church ceilings and reported that, "no one is now afraid of having a bold external elevation, and, internally, every one of the timbers, be they never so plain, exposed in all their honest nakedness…" ("Church Roofing" 102). The same article in *The Ecclesiologist*, provided drawings and various examples of open timber roofs in England, and while Christ Church (1854) is demolished, Fig. 2, is similar to Hay's design for All Saints, Niagara Falls (1856), which was modeled after Christ Church, Brampton (figs 3.21, 3.22).

Another possible model for the open timber roof in All Saints, Niagara Falls, is St Michael's, Longstanton. As will be discussed further in Chapter Five, St Michael's, Longstanton, is a thirteenth-century rural church in Cambridgeshire, England, that the Cambridge Camden Society suggested as a model for colonial churches. Additionally, St Michael's, Longstanton was featured in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's *Parish*

Churches (1848), which may have provided Hay with inspiration in Niagara Falls (fig. 3.23).

In "Village Churches," while Hay provides the example of roof structures as a prime area for the employment of timber design, he emphasizes that wood should not be used for illegitimate purposes, such as the mullions and tracery of an otherwise stone or brick church (Hay, "Village Churches" 22). Continuing this discussion of honesty in design, Hay also describes the use of buttresses at length, and while he admits that visually buttresses add to the Gothic feel of a building, they should not be used if the building structure does not require them (21). For Hay, truth cannot be replaced by visual effect. Recalling Coupar Angus (fig. 3.5), there were no buttresses on the exterior of the church, which left a truthful, albeit austere exterior design. In Christ Church, Brampton, there was one large buttress on the south side of the exterior. While the ceiling of the church was wood and therefore did not necessitate the use of a buttress, the buttress supported the masonry chancel arch, whose outward thrust was countered by the tower on the opposing side of the nave.

As a final nod to the 'truth' he imbued in his design in Brampton, Hay describes the grouping of the primary architectural elements of Christ Church: the nave, chancel, and tower. He admits they were calculated to produce a picturesque effect, but is careful to specify that this was not done at the expense of truth. Hay concludes this article with a final proclamation of his deep-seated admiration of Pugin's principle of truthfulness in church architecture by declaring, "Nothing is more offensive to good taste than a want of truthfulness in ecclesiastical design" ("Village Churches" 22).

While Hay did not publish detailed accounts of his other churches, they all follow Pugin's principles of Gothic architecture strictly and all those he created for the Anglican Church adhered to ecclesiological principles as well. Consequently, the churches Hay designed in Ontario can be dissected and examined in terms of their physical models and theoretical underpinnings.

Returning to Christ Church, Brampton, Hay was likely inspired by Pugin's design for St Lawrence Church, Tubney (1845) (fig. 3.6). The arrangements of the two churches are similar and their east chancel windows are nearly the same; Hay's window is a plate-tracery version of Pugin's flowing bar-tracery design. Moreover, the crosses located at the apex of the roof gables to demarcate the chancel as a sacred area are also the same. In terms of ecclesiology, this was indispensible because, for the Ecclesiologists, a church without a chancel was only considered, at best, a chapel, and one without a nave could be considered little more than a meetinghouse (Neale 5). Furthermore, as explained in Chapter Five, for the Ecclesiologists, the distinction between the nave and the chancel was extremely important and it was absolutely essential on the interior (Neale 3-4).

Besides concerning themselves with the arrangements of chancels, the Ecclesiologists also considered the size of the chancel to be of great importance. As outlined in *A Few Words to Church Builders*, the chancel should be between one-third and half the length of the nave (6). In terms of size, Hay's ratio of nave to chancel in both Brampton and Niagara Falls fits with this suggestion.

While it is clear that Hay reproduced his design for Christ Church, Brampton, when designing All Saints, Niagara Falls, there is one stark difference: the chancel window (fig. 3.24). In Niagara Falls, in keeping with the ecclesiological principle of

metaphorically evoking the Holy Trinity, Hay included a triple lancet east window, making the overall church plan a near mirror image of his design for St Anne's, Coupar Angus (Perthshire) (1847) (fig. 3.5).

Eastern triple lancets can be found on nearly all of Hay's Anglican churches and, while they were recommended by the Ecclesiologists, are also traceable to the thirteenth-century medieval churches of St Michael's, Longstanton, and St John the Baptist, Strixton (Northamptonshire), which both have eastern triple lancet windows.[14] Moreover, the triple lancet motif was also favoured by Pugin, who used a triple lancet arrangement in the chancel of Our Lady and St Wilfred, Warwick Bridge, Cumberland (1841), and at St Barnabas, Nottingham (1841-44) (figs 3.25, 3.26).

All Saints, Niagara Falls was not the first Ontario church where Hay used triple lancets in the chancel. The first was St Andrew's Anglican Church, Wellington, which Hay designed one year earlier in 1855 (fig. 3.27). While Hay's church still survives, it is concealed within later 1870 fabric, something that can be discerned externally where the bricks do not course properly at the junction of the transepts (figs 3.28, 3.29). Inside the church, the original entrance still exists in approximately the same position; however, it now leads to a modern addition, and the former chancel is now used for a memorial chapel (figs 3.30, 3.31). It is difficult to imagine exactly what this church might have looked like before the 1870 addition of a new nave, especially when combined with subsequent additions and alterations; however, it was likely similar to St James Anglican Church, Orillia, which Hay designed in 1857, and St George Anglican Church, Pickering

[14] As will be discussed further in Chapter Five, St John the Baptist, Strixton, was suggested as a model of thirteenth-century English architecture by James Barr in 1846.

Village, designed one year later in 1858. Of these two examples, only the latter remains (figs 3.32, 3.33).

The churches in Orillia and Pickering Village are both small, consisting of a north porch, basic hall body, and a chancel. In Pickering this chancel terminates with a graduated triple lancet window. This plan is consistent with what is indicated by the remains of St Andrew's in Wellington. Additionally, at St George Anglican, like St Andrew's, Wellington, there is not a change in roof height between the nave and the chancel (fig. 3.34). Generally, in terms of honesty in design, the division of interior spaces should be evident on the exterior of the building. Pugin, other than at St Alphonsus, Barntown, Co. Wexford (1844-51), tended to do this by employing varying roof elevations; Hay normally did the same, as in Christ Church, Brampton (1854), and All Saints, Niagara Falls (1856) (figs 3.35, 3.36, 3.37, 3.19, 3.24). Using a single roof to cover both areas was not entirely new for Hay; he tended to use a single roof over the nave and chancel in some of his small designs and in his wooden churches. For example, the mission church at St Francis Harbour (fig. 3.9), and St John the Evangelist (1857-58), more popularly known as the Garrison Church located on Victoria Square in Toronto, used a single roof to cover both the nave and the chancel (fig. 3.38). Additionally, George Gilbert Scott had created a similar design in 1841 at St Paul's Church, Chudleigh Knighton, Devon, which, although includes transepts, is an Early English church with a continuous roofline and chancel with graduated triple lancet windows (fig. 3.39).

While for Pugin the exterior distinction of nave and chancel was the norm for his parish-church designs, the Ecclesiologists were more lenient in the matter, publishing, "this division, essential in the interior, is not always to be traced in the exterior" (Neale

6). While they did admit that it was far better that the separation be marked in both, they suggested that a difference in breadth is all that is necessary (Neale 6).

The tower that was so prominent in Brampton and Niagara Falls, Hay eliminated at St George's and St Andrew's, replacing it with a bellcote. In the case of St George's, the bellcote also acts to delineate the separation of nave and chancel on the exterior of the church, eliminating the need to trace the change with differing roof levels or wall breadths.

While the individual elements of St George's, Pickering Village, and St Andrew's, Wellington, are extremely telling in terms of Hay's theoretical inspirations, the building material he employed - red brick - is worth discussing. Red brick was initially outlawed by the Ecclesiologists, who said it, "ought on no account be used," describing it as a worse than useless miserable material (Neale 9). In England and North America there had been much published about the use of stone and wood as building materials, some written by William Hay himself; however, brick was generally not well received by those that claimed to be authorities on church architecture. Despite that, Pugin used red brick on several occasions. For example, at St Wilfrid's, Hulme (1839), which was illustrated in Plate VII of *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, brick was also advocated by George Edmund Street (1824-81) and William Butterfield (1814-1900), throughout the 1850's. In 1850, George Edmund Street, a faithful member of the Ecclesiological Society, declared in a letter to the editor of *The Ecclesiologist*, that on account of its smooth and even finish, he preferred brick over stone when designing town churches ("On the Proper

Characteristics of a Town Church" 229). Additionally, in 1855, he published *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of Tours in the North of Italy*, which gave an antiquarian legitimacy to the use of the material.[15]

The use of red brick and the unusually high walls of St George, Pickering Village, indicate that Hay was up-to-date with English architectural trends. While St John the Baptist, Strixton provides a medieval example, having high walls is considered a particularly High Victorian notion, rather than an archeological or medieval one. For example, George Edmund Street designed St Mary's, Par, Cornwall, in 1846-47, which also has high walls, and, like Hay's church, is paired with a plain exterior.[16]

Moving to the interior of St George's, the walls are plastered and the ceiling is wood, which has been left truthfully exposed (fig. 3.40). As was required by the Ecclesiologists, the chancel is elevated from the nave and the altar rises again. Additionally, Hay added a rood screen to further separate the chancel from the nave. While roodscreens were often thought of as a 'Romish' invention, they were described by the Ecclesiologists as the, "most beautiful and Catholick appendage to a church" (Neale 29). Furthermore, the article "The Arrangement of Chancels," printed in *The Ecclesiologist*, in 1844, indicates that the Book of Common Prayer suggests that chancels, "...shall remain as they have done in times past" (162). The Ecclesiologists

[15] In Ontario, red brick was also used by Frank Wills in St Paul's Church, Glanford (1851-58). For more information regarding Wills' church see: Malcolm Thurlby's "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 32.1 (2007): 49-60.

[16] Par is a particularly appropriate comparison for Hay because Street worked out of George Gilbert Scott's office from 1844-48, and Hay went to work with Scott in 1846.

clarify that this includes the retention of screens to mark the change from nave to chancel (162).

Between 1860 and 1862, Hay designed three churches: St Luke's Anglican Church, Vienna (1860-62), St Peter's Anglican Church, Newboyne (1861), and Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (1861) (figs 3.41, 3.42, 3.43) For these churches Hay used Christ Church, Brampton (1854), and ultimately St Anne's, Coupar Angus (1847), as a point of inspiration.

In 1860, Hay drew the plans for St Luke's, Vienna, a yellow-brick Early English Gothic Revival church.[17] As at Brampton, he placed a tower on the north side of the building where the chancel and nave meet and included a south entrance porch (fig. 3.44). The roof in Vienna is steeply pitched, following the suggestions of Pugin's Gothic Revival principles, and the interior nave-chancel separation is marked externally by a change in roof elevation (fig. 3.45).

The interior of St Luke's has been renovated extensively, but the general arrangement is the same as it was when Hay designed it (fig. 3.46). The seating plan, which consists of three blocks of seats, for example, is original and indicates that the seats were initially rented, possibly to help pay for the construction of the church. The ceiling originally would have had exposed timbers, likely similar to those in All Saints, Niagara Falls, and, judging by the use of a buttress on the south exterior of the nave, the chancel would have been marked by a masonry chancel arch.

St Peter's, Newboyne (1861), is slightly different in plan than Vienna. It incorporates Vienna's west windows, which consist of three equal lancets surmounted by

[17] While the brick has been concealed under layers of white paint, the portions that show through indicate the brick is yellow.

a roundel, and it uses the same window configuration on the tower. In Newboyne, the tower placement changes, dormer windows are added, and the porch is moved to the south side of the church (fig. 3.47). This change in arrangement is likely to accommodate the church's position on a descending hill; the dormers would allow light into an otherwise geographically low, dark church, whilst the tower, placed at the northwest corner, makes the church visible in the surrounding area.

In 1861, Hay designed Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (fig. 3.48). In East Zorrah, like Vienna, Hay designed a brick church, but used red brick rather than yellow, and eliminated the tower. The window arrangement in East Zorrah represents a departure from the Vienna design. The north and south sides of the nave in East Zorrah are pierced by paired lancets, a motif first used by Hay at St Basil's Catholic Church in Toronto in 1855, and also employed at (the now demolished) St Paul's Anglican Church, Southampton, also of 1861. St Paul's Church, Southampton, in particular, had the same general plan as East Zorrah, but was constructed entirely of wood with a board and batten exterior (figs 3.49, 3.50).

The west window grouping in East Zorrah, includes a set of lancets surmounted by a rose window executed in wood (fig. 3.51). Ultimately the design for these windows goes back to the mission church Hay designed for St Francis Harbour, Labrador in 1850, where the chancel had a wooden rose with lancets below (fig. 3.9). The use of wooden tracery in an otherwise brick church breaches Hay's own architectural premises regarding truth in building materials. As mentioned, he was explicit that wood should not be used for tracery in stone or brick structures; however, the interior of this church reveals that

Trinity Anglican is a wooden church that has been clad in a brick exterior. The use of wooden tracery is, therefore, essentially truthful (fig. 3.52).

The interior of East Zorrah represents the epitome of Pugin's principle of truthfulness to materials with an open timber roof, exposed beams, and wooden walls. The arrangement of the small interior remains original, making it apparent that Hay was meticulous in his attention to the Ecclesiologists' suggestions for church plans by including a raised chancel, large chancel arch, and a font placed at the entrance to the church where the Ecclesiologists suggested it belonged, calling it, "the ancient usual place" (Neale 15).

While Hay designed more churches for small, rural towns than he did for developing cities, his urban churches demonstrate his desire to be progressive. In "Village Churches," Hay claimed to be creating something original in Ontario; however, he was actually being quite conservative in his designs in order to institute Pugin's architectural ideologies and establish the architectural-based liturgical reforms of ecclesiology in the province. It is, however, in his urban ecclesiastical designs that Hay was able to experiment with architectural theories, premises, and reforms, combining them with modern building materials and strategic architectural profiles in order to create churches that would react to the growing Ontario environment, and thus create architecture that was appropriate for this province.

The first urban church Hay designed was also his only Catholic commission, St Basil's Church, Toronto (1855), which was designed as part of St Michael's College (figs 3.53, 3.54). The church has undergone many renovations in various stages; therefore, the building that exists today is drastically different from the one Hay originally designed in

1852.[18] St Basil's is a yellow brick, Early English church with a southwest façade tower. These elements, with the exception of the façade and tower, are original.[19] The church is set back from the main surrounding streets, an oddity in terms of Victorian urban church design, which generally saw churches placed close to busy streets to ensure their visibility against the urban backdrop. At St Basil's, a park was originally intended to surround the church and college, which explains its position on the property (Robertson 67). Despite the position of the church, the tower, which was designed to be much larger than the one that was actually built, is, as Hay intended, located at the southwest corner of the façade, making it the primary entrance to the church from the college grounds, while also leaving it visible to the surrounding main streets.

Unlike most of Hay's churches, the exterior elements of St Basil's were not inspired by his earlier designs. The church was physically connected to the college, which contained apartments for priests, dormitories for students, an exhibition hall, class and recreation rooms, and study halls (Robertson 76). The overall plan for the church and surrounding college was likely inspired by Pugin, who designed numerous college groupings, including those at Ratcliffe (1843-44), and Nottingham (1845), both of which Hay admired in "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture" (73).

While there is not a model listed or identified for St Basil's, the plan of its interior, which has been remodeled entirely, was not unlike the interior of Pugin's St Mary's, Liverpool, originally built in 1842, but moved and rebuilt in 1885, and finally

[18] Hay originally design St Basil's in 1852, but it was not built until 1855.
[19] New entrances, vestibules, a new narthex, gallery and a new tower and façade were added in 1886-87 by Albert Asa Post, one of Henry Langley's protégés. It should, however, be noted that even though the current tower was designed and executed by Post, the tower seems to follow the one that Hay had originally designed closely and it is in the same position.

demolished in 1941 (Hill 189-90) (fig. 3.55). Liverpool was described by Pugin's biographer, Rosemary Hill, as one of his most interesting urban designs because it introduced themes that would recur in later High Victorian debates on urban design by placing the west front along the street line (Hill 190).

The interior of St Basil's had a long, tall nave with lower aisles and a high clerestory. The most remarkable features of the interior were its timber arcades and open timber roof, which John Ross Robertson illustrated in *Sketches in City Churches* (1886), reporting they conveyed the impression of a cathedral (Robertson 76) (fig. 3.56).

The importance of churches appearing to have a religious character was described by Pugin thirty-six years earlier in a letter he wrote in *The Builder*. Here, Pugin states in no uncertain terms that an edifice must be constructed to symbolize the mysteries of religion, not only in its arrangements and details, but through its external form and internal disposition ("How Shall we Build our Churches" 134). While again there is no evidence of a model for Hay at St Basil's, the open timer roof is similar to the one Pugin designed for the rebuilding of the chapel at Balliol College, Oxford, which, along with other proposed plans, Pugin presented to the college in 1843 (fig. 3.57). Additionally, the thirteenth-century church of St Oswald's, Nether Peover, Cheshire, represents a medieval example of an extant wooden interior. Although it was not illustrated, Nether Peover was discussed in the August 1848 issue of *The Ecclesiologist*, and in the October 1848 issue of *The New York Ecclesiologist*, where it was described as a wooden church of, "venerable antiquity" ("Cheap Churches"). While Hay would never again design an open timber roof as elaborate as that of St Basil's, many of the architectural elements of the

church, as well as the theoretical issues surrounding architecture and urbanism would inspire him in his later urban projects.

In 1856, Hay designed Grace Anglican church in Brantford (fig. 3.58).[20] The Grace Anglican that exists today is the original church, but the tower has been added, the original entrance has been relocated to the south side of the nave creating a porch, and various additions have been made to the north side of the building. Originally, Grace Anglican consisted of a nave with two aisles, a clerestory, a façade porch as the primary entrance, and a chancel that was distinguished from the nave by separate roof profiles (fig. 3.59).

The inclusion of aisles at Grace Anglican was new in terms of Hay's Anglican churches, but was likely inspired by his commission for St Basil's Roman Catholic Church, Toronto (1855-56), which was his only other large urban design in Ontario at the time Grace Anglican was commissioned. For the Ecclesiologists aisles were not essential for a church, but they were preferable if funds would allow for them. The Ecclesiologists indicate specifically that the inclusion of aisles creates a three-part composition on the interior and three represents the Holy Trinity; therefore, aisles were second in architectural importance to the nave and chancel (Neale 7).

While the original profile of Grace Anglican Church does not appear to be particularly rare or avant-garde, what Hay did in Brantford was adapt the exterior of the church to deal with the situation of the property the church is on, essentially creating an early example of urbanistic architectural planning, which takes into account a building's location within a city or town to design something that will stand apart and remain visible

[20] The supervising architect was John Turner (1807-87) of Brantford.

in its expanding urban surroundings.[21]

The façade of Grace Anglican incorporated a central porch, which is an element Hay had only integrated into one other Canadian design prior to this, at Gould Street United Presbyterian Church in Toronto (1855) (fig. 3.60). In Brantford, the porch faced out towards an intersection and looked down what is now called Church Street. The east end of Grace Anglican, however, faces another prominent intersection in Brantford, so Hay placed, what was likely originally a secondary entrance to the church or the vestry, in a small transept-type arm or porch, which he topped with a pseudo-vault. Hay probably did this to draw attention to the church from every possible direction that had a clear view to the building. As a result, Hay created a picturesque vista up Church Street, keeping the rural or picturesque quality of the church, while also considering the dilemma of urban development in the opposite direction. This kind of church planning became a staple for the Langley firm.

For the interior of Grace Anglican, Hay relied on his 1855 plan for St Basil's (figs 3.55, 3.61). The walls are plastered and the roofs over the nave and the aisles are open timber. The interior of Grace Anglican departs from St Basil's in its incorporation of cast-iron for the main supports in the nave.[22] Cast iron was a respectable material option for nonconformists because of their need to both see and hear the preacher. In point of fact, by the 1870's it would become extremely popular in those regards due to James

[21] William Westfall and Malcolm Thurlby examine urbanistic planning in their article "Church Architecture and Urban Space: the Development Ecclesiastical Forms in Nineteenth-Century Ontario". Urbanistic planning will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five and Chapter Six in relation to Langley's Protestant churches.
[22] Cast-iron supports had also been used by Robert Wetherell in Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton (1835).

Cubitt's publication of *Church Designs for Congregations*, which talked extensively about the usefulness of iron; however, for Catholics and more importantly in this case, Anglo-Catholics, cast iron is entirely un–Puginian because it is a material inherently intended to imitate another. Iron was, however, permissible for the Ecclesiologists. In 1856, the Ecclesiological Committee published the second series of the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, dedicating a section to the use of iron and providing drawings for a church constructed entirely of the material. According to the committee, their intention was to discuss how iron could be employed in an ecclesiastical building and how a church building could be constructed of iron without abandoning traditional architectural forms or violating ecclesiological principles (*Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* plate LXVII). With this publication, the Ecclesiologists gave authority and legitimacy to the use of iron in Anglican church design.

In 1857, Hay designed St George Anglican Church in Newcastle, Ontario (fig. 3.62). This church, like Grace Anglican, exhibits Hay's more progressive manner of designing. Here Hay again used an urbanistic approach to church design by placing the church tower in a northwest position where it would most be seen from the surrounding streets and in turn could draw people to the church.

The Newcastle church has a show side created through the inclusion of a clerestory on the north side of the nave, which leaves an asymmetrical interior space. This kind of arrangement was discussed by the Ecclesiologists in *A Few Words to Church Builders*, which indicates, "there is not the slightest objection…against building one Aisle…It is not of consequence that the opposite sides of a church should correspond

with each other" (Neale 7).[23] While the arrangement was acceptable for the Ecclesiologists, it is likely that Hay's intent was to use the single aisle to bolster the urbanistic effect of his church composition. The aisle is located on the north side of the nave, which is the side that faces the primary road into Newcastle. To those entering the town the church appears larger than it actually is (figs 3.63, 3.64, 3.65).

The manner in which Hay has forced as many architectural elements as possible onto a small church lot in Newcastle is likely under the influence of High Victorianism. With the design of All Saints, Margaret Street, London (1850-59), William Butterfield spurred the High Victorian movement of architecture by contending with how to create large buildings that could show prominently on small lots against urban surroundings (fig. 3.66). This again indicates that William Hay, although living in Canada, remained up-to-date with architectural trends in England.

Although Hay was primarily known in Ontario for his Anglican design abilities, he did on occasion take commissions from Presbyterian congregations, which is likely a reflection of his Scottish upbringing. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (1857-58), is Hay's only surviving Canadian nonconformist church (fig. 3.67). The exterior of St Andrew's represents an amalgamation of Hay's previous church plans. The position of the tower and the overall massing of the church mirror those of St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland (1842) (fig. 3.2). The tower, framed by buttresses and terminating in a large spire with four pinnacles at the base, directly corresponds to its Scottish model. The transposing of an Anglican model to a nonconformist church is unexpected; however, Hay was perhaps drawing on the

[23] Show sides will be examined further in Chapter Five.

connection between Presbyterianism and Scotland, thus lending a sense of heritage to the church building.

The windows at St Andrew's indicate a departure from its Scottish exemplar. Those found on the tower mimic the windows Hay had employed on the tower for Christ Church, Brampton (1854) (dem.), and All Saints, Niagara Falls (1856), while the nave windows correspond to those of St Basil's Roman Catholic Church, Toronto (figs 3.13, 3.19. 3.53).

The interior of St Andrew's has been modified several times; however, a comparison between what remains and drawings of Gould Street Presbyterian, Toronto (1855) are instructive (figs 3.68, 3.69, 3.70, 3.71). The entry to St Andrew's is still approximately correct; one would enter the church and choose to go up to the sanctuary, or alternatively down to the basement. The basement held rooms for Sunday School instruction and offices for the minister.

The sanctuary as it is today is the result of several stages of development. Most importantly, the transepts were added in 1878, which changed the interior profile greatly. Originally, the church would have been closer in arrangement to that of Gould Street Presbyterian, with a basic hall body. Looking to Gould Street Presbyterian, a small, shallow gallery was incorporated into the sanctuary design. It is, however, very unlikely that one was executed originally in St Andrew's. Records at the church indicate that in 1867, due to growing membership, the congregation added a gallery to the church to increase its seating capacity.

The east end of St Andrew's was likely very similar to Gould Street. It would have had a wooden pulpit platform from which the minister would speak and to the side

of the platform there would have been a door leading to a shallow chancel-like projection visible from the exterior. This projection would have housed stairs leading to the basement offices and, on occasion, allowing the minister access to the Sunday School.

The seating in St Andrew's Church would have been arranged in three rows of box pews. The use of box pews are indicated by the church records, which record pew rental rates and indicate a wish for a change in 1878 to, "pews without doors" (Reid 34). The arrangement of having three rows of seating in a church was exceedingly unusual for Hay, as in Anglican and Catholic churches the central nave aisle was considered traditional and essential.

Overall, William Hay's churches, through their strict adherence to ecclesiological and Puginian doctrines, clearly illustrate his British education and Anglican upbringing. They also, however, indicate that while his first concern was remaining true to his design principles, he was also concerned with developing architectural trends and experimenting with how those trends could be incorporated into an architecture that was appropriate for Canada.

Beyond being an architect, Hay was a prominent member of Toronto society, belonging to many professional and fraternal organizations. He was a high-ranking Freemason, a committee member and vice-president of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, and a council member of the Canadian Institute, a provincial learned society for civil engineers, land surveyors and architects (Ure 187).[24] Hay's propensity for publishing and his want to be socially active in societies indicates that he wanted to promote his

[24] These societies, and Hay's membership in them, were described in G.P. Ure's *Toronto Handbook* (1858), which may have partially been penned by Hay.

opinions, ideas, and love of buildings with others. Ultimately, Hay would bequeath his knowledge about architecture, theory, and professionalism to his student, Henry Langley.

Chapter Four: The Catholic Church Commissions

A Catholic Community in Ontario

In his social history of the Gothic Revival style in *Building Canada: an Architectural History of Canadian Life*, Alan Gowans indicates that there was a Roman Catholic version of the style in Quebec and Anglican and Protestant versions in English Canada (89). Gowans' analysis underscores the traditional discourses regarding the Catholic Church in Canada, which have primarily focused on French Catholics; however, as Terence Fay contends, numerous Catholic groups lived throughout the North American continent from the time of exploration (33). In fact, the French were only the beginning of an influx of Catholic migrants to Canada, and, in the nineteenth century in the area that would become Ontario, the Catholic community was dominated by groups from Ireland, Scotland, and Germany (Fay 50).

In 1820, The Revd Alexander Macdonnell (1762-1840), became bishop of English-speaking Upper Canada in the Diocese of Quebec.[1] At that time there were fewer than 20,000 Roman Catholics in the colony; however, within twenty years that number more than doubled (Moir, *Church and Society* 15). Although he was Scottish, Macdonnell played a key role in forging an Irish Catholic identity in Kingston, Bytown (later Ottawa), Peterborough, Perth, Toronto, and London.[2] This community composed approximately 16% of Upper Canada's population.[3] Between 1846 and 1850, as a result

[1] From 1674-1826, the Diocese of Quebec included all of North America, except the Spanish territories.
[2] Ottawa was known as Bytown from 1826-55.
[3] In 1826, when Upper Canada split from the Diocese of Quebec, Macdonnell was consecrated Bishop of Kingston.

of the Great Famine, an additional 230, 000 Irish Catholic immigrants settled throughout Canada (Fay 51).

In Toronto, the first Catholic bishop, Michael Power (1804-47), introduced an enthusiasm for Roman Catholic tradition to the predominantly Irish congregation (Fay 51).[4] Power's diocesan city (Toronto) was composed of approximately 50,000 Catholic adherents, 19 priests, and one church - St Paul's, which acted as his cathedral. During his tenure the Catholic community in Toronto grew, more priests were added, more religious communities were formed, and a new cathedral - St Michael's (1845-48) - was built (Moir, *Church and Society* 15).[5]

This was further enhanced by Power's successor, Bishop Armand de Charbonnel (1802-91), who made frequent appeals for the creation of a separate school system in Canada West, which resulted in the establishment of St Michael's College in Toronto in 1852, and the recruitment of various monastic groups, including the Basilian Fathers and the Sisters of St Joseph, to teach in Catholic schools (Fay 51-52).

In addition to the Irish, Scottish Catholics were amongst the first to arrive in Upper Canada in substantial numbers at the turn of the nineteenth century; however, between 1815 and 1840 their numbers were bolstered by a second wave of immigration from Scotland. Under the leadership of Bishop Alexander Macdonnell, this Scottish community settled primarily around Kingston where they built numerous churches and fostered a mass that placed emphasis on sacramental theology (Fay 52).

---

[4] After the death of Alexander Macdonnell in 1840, his diocese was divided to create the new diocese of Toronto. Michael Power was consecrated bishop on 8 May 1842 and remained bishop until his death in 1847.

[5] In Toronto, the Catholic population increased by approximately 10% per year (Moir, *Church and Society* 16).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Upper Canada also saw an influx of Catholics from Germany. They first moved to Waterloo County in the 1840's, then to Maryhill. In 1852, the Maryhill mission was moved to Guelph by the Jesuit priest, Father John Holzer (d. 1888); however, from Guelph the Jesuits visited fifty-six missions in the Bruce Peninsula (Fay 53).

Overall, Upper Canada had a thriving Catholic community and as they spread and grew their concern became the building of permanent churches to facilitate their liturgy. Although there were clearly many Catholic communities being established in Upper Canada, Langley, a prolific church architect for all Christian denominations, only received ten commissions from the Catholic Church, and of those only six remain.[6]

A.W.N. Pugin's Catholic Gothic Revival

All of Langley's commissions for the Catholic Church were executed in the Gothic Revival style, the style preferred by himself and his mentor, William Hay. The type of Gothic Revival Langley used for Catholic churches was, however, far removed from the kind he used for Anglican and nonconformist commissions. Denominational stylistic distinctions were necessary because early in the life of the Diocese of Toronto, long before Confederation, there existed a rivalry between Protestants and Catholics.[7] This rivalry was described in a letter written by Michael Power to the President of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon, France, in 1842, in which he wrote:

---

[6] This number reflects Langley's nine extant Catholic church commissions, as well as his commission to add a sacristy (1864), complete the tower and spire (1865), and add pinnacles (1865) to St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, which had been designed by William Thomas (1799-1860) in 1845-48.

[7] For more information regarding the denominational rivalry that existed in Toronto, see John S. Moir's "Toronto's Protestants and Their Perceptions of Their Roman Catholic Neighbours."

> Here we find ourselves facing Anglicanism in all its strength, in all its vigour: besides the Protestant Cathedral the Anglicans have three more churches; university and collegiate education is in their hands almost exclusively. Its adherents are numerous and rich...It is here that a host of English, Scottish, Irish Protestants come...The religious movement in England far from softening the fanaticism of the sectarians, only increases it in the colonies...the refrain of all their addresses is Papalism... (Power).

By referencing architectural and theoretical sources that were associated distinctively with Catholicism, Langley's Catholic churches demonstrate how he was able to sustain a productive practice by relying on a set of reference materials and principal drawings that he could adapt for various Catholic commissions by incorporating the needs and wants of the Catholic Church. For Catholics, Langley's use of the Gothic Revival style was legitimized largely through the writings of Pugin, who, as discussed in Chapter Three, was William Hay's favourite Gothic Revival apologist.

As was introduced briefly in Chapter Three, as an architect and author, Pugin used the romantic notions surrounding the medieval period to promote the revival of Gothic architecture in the nineteenth century. Since Gothic architecture was created in the medieval period, it was, for Pugin, a perfect representation of that orderly and moral time in England, and therefore was the only appropriate style in which to build churches. Pugin expressed this in the preface to the second edition of, *Contrasts*, wherein he wrote that, "...revivals of ancient architecture, although erected in, are not buildings of, the nineteenth century, - their merit must be referred back to the period from whence they were copied..." (v).

While a great champion of the Gothic Revival style in general, Pugin was also a Catholic convert, and, according to Phoebe Stanton, after his conversion in June 1835, he thought of himself as a Catholic first and whatever else second (10). Pugin's influence on Catholic architecture of the second half of the nineteenth century cannot be overestimated. He was Catholic, his writings, although admired by all denominations, were Catholic, and his reforms were intended to impact the English Catholic Church above any other.

Pugin was devoted to Gothic as a cultural expression of an older, nobler time in England before the Reformation when the Gothic style and the Catholic Church were dominant socially in his home-country of England. As Allan Doig has claimed, for Pugin the Catholic Revival and the Gothic Revival were one and the same (231). While reviving Catholicism through Gothic architecture underpinned all of his writing, he expressed it most overtly in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, which, although printed in book form in 1843, was originally published in two articles between 1841-42, in *The Dublin Review*, the main Catholic intellectual journal in Britain in the nineteenth century.[8] In his introduction, Pugin wrote that medieval Gothic churches and cathedrals, "...were, in fact, the crowning result of Catholic piety and zeal, when it covered the face of the land, when all hearts and hands were united in the great work of rearing piles to God" (5). To that he adds,

[8] *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, originally appeared under the title "On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England," in *The Dublin Review*, in May 1841. The second installment was published in February 1842 and specifically addresses the pamphlet *A Few Words to Church Builders*, which had been published by the Anglican Cambridge Camden Society in 1841, providing Anglican church architects with suggestions for how to build a church appropriate for High Church liturgy.

> If the English Catholic body avail themselves of this feeling of attachment to the old parish church which exists among a great body of the people, wonderful good may be produced; but if they neglect the means they are bound to employ to turn this feeling to the restoration of the old faith, then it will be found extremely inimical to the revival of religion (6).

Although not as popular as Pugin's other publications *Contrasts*, or *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture* (1841), *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, was an important publication. As Phoebe Stanton explains in her monograph on Pugin, in it he set forth his account of the history of parish church building in England, the traditions associated with it, and a proposal for the designing and equipping of Gothic Revival Catholic churches (94).

While Pugin's influence can be seen globally in Gothic Revival churches from every denomination, according to Alan Gowans, it was in North America that Pugin's ideas had the most success within the Catholic Church (Gowans, *Styles and Types of North American Architecture* 155).

Cardinal Charles Borromeo and his Instructiones

Although Pugin is the most celebrated character to have suggested that architecture could bring about Catholic church reform, he was not the first. As part of his Counter Reformation efforts in the sixteenth century, Cardinal Charles Borromeo (1538-84), suggested that the creation of a strict Roman Catholic architectural canon was necessary in order to facilitate and reinforce the liturgical reforms of the Council of Trent

(1545-63).[9] This resulted in the *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae*, a two-volume, thirty-three-chapter treatise of norms regarding church building.[10] More commonly known as *The Instructiones*, this document was drafted in 1577, fourteen years after the Council of Trent as a summation of the Catholic Church's traditions pertaining to the design of churches (Voelker 1-13; Gallegos 14). While Langley was undoubtedly influenced by the major publications regarding church building in the nineteenth century, including Pugin's, *Contrasts* (1836), *The True Principles of Christian Architecture* (1841), and *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* (1843), it is likely that for his Catholic work he also looked to this widely available source, which was released and republished with very few revisions at least nineteen times between 1577 and 1952 (Gallegos 14).[11] In all likelihood, especially important for Langley, was George J. Wigley's 1857 translation entitled *Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building*, which was accompanied by a commentary and illustrated with Gothic specimens drawn by the architect Samuel Joseph Nicholl (1826-1905). Wigley intended his translation of *The Instructiones*, to be a guide for nineteenth-century architects and scholars of church architecture, writing in his preface:

---

[9] As Nigel Yates explains in *Liturgical Space*, by the council's final session in 1562-63, there was a distinctive Counter Reformation that reaffirmed traditional Church doctrine. Additionally, between 1566 and 1570, Pope Pius V (1504-72), authorized the publication of a new catechism (1566), breviary (1568), and missal (1570), which eliminated the regional differences that had existed in services of the pre-Reformation Church (14). Concomitantly, the outcome of the Council of Trent was a centralized and disciplined Roman Catholic Church.

[10] For a full translation of *The Instructiones*, see: Voelker, Evelyn Carole, 1977, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae, 1577, A Translation with Commentary and Analysis*, Ph.D. dissertation in Humanities, Syracuse University, available online: <http://evelynvoelker.com/>.

[11] The architectural directives outlined in *The Instructiones*, dictated the appearance of most Catholic buildings until the Church renegotiated its position within modern society at the Second Vatican Council (1962-65).

> The Work of St Charles Borromeo, which we present to the public in this English version, will, we firmly trust, be found to complete the cycle of Ecclesiastical studies for which this age and this country are so prominent...It is drawn up by a Saint, the Archbishop of one of the most ancient and illustrious sees in Christendom,...We hope, therefore, that it will prove the more acceptable to the Clergy, as it enables them to give proper instructions to the professional directors of Ecclesiastical buildings, who for questions of arrangement must, in all cases, consult with their employers. At the same time, we doubt not that many Architects who are Catholics, will, like ourselves, be much surprised and delighted to see in this little work the codifying, as it were, of many dispersed notions they may have in Ecclesiastical structures; and be thereby the more impressed with the minute study and attention necessary to produce a suitable and well arranged Church (v-vii).

Wigley's translation of *The Instructiones*, received a positive review in *The Ecclesiologist*, a journal produced by the Anglican Ecclesiological (former Cambridge Camden) Society, where they compared the importance of *The Instructiones* for Catholics as matching their own *A Few Words to Church Builders*.[12] Additionally, the reviewer suggested that Borromeo was not a medievalist and that he never would have envisioned prescribing the construction of a Pointed (Gothic) church, but that Wigley differs for the better by translating the tenets of Catholic church building into Gothic terms ("S. Charles Borromeo and Mr. Wigley"). Moreover, while lamenting Borromeo's Catholic associations, the reviewer called him, "...an Ecclesiologist in the most strict sense of the

[12] The Cambridge Camden/Ecclesiological Society will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

word" ("S. Charles Borromeo and Mr. Wigley").[13]

Associations with Rome

Although Pugin's Gothic Revival clearly could be combined successfully with the architectural guidelines in *The Instructionnes,* to form a functional Catholic architecture, in nineteenth-century Canada national associations or connections to a religion's heritage were also necessary. For Anglicans and most nonconformists having British architectural precedence was desirable; however, for Catholics this architectural authority or lineage came through Rome.[14]

Despite the fact that Rome is most often associated with the classical tradition of architecture and not medievalism, the use of Gothic can be traced to the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (c.1280), the only medieval Gothic church in all of Rome (fig. 4.1).[15] Although there is no proof that Langley was influenced by Santa Maria sopra Minerva directly, it does demonstrate that the Gothic style existed in Rome and was considered acceptable for Catholic churches in the thirteenth century, which provides a precedence for the style's use in the nineteenth-century revival for Catholic buildings.

---

[13] As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the term 'ecclesiologist' refers to a person who concerns himself with the study of the requirements of worship. In the nineteenth century the terms came to be associated specifically with those who study the liturgical requirements of the High Church.

[14] This notion is discussed by John Webster Grant in *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario,* where he indicates that the Roman Catholic Church had been torn between Gallicanism and Ultramontanism since the medieval period. In Ontario, however, ultramontanism had dominated since the time of Armand de Charbonnel (118-19).

[15] It should be noted that, while the church body of Santa Maria sopra Minerva is Gothic, the façade is Renaissance-inspired and dates from the seventeenth century. Borromeo's *Instructiones* also create a connection to Rome by reflecting the architectural doctrines for church architecture by the Holy See, but it has often been assumed that the architectural models Borromeo had in mind while drafting *The Instructiones* were Milanese. Robert Sénécal, however, contends that Borromeo's often overlooked time in Rome may have influenced his architectural ideas as well.

Additionally, and perhaps not coincidentally, Santa Maria sopra Minerva's first Titular Cardinal was Michele Ghislieri, who would become Pope Pius V in 1566. Pope Pius V is primarily remembered for his role in carrying out the mandates of the Council of Trent (the very Council that led to the drafting of *The Instructiones*) by standardizing the Roman rite throughout the Catholic Church (Yates, *Liturgical Space* 14). Moreover, Santa Maria sopra Minerva underwent an extensive restoration between 1848 and 1855, wherein its sixteenth-century Baroque additions were removed. This may have been what inspired Benjamin Webb, a founding member of the Anglican Cambridge Camden Society, to describe it in his 1848 book, *Sketches in Continental Ecclesiology*, as, "...a pure Pointed church..." (525).[16] Although somewhat speculative, in all likelihood Henry Langley combined all of these available sources to create a specifically Catholic Gothic Revival architecture in Ontario.

The Catholic Churches

The first Catholic commission Langley attained was for St Michael's Cathedral in Toronto. One of the most important Catholic structures in Ontario, St Michael's was designed by William Thomas (1799-1860) in 1845, but was not completed until after Thomas' death (fig. 4.2). In 1864, Gundry and Langley were commissioned to enlarge the sacristy (fig. 4.3).

For the sacristy, Langley's design was, in keeping with the rest of the cathedral, Gothic. The addition is located at the east end of the cathedral, incorporating into the design multiple buttresses, pinnacles, and small pointed windows (fig. 4.4).

[16] The details of the history of Santa Maria sopra Minerva and its nineteenth-century renovations were published by Pio Tommaso Masetti in 1855.

The interior of the sacristy was marked by an exposed timber ceiling, which makes reference to one of Pugin's strongest principles: truthfulness in the use of materials. As was indicated summarily in Chapter Three, for Pugin, religious truth was expressed through ecclesiastical architecture; therefore, architectural arrangements, he argued, were the result of, and symbolic of, religious beliefs and practices (Pugin, *Contrasts* 2-3). This resulted in the principle of truth in both design and materials. Materials were to be used to their full account and could not be paraded as something they were not: stone was to look like stone, brick like brick, and wood like wood. Additionally, for Pugin, all ornament in Gothic Revival (Christian) architecture was to consist of the enrichment of the essential construction of the building (Pugin, *True Principles* 1). Langley, as a follower of Pugin, used the open timber of the ceiling to place decoration, which was the only ornamentation in the otherwise austerely designed sacristy (figs 4.5, 4.6).

The use of timber in the sacristy also enhanced the link between the addition and the main body of the cathedral, which was overseen by a "truthful" wooden roof. This sense of continuity would have been significant, as it was outlined by Borromeo that the sacristy is the most important building annexed to a church and the only structure that can be directly attached to the body of a church (Wigley 112; Voelker 359-60). Although Borromeo did not provide details regarding his high regard for sacristies, the importance of the sacristy was discussed by The Revd Bartholomew J. Eustace in 1936. While Eustace admits that the sacristy is not a sacred place in the canonical sense, he indicates that it should be a place of silence where clergy can prepare themselves for the celebration of Mass and where others can reflect after the Mass (47).

In 1866, St Michael's again employed Gundry and Langley, but this time to furnish the exterior of the cathedral with pinnacles and to complete the west tower and spire (figs 4.7, 4.8). The pinnacles Langley added to the exterior demonstrate a sense of variety with an assortment of pointed elements: crockets, finials, and serpentine motifs. These kinds of details were encouraged for Gothic architecture throughout the nineteenth century and can be found in numerous publications, including Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's, *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture*, which provided more than 700 Gothic architectural details taken from English parish churches to architects and builders. Pugin also commented on ornamental variety being an important aspect of Gothic architecture in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, indicating that, "One of the greatest beauties of the ancient churches is variety" (22). Additionally, Pugin viewed architectural elements, like pinnacles, as promoting his principle of truth in design and ornamentation. He wrote:

> To this we owe all the picturesque effects of the buildings: there is nothing artificial about them, - no deception - nothing built up to make a show...they made [these] essential parts of a building ornamental and beautiful: this is the true spirit of pointed design... (Pugin, *The Present State* 22).

At St Michael's Cathedral the pinnacles are not structurally required to load the supporting elements of the building, which would seemingly make them "untruthful" in terms of Pugin's *True Principles*. Pugin did, however, justify the use of pinnacles for their ability to create a vertical element evocative of the Resurrection (Pugin, *True*

Principles 9).[17] Additionally, Pugin indicated that pinnacles provided an ideal placement for decoration because they are an essential architectural form. While illustrating a pinnacle with a finial and crockets in *True Principles*, not at all unlike those that Langley designed for St Michael's Cathedral, Pugin states, "...only let this essential form be decorated with a finial and crockets, and we have at once a perfect pinnacle" (9) (fig. 4.9). Practically, the pinnacles at St Michael's Cathedral enhance the Gothic exterior of the building and create a sense of continuity between the older body of the cathedral and the newer sacristy (fig. 4.10).

In 1867, Langley received his first extant Catholic church commission from the parish of St John the Evangelist in Whitby, Ontario (fig. 4.11). That year the *Whitby Chronicle*, the local newspaper, reported that the new Catholic church was to bear a striking point in similarity to that of All Saints' Church, also located in Whitby, which Langley had designed in 1865-66 ("Laying of the Foundation"*)* (fig. 4.12). In actuality, Langley did not reproduce his design for All Saints for the Catholics of Whitby, but rather reworked his design for St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, which he had executed in 1865 (fig. 4.13). St Peter's Church is modeled after St Michael's, Longstanton (Cambridgeshire), a thirteenth-century English parish church that was recommended as a model for Anglican churches in the colonies by the Cambridge Camden Society (fig. 4.14).

For Langley, the reproduction of an ostensibly Anglican design would not have been appropriate for a Catholic parish; however, there are many elements of St Peter's

[17] Traditionally pinnacles were structural necessities used to load the weight of buttresses to help contain the stress and outward thrust created by vaulted interiors by shifting the outward thrust of the vault downward.

Church that align with the principles for Catholic churches outlined by Borromeo, making it an easily adapted plan for the Catholic parish. To accomplish this, Langley referenced Catholic literature and employed the building concepts that were recommended for churches by Pugin, making them specifically Catholic by incorporating the directives in *The Instructiones*. [18]

The façade of the church is similar to that of St Peter's, Toronto, with a western rose window and a raised entrance, both of which were elements that Borromeo had recommended in *The Instructiones*. *The Instructiones* outlines specifically the proper forms of lighting for churches indicating that if a nave is dark a western rose window should be placed directly in line with the central western portal (Wigley 19; Voelker 110).[19] The elevated entrance, however, was especially important. Borromeo specified that the approach to a church requires three to five steps and recommends the inclusion of an atrium, portico, or vestibule to mark the primary entrance to a church (Wigley 11-12; Voelker 35, 75). In his analysis of *The Instructiones*, Matthew Gallegos, interprets Borromeo's inclusion of a distinctive architectural element at the entrance to a church as creating a symbolic and visual transition between the sacred church space and the secular exterior world. Additionally, Gallegos deciphers meaning in the often-quoted numbers found throughout Borromeo's text, claiming that they relate to Catholic doctrinal teachings, wherein three and five respectively relate to the Trinity and Pentecost (Gallegos 14-15). At St John's, Whitby, where there is only one entrance, Langley

[18] In 1868, Langley repoduced his design for St John the Evangelist, Whitby in an Anglican Church in Port Dalhousie, Ontario. For that commission Langley recreated the façade of St John the Evangelist, Whitby exactly, but arranged the interior to reflect that at St Peter's Church, Toronto.

[19] In Wigley's translation it is suggested that a circular window placed in the façade provides the best form of lighting for the sanctuary.

achieved this symbolic transitional architectural element though the inclusion of three steps to elevate the entryway, which, when coupled with multiple orders surrounding the doors, creates a sense of depth and provides Borromeo's required transitional spatial element (fig. 4.15). Additionally, in Wigley's translation of *The Instructiones*, he included an example of an appropriate porch, which has two columns on either side of the door and is capped by a pointed element (fig. 4.16). At St John's these basic shapes are mimicked through the facade buttresses that frame the pointed entrance.

The bellcote is one area of St John's façade that offered a variant from its St Peter's model. Rather than being constructed of brick, St John's bellcote was rendered in wood and was surmounted by a cross (fig. 4.17). In *The Instructiones*, Borromeo devotes a chapter to bell towers and bells. He dictates that towers should either be freestanding or part of the church façade. Furthermore, he sanctions the use of small towers and brick piers built up and united by an arch serving in place of bell towers in small churches, indicating that a bell tower should be in proportion to the rest of the building (Wigley 100-04; Voelker 326-29). Moreover, in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, Pugin wrote that, "In very small churches, of exceedingly simple design, we occasionally find belfreys [*sic*], in the form of perforated gables...surmounted by stone crosses" (23).

St John's Church was very small and consisted of only three bays; therefore, compositionally it could not have accommodated a full tower. It is also important to remember that Borromeo likely never would have dreamed that his *Instructiones* would be used in a Gothic church, but Langley still incorporated the "rules" for bell towers that were outlined by Borromeo and Pugin. The wood construction of the bellcote suffices

Borromeo's suggestion to incorporate strong joisting, while its placement over the central façade entrance meets Borromeo's precise requirements for tower placement. Additionally, the cross placed at the apex of the bellcote fulfills the iconographic requirements of Pugin and Borromeo, who were specific that all towers should be surmounted by a cross (Pugin, *True* Principles 8; Wigley 102; Voelker 327).

The next Catholic commission Langley's firm would secure was for St Patrick's Church in Toronto (figs 4.18, 4.19). This church marks an important point in Langley's Catholic church designing career, as the plan that he created here he would use repeatedly with only subtle alterations for all of his future Catholic commissions.

The Parish of St Patrick's was founded as a mission by Armand de Charbonnel, Bishop of Toronto, and was established as a parish in its own right in 1861 ("1861-St. Patrick's Shrine"). The first St Patrick's Church, Toronto, a frame building located on Dummer Street (now St Patrick's Street), was destroyed by fire 22 June 1865. The second church, designed by Gundry and Langley, was built in 1869-70 on the same location.

St Patrick's is a yellow brick, Gothic Revival church. As a material, brick was generally viewed unfavourably in the second quarter of the nineteenth century for church architecture. The Cambridge Camden Society had originally outlawed its use for Anglican churches, referring to it as a miserable material (Neale 141). By 1850, when George Edmund Street published "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church," advocating the use of brick, they had changed their opinion and even went so far as to recommend brick for churches (Street 227-33). For Catholic construction, brick was more acceptable. Pugin used brick in some of his churches, including St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham (1838), and St Wilfred's Hulme, Manchester (1839), which was illustrated

in Plate VII of *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* (figs 4.20, 4.21).[20] Moreover, in *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture*, Pugin compares the building properties of brick to those of stone, a material well admired by all architectural enthusiasts (2). Additionally, Borromeo allowed for the use of brick in *The Instructiones*, which suggests that it was considered a legitimate material for Catholic churches (Wigley 104; Voelker 329).

Demonstrating Pugin's principles for church architecture, St Patrick's Church has a steeply-pitched roof and a defined separation of nave and apse (fig. 4.22). Pugin insisted that a roof's pitch be in the form of an equilateral triangle, which he argued is the soundest in terms of beauty and utility for its ability to create a pleasing appearance and simultaneously resist the actions of weather (Pugin, *True Principles* 11). Pugin elaborated on the notion of steeply-pitched roofs in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, indicating that,

> A high pitched [*sic*] roof is in itself a great ornament to a building, and adds prodigiously to its grandeur; it prevailed till [*sic*] the decline of pointed architecture, when it fell like the curve of the arches and with it half the dignity of our ecclesiastical buildings (57).

Recalling Pugin's prerogative to enrich only the essential constructional elements of a church, St Patrick's is rather plain from the exterior. It employs little in the way of ornament save for stepped buttresses, labels, and paired lancet windows that are placed centrally in each bay, an arrangement Borromeo dictated in *The Instructiones*, while describing the importance of having the windows match on both sides of the nave

[20] In her book, *Pugin*, Phoebe Stanton discussed Pugin as having a specific brick style with origins in his secular and auxiliary ecclesiastical works (160-63).

(Wigley 18; Voelker 109-10). Additionally, the simplicity of the exterior complies with Borromeo's directives for exterior walls. In *The Instructiones*, he indicates, "...it is necessary to take into consideration that those at the side and the back should have no sort of image represented on them" (Voelker 63).

Langley likely modeled the exterior austerity of St Patrick's, as well as the placement and design of the tower, after William Hay's St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, which ultimately can be traced to his 1842 design for St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland. Both have plain exteriors and pinnacles placed at the base of the spire (figs 4.23, 4.24).

To address Borromeo's directive to have the entrance marked by a spatial separation from the body of the church, Langley designed the tower to project forward, which simultaneously fulfills Borromeo's suggestion to have the tower attached to the façade marking the building as a place of prominence in the landscape (Voelker 326-28). Pugin echoed this notion in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, indicating that towers are essential, calling the tower, "...a beacon to direct the faithful to the house of God...a badge of ecclesiastical authority, and...the place from whence the heralds of the solemnities of the church, the bells, send forth the summons" (21). Pugin also provided specifications for the placement of towers, indicating that they should be placed at the west end, rising from the ground (Pugin, *The Present State* 22). To illustrate this he included a sketch of St Giles, Cheadle, which, like St Patrick's Church, Toronto, has a tower that projects forward at the west end (figs 4.25, 4.26). Moreover, Pugin stated that, "...a tower to be complete, should be terminated by a spire: every tower during the finest periods of pointed architecture either was, or was intended to be, so finished,...a flat

roof is contrary to every principle of the style..." (Pugin, *The Present State* 21). In the same publication, Pugin also indicated that any religious edifice wanting a tower and spire would never be considered more than a chapel (21).[21]

In addition to its spire, St Patrick's tower is the most ornamented feature of the exterior with its multi-ordered entrance, buttresses, crockets, and finials. This was prescribed by Pugin and Borromeo. In *True Principles*, Pugin wrote that ancient towers were composed of walls and buttresses that rose from a solid base, diminishing and enriching as they ascended, until they terminated in a heaven-pointing spire surrounded by pinnacles (49). In *The Instructiones*, Borromeo devoted seven chapters to the exterior appearance of churches and indicated specifically that because it holds the entrance, the façade is the most important exterior wall of a church and therefore should be the only area to have ornamentation (Wigley 10; Voelker 63).[22] Furthermore, he stated that an image of either the Virgin Mary or the saint to whom the church is dedicated should be placed above the entrance of a church (Wigley 10; Voelker 64), a principle Langley introduced at St Patrick's (fig. 4.27).

The interior of St Patrick's is prescribed entirely by *The Instructiones*. Its walls were plastered and then painted with stencilling and murals and the supporting elements are composed of compound piers, which create a nave-aisle arrangement that supports an elaborate timber and paneled roof (figs 4.28, 4.29, 4.30). In *True Principles*, Pugin wrote

[21] While many of Pugin's churches did have towers and spires, Pugin designed several churches without towers. Examples can be found at St Mary's Church, Uttoxeter (1838-39), Our Lady and St Wilfrid, Warwick Bridge (1841), and St Alphonsus', Barntown (Ireland) (1844-51).

[22] In *The Instructiones*, Chapter One discusses the location and size of churches, Chapter Two examines exterior design, Chapter Three discusses the exterior walls and the facade, Chapter Five describes the roof, Chapter Six discusses the doors, Chapter Eight examines windows, and Chapter Twenty-six discusses the tower.

about timber roofs expounding their propensity for truthful design, strength, and beauty, stating that in them the construction is not concealed, but is turned into ornament (34). Ultimately, for Langley, the use of wood and panel to create a nave-aisle arrangement can be traced to William Hay's St Basil's Church, Toronto; however, there is medieval precedence for the arrangement. The thirteenth-century church of St Oswald's, Nether Peover (Cheshire), and the fourteenth-century Church of St James and St Paul, Marton (Cheshire), represent medieval examples of extant wooden interiors with a nave-aisle arrangement.[23]

While the truthful usage of wood for the roof is Puginian, the arrangement of nave and aisles enclosed under a single roof elevation is not, but rather comes from the Anglican Commissioners' Gothic style, which predates Pugin's truthfulness in design principle.[24] William Hay's design for St Basil's Catholic Church, Toronto (1852-55), also had the aisles and nave under a single roof, albeit with a different pitch delineating the aisles from the nave (fig. 4.31). Be that as it may, the inclusion of aisles in Catholic church plans was described by Borromeo, who indicated that a church should have, "one nave, or three or five naves" (Voelker 52). Additionally, when describing the apse, Borromeo was specific that:

---

[23] As was noted in Chapter Three, although it was not illustrated, Nether Peover was discussed in an article on wooden churches in the August 1848 issue of the *Ecclesiologist*, and in the October 1848 issue of *The New York Ecclesiologist*, where it was described as a wooden church of, "venerable antiquity" ("Cheap Churches").

[24] As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the Commissioners' Gothic was an early form of the Gothic Revival that was largely propagated by the Commissioner's Act of 1818, which provided one million pounds for the construction of new Anglican churches. The style is recognizable for its application of Gothic ornament to otherwise Neo-Classical (Gibbsian) preaching-hall churches. For more detailed information regarding the Church Building Commission and the churches that resulted from it, see M.H. Port's monograph, *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856.*

> ...its pavement should be made higher than that of the body of the church [and that it should be] vaulted, and moreover, properly ornamented with mosaic work or with some other dignified decoration in painting . . . (Voelker 125).

Pugin restated some of these ideas in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, where he suggested that the chancel/apse is the most sacred part of a church and should be designed in a manner that keeps a reverential distance between the priest and the people (34).

In 1870, Langley adapted his design of St Patrick's for St Frances de Sales, Pickering, Ontario, where he designed a one-storey elevation church with bays separated by buttresses and a clear articulation between the apse and the nave on the exterior (figs 4.32, 4.33, 4.34). He also included the projecting central tower that he had used at St Patrick's, which at St Frances de Sales is also the most ornamented part of the exterior. Departing from the St Patrick's design, Langley added pseudo-transepts, dormer windows *in lieu* of a clerestory, and changed the arrangement of the tower by eliminating the pinnacles and creating an octagonal belfry. Dormers are relatively rare on church buildings, but Borromeo's *Instructiones* indicate that, in addition to windows being placed along the sides of naves, lights located above a church's roof line to illuminate the nave are desirable (Wigley 18-21; Voelker 110).[25]

Inside, the church has a wide-nave plan with a clearly articulated, elevated and vaulted apse (fig. 4.35). As was the case at St Patrick's, the apse does not have a window directly behind the altar. Borromeo was careful to describe the lighting of apses,

[25] Joseph Connolly added dormers to St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto in 1890, and Langley used dormers in his designs for St James Anglican Church, Stratford (1870), and Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London (1873).

indicating that, "...precaution must be taken that no part, even the smallest, of any altar be blinded by the windows of the back wall" (Voelker 110).

The wide-nave plan, which Borromeo would refer to as having only one nave, and the ceiling design are different from those that Langley had used in Toronto, but rather look back to his wide-nave design for St John the Evangelist, Whitby, demonstrating another melding in Langley's Catholic design elements.

In 1872, Langley recreated his scheme for Pickering when designing a church for St Patrick's Parish in Stayner, Ontario (figs 4.36, 4.37, 4.38). In Stayner, the Pickering plan was developed further to incorporate more of the design elements recommended by Borromeo and Pugin.

On the exterior, the articulation of the various areas of the church, including the sacristy, evoke Pugin's doctrines regarding truth in design, while the plain exterior with little ornamentation is maintained. Additionally, the tower projects forward to create a transitional vestibule in accordance with Borromeo's rules and, although not executed, Langley intended there to be dormers on the roof to meet *The Instructiones'* church lighting requirements. The area of divergence from the Pickering design is the ornamentation on the tower, which warrants examination. Langley incorporated a cross in stone in the upper gable of the tower and another in the gable that frames the entrance (figs 4.39, 4.40, 4.41). This recalls Borromeo's suggestion to cap towers with a cross, which, according to Evelyn Carole Voelker, who translated *The Instructiones* into English in 1977, represents the solidity of the Catholic faith (336). In Stayner, that symbolic message is not only added as an appendage to the tower, but is incorporated into the architectural fabric of the church.

The interior of St Patrick's, Stayner has an exposed wooden ceiling, which makes a clear reference to Pugin's concept of truth in materials (fig. 4.42). For Langley, however, it also makes a distinctive allusion to William Hay, who used an identical ceiling design in 1856 for St George's Anglican Church, Pickering Village (fig. 4.43).

From 1872 to 1875, Langley would execute his five final Catholic designs: Church of Guardian Angels, Orillia (c. 1872),[26] Church of the Holy Angels, St. Thomas (1872), St John Chrysostom, Newmarket (1873), Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie (1875), and Sainte-Croix, Lafontaine (1875). Although only two of these churches remain, they all combined the design elements of Langley's prior Catholic commissions in varying manners.

The Church of Guardian Angels, Orillia, demonstrates the method in which Langley melded his former plans to create something "new" by combining the church body with dormer windows that he had first used in Pickering (1870), with the tower arrangement he had designed for St Patrick's, Toronto (1869-70), which incorporates pinnacles at the base of the spire (figs 4.44, 4.45). To that tower Langley also added the permanent stone crosses located in gables below the spire that he had first used in Stayner (1872). The site and the number of bays in the church are notable. First, the church was located on a hill in a domineering position overlooking Orillia. The act of placing a Catholic church atop a hill or in a place of prominence within a community has medieval European roots; however, in Ontario, examples can be found at Our Lady of the Assumption Church, Windsor (1842-46), The Church of Our Lady, Guelph (1876-88),

[26] Although Langley's drawings for Guardian Angels indicate that it was intended to be dedicated to St Patrick, the church was originally named Angels Guardian. The name was changed to Guardian Angels to reflect the church's position on a hill overlooking Orillia.

St Anne's Church, Penetanguishene (c.1886-1902), St Joseph's Church, River Canard (1913), and St Mary's Church, Wilno (1936) (figs 4.46, 4.47, 4.48, 4.49). While the location of the church would have been the choice of the parish or local bishop, Borromeo allocated Chapter One of *The Instructiones* to the site of a church. Line one states that,

> When a Church is to be built, first, the place most fitted for such a construction, should be chosen by the judgement of the Bishop, and from the counsel of the Architect...It is of great importance, in such a matter, that wherever a Church is to be built, it should be on a place somewhat prominent (Wigley 5).

Secondly, Guardian Angels had five regular bays. In *The Instructiones*, Borromeo indicated that there should be, where possible, an uneven number of bays and windows running laterally along the nave (Wigley 18; Voelker 109). In Orillia, there were five bays and fifteen windows, including the dormers. This, combined with the location, permanent crosses atop the tower, and the forward projection of the tower to create a vestibule, makes Orillia's exterior a nearly perfect specimen in terms of Borromeo's treatise.[27]

In 1872, when Langley designed the Church of the Holy Angels in St. Thomas, Ontario, he reproduced all of the elements of Guardian Angels, Orillia, but omitted the dormer windows and added pseudo-transepts (figs 4.50, 4.51). Langley first introduced pseudo-transepts for Catholic churches at St Frances de Sales, Pickering (1870). At Holy Angels, as was the case at St Frances de Sales, the pseudo-transepts are not sufficiently

[27] In 1910, Langley's church was demolished and a new limestone one was erected in 1911 to the plans of John Wilson Siddall (1861-1941).

long to meet Pugin's approval. In *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, Pugin was specific that cruciform churches should not be attempted unless the transepts are well prolonged (65). The pseudo-transepts do, however, have a separate roof line, which makes their design truthful in terms of Pugin's principles regarding design and their inclusion in the design also meets with Borromeo's recommendations. While dispelling the use of round designs for church plans, calling them pagan, Borromeo indicated that wherever possible, cruciform churches are preferable to all other designs because, according to Borromeo, the design dates almost to apostolic times and can be seen in all the major basilicas of Rome (Wigley 8-9; Voelker 51). Borromeo was less specific about the size of the transepts than Pugin was, merely indicating that they should extend like arms beyond the sides of the building (Wigley 9;Voelker 52).

In terms of truthful use of materials, the interior of Holy Angels was comparable to that of St Patrick's, Toronto (1869-70); however, at Holy Angels there were no aisles, therefore Langley introduced an open timber, hammer-beam roof to cover the nave (fig. 4.52). He had only used this kind of roof once for his Catholic churches, at St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, where the sacristy had an open-timber roof. This kind of roof was extremely fashionable in nineteenth-century Gothic Revival churches and was popularized by publications including Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's, *Masterpieces of Medieval Open Timber Roofs*.[28] Besides the sacristy of St Michael's Cathedral, Langley had incorporated open-timber designs into several of his Anglican churches prior to the design of Holy Angels, including St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster (1868) (fig. 4.53);

[28] First published in 1849, this book was intended to be a pattern book that provided architects with examples of wooden roofs to be emulated in designs that could not accommodate vaulting.

however, for Langley the use of open timber for Catholic churches likely stems from William Hay, who designed a stunning open-timber roof for St Basil's Church, Toronto in 1852-55 (fig. 4.54). The use of a hammer beam roof was also practical in St. Thomas, where the church had a wide-nave plan. As Pugin explained in *True Principles*, "With timber you may attain a great height, or extend over a great breadth..." (34).

While Langley's next two Catholic Church designs for St John Chrysostom, Newmarket (1873) (fig. 4.55) and Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie (1875) (fig. 4.56) were somewhat unremarkable in that they reproduced his past design elements in a fairly standard manner, his final Catholic church, Sainte-Croix in Lafontaine, Ontario, represents a high point in Langley's Catholic church designing career (fig. 4.57). Executed in red brick, the exterior of the church is extremely plain. The only ornaments are the enclosing arches over the louvered openings in the tower. These arches point upward to four iron crosses at the peaks of the louvered gables of the spire, which in turn point to a large cross at the apex of the spire (fig. 4.58). Additionally, there is a single quatrefoil window located in the tympanum over the western façade doorway, a motif that Langley also used in Sault Ste. Marie (also dating from 1875) (figs 4.59, 4.60). Langley first ornamented the tympanum of a church entrance in his design for Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), but in terms of Catholic design it satisfies Borromeo's requirement to accentuate the importance of the entrance (fig. 4.61). Overall, in terms of Pugin's and Borromeo's theories, the façade ornament in Lafontaine underscores the Church doctrine of the Resurrection of the Messiah by incorporating vertical elements and emphasizes the gravity of the entry into the sacred space of the church.

While the exterior was largely unadorned, the interior of Sainte-Croix has an exquisite timber and paneled roof that Langley modeled after his design for St Patrick's Church, Toronto (1869-70) (figs 4.62, 4.30). Although modelled after St Patrick's, the nave of Langley's Lafontaine church is broader and transepts have been included to allow for the inclusion of minor "chapels" with altars, which Borromeo deemed necessary for churches with aisles and transepts (Wigley 32-33; Voelker 174).

Overall, Langley's church in Lafontaine represents the most cohesive Catholic design that he produced, integrating the elements that were most central to the architectural doctrines of both Pugin and Borromeo. In fact, in 1850, when Pugin asked the question, "How Shall We Build Our Churches?" in *The Builder*, a journal of architecture first published in 1843 in England, he described a perfect Catholic church as,

> ...an edifice that should illustrate the majesty of its purpose...a noble pile, cruciform, lofty, and long, surmounted by spire-capped towers, surrounded by lateral aisles and chapels... (134).

This description could as easily describe Langley's church at Lafontaine, as the thirteenth-century, ancient churches that Pugin was actually alluding to.

In 1963, Marcel de Grandpré analyzed the social history of the Catholic Church in French Canada and concluded that its principal characteristic is not its links to France, but its attachment to Rome. He ends his analysis by questioning whether that characteristic is peculiar to French Canada (13). Langley's Ontario Catholic churches indicate that it is not. His churches demonstrate a clear preoccupation with the rules set forth for Catholic architecture by the Holy See, which Langley embedded in a Gothic Revival shell.

While it is apparent that Langley incorporated Borromeo's *Instructiones* into his Puginian Gothic Revival in Ontario, the question remains why this was necessary. Langley was working in an era where there were perceived threats to the Catholic Church. The First Vatican Council, held in 1869 in Rome, was convened to deal with the threats the Church recognized from the rising influence of rationalism, liberalism, and materialism, and in part revisited the Tridentine Creed of the Council of Trent, the very council that resulted in *The Instructiones*. According to Anthony Blunt, who wrote about artistic theory in Italy, the Council of Trent was born out of an act of counter-reform, which aimed to undo all that the Renaissance had done by returning to a "feudal and medieval state of affairs" (105).

In his preface to his translation of *The Instructiones*, George J. Wigley commented on his hopes for the book to inspire change in Catholic architecture in England, calling Borromeo one of the most remarkable men of his age (the sixteenth century), an age that Wigley thought marked a transition from medieval Christian society to the chaos he perceived in the nineteenth century (vi). To this Wigley adds his hope that *The Instructiones* will be appreciated in England, where Catholic customs were being renewed (vi).

The pairing of Pugin's theories with those of Borromeo is then perhaps not that surprising because Pugin's aim was not tremendously different and he was writing for many of the same reasons in the nineteenth century. Although focused on architecture and society, Pugin was essentially calling for a return to the faith and social structure of the Middle Ages (Hill, "Pugin, God's Architect"). In *Contrasts*, Pugin illustrated this by comparing medieval and nineteenth-century communities, showing the clear superiority

of the former. Pugin's illustrations in *Contrasts*, as well as his published arguments for reform in both society and architecture were persuasive and, according his biographer, "spoke with the voice of the rising generation" (Hill, *God's Architect* 153).

It could be that Langley was incorporating the "rules" for Catholic building of these two influential theorists in response to this; however, in Ontario there was also a denominational rivalry among churches. Confederation had occurred in 1867, and there was no longer an established Church in Canada. For Langley this meant that he needed to negotiate a way to accommodate the needs of the religious denominations that were commissioning his designs while still maintaining the ability to sustain a thriving, cross-denominational practice. By creating a set of drawings that he could adapt by incorporating the suggestions of specifically Catholic theorists, Langley was able to establish a successful Catholic church-designing practice, which remained the preeminent Roman Catholic architectural practice in Ontario until the arrival of Joseph Connolly (1840-1904), who then became the leading Roman Catholic architect in the province, leaving Langley to focus on Protestant denominations, whose commissions would sustain his firm until the end of his career.[29]

---

[29] For information regarding Joseph Connolly and his career as a church architect, see the following articles by Malcolm Thurlby:
"Joseph Connolly in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston, Ontario." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 30 (2005): 25-38.
"Joseph Connolly's Masterpiece: The Basilica of Our Lady Immaculate, Guelph." *Raise the Hammer* 25 October 2015.
"The Church of Our Lady if the Immaculate Conception at Guelph: Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly." *The Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 15 (1990): 32-40.

"The Irish-Canadian Pugin: Joseph Connolly." *Irish Arts Review* 4.1 (1986): 16-21.
"The 'Roman Renaissance' Churches of Joseph Connolly and Arthur Holmes and their place in Roman Catholic Church Architecture." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 29 (2004): 27-40.
"Two Churches by Joseph Connolly in Hamilton." *Raise the Hammer* 21 April 2006.
"Two Late Nineteenth-Century Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto by Joseph Connolly: St Mary's, Bathurst Street, and St Paul's, Power Street." *Ecclesiology Today* 33 (May 2004): 30-48.

Chapter Five: The Anglican Church Commissions

Throughout his career Henry Langley designed thirteen Anglican churches in Ontario; of those twelve were executed. Additionally, he rebuilt one Anglican church entirely and made additions and alterations to four more. All of these commissions were executed in the same style: Gothic Revival.

Conventional accounts of religious history would have us believe that in Canada, "English" stands for Protestant, while "French" stands for Roman Catholic (McIntire 88). More modern studies have proven that this is not true; however, socially, after the establishment of the Quebec Act in 1774, which officially ensured the British policy of toleration towards the French, and the 1791 Constitution Act, which created Upper and Lower Canada, there was a division between the largely French-Catholic Lower Canada and the primarily English-Protestant Upper Canada, at least until the time of confederation (Wilson 8-24). [1]

Architecturally, this division can also be seen. As was noted in Chapter Four, in the nineteenth century, differing Christian denominations chose particular architectural styles that they felt properly represented their faith and religious heritage. The style chosen by Anglicans in the second half of the nineteenth century was Gothic Revival and their argument for the style being inherently Anglican and British was fought ardently in the pages of architectural journals and books. As Barry Magrill explains in *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada, 1867-1914*, at this time church architecture was recognized as a means of establishing denominational identities, with Gothic Revival being viewed as quintessentially British (72).[2]

[1] For example, the first English people to come to Canada were not Protestant, but were Catholic, and the first Protestants to come to Canada were actually French (McIntire 88-89).
[2] According to Magrill, British immigrants building a religious infrastructure in the colony associated images of Gothic Revival churches with extended British imperial power (21).

The Anglicans were not alone in their preference for the Gothic Revival style though; Catholics and many nonconformist sects also laid claim to it, but as Alan Gowans explains in *Building Canada*, the Gothic Revival employed in French Canada at churches like Notre-Dame, Montreal (fig. 5.1), was not the same as the Gothic Revival used in English Canada in Anglican churches (93).[3] In both cases the motivation for the use of the style fundamentally rested in a preoccupation with representing a national identity, but the final product was inherently and outwardly different based on the reference materials used by architects, which in the case of English-Canadian Anglicanism, were British.

The Romantic and Commissioners' Gothic

Traditional accounts of the Gothic Revival style, including those by Alan Gowans, argue that Gothic Revival architecture was introduced to Canada in the early Victorian period for its associative significance as a religious expression and architectural display of Britishness (87-94). While this associative representation was fundamentally important for the success of the style, in point of fact, the Gothic Revival first appeared in the late eighteenth century as a romantic style inspired by picturesque notions of medieval cathedrals. Unlike the Gothic style of the mid-nineteenth century promoted by apologists like A.W.N. Pugin and the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society, these early specimens were greatly impacted by the

[3] In his article "Notre Dame de Montreal," Gowans analyses the architecture of the Montreal cathedral, describing it as an outstanding monument to the Gothic Revival spirit of its era, which reflects the Quebeçois tradition of church architecture and the racial tensions that existed between French Catholics and English Protestants in Montreal as a result of the wave of English-speaking immigration that took place following New France being ceded to Britain in 1763 (20). Gowans revisited this topic in his article "Sainte-Croix d'Orleans: A Major Monument Too Long Neglected," where he analyzed the model-copy relationship between the seventeenth-century cathedral of Sainte-Croix d'Orleans and Notre Dame in Montreal, discussing the latter as a powerful visual metaphor of Catholicism and Frenchness surviving the British Conquest (72-73).

Commissioners' Churches that resulted from the Church Building Act of 1818.[4] Eclectic and classically-inspired, the churches of this period were 'dressed up' with what were perceived as Gothic features, including pointed arches and mouldings, and were constructed from a variety of materials. Examples of these kinds of churches can be found at Holy Trinity Church, Georgetown, PEI (1839), Old St Thomas Church, St Thomas, Ontario (1824), and Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids, Ontario (1831-34) (figs 5.2, 5.3, 5.4).[5]

Beyond the British associations that this early form of the Gothic Revival symbolically represented, it was likely employed in Canada for many of the same reasons it had been used in England for Commissioners' churches: it was thought to be inexpensive and quickly built (Clark 96). Additionally, the somewhat liberal use of the Gothic Revival in this early period is reflective of the religion itself, which until the Anglo-Catholic Revival of the nineteenth century was not nearly as conservatively 'Catholic' as it is often characterised to have been. As James F. White explains in *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*, for most of its history the Anglican tradition belongs somewhat right of centre, but not nearly as far to the right as it became during the nineteenth-century Anglo-Catholic Revival (94-95). In fact classically-inspired interiors, which are often associated with the British architect James Gibbs (1682-1754), were considered amenable to eighteenth-century Anglican worship, which, as G.W.O. Addleshaw explains in his book, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, required the laity to hear what the minister was saying and see what was done at the altar (15). As undogmatic and artificial as this early

[4] For information regarding the Church Building Commission, see Port, M.H. *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*.
[5] Non-Anglican examples exist at: Goat Island Baptist Church, Upper Clements, Nova Scotia (c. 1810-11), St John's Presbyterian Church, Belfast, PEI (1824-26), Haldimand Baptist Church, Haldimand, Ontario (1824), and St Vincent-de-Paul Catholic Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario (1834).

romantic form of Gothic Revival was, like Evangelical Anglicanism itself, it was a fundamentally important contributing factor to what would become the nineteenth century's 'Ecclesiological Gothic Revival', which would impact the Canadian Anglican designs of Henry Langley greatly.

For his Anglican commissions, Langley owed much to his mentor, William Hay. When Langley was left Hay's practice, he also inherited his reputation as a designer of Anglican churches. Because of this, Langley built his practice upon a model set for him by Hay; that precedent included an exemplary collection of Gothic Revival Anglican church commissions.

The Tractarian Movement

Hay's appreciation for Anglican Gothic architecture extends back his time in Britain, where, until the nineteenth century, Anglicanism had spent 300 years moving away from Medieval forms of worship. Widespread literacy, English bibles and services made religion accessible to lay people, and congregational participation during services shifted from a strictly visual to an auditory form that encouraged interaction between the priest and his parish (White, *Protestant Worship* 96-97).[6] In the 1830's, this changed with the Anglo-Catholic Revival Tractarian Movement, which aimed to return Anglican liturgy to its late-Medieval manner as it was practised in England (White, *Protestant Worship* 108-9, Nockles 308).[7] This desire to return to medieval forms of life was not uncommon in this time period; the impact of the French

[6] James F. White suggests that this shift to an auditory form of participation in services was prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, which indicates that the priest should speak in a loud voice and stand in a position where he can best be heard by those present (White, *Protestant Worship* 96-97).

[7] The Tractarian Movement, so-named after a series of ninety theological publications known as the *Tracts for the Times*, published between 1831-44, is interchangeably known as the Oxford Movement because its founders, including John Keble (1792-1866), John Henry Newman (1801-90), Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-36), and Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82), were based at

Revolution (1789-99) had provoked a strong distrust of political radicalism and many individuals sought the societal order and hierarchy, as well as the political stability, that medievalism had come to represent (Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* 8).

As noted in the writings of nineteenth-century Anglo-Catholic historians like R.W. Church, the Tractarians perceived a decay within the Anglican Church that stemmed from the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the rise of liberalism and Erastianism, a general ignorance of the principles for which the Anglican Church stood, and threats to the Anglican establishment during the Reform Bill era of the early nineteenth century (Pereiro, Chadwick 1-2; Church 1-19; Ollard, *A Short History* 22-25).[8] Essentially, to the Tractarians this time represented a period of religious degradation and neglect from which they were rescuing the Church (Herring 9). Central to this movement was equality and a return to a sacramental theology. The Tractarian Movement, therefore, re-established morning and evening prayers, promoted the regular celebration of Communion, and introduced a greater degree of ceremonial activities into services, including lit candles, coloured stoles, robed choirs, preaching in surplices, bowings and crossings, taking the eastward position in Communion service, and

---

Oxford. Additionally, the start of the movement is traditionally traced to 14 July 1833, when Keble preached his Assize Sermon on the subject of National Apostasy at the University Church in Oxford (Herring 3; Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* 11-12).

[8] Liberalism insisted that rational intelligence and education would cure all the evils of mankind (Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* 23-24).
Erastianism suggested that the State, rather than the Church or the Bible, was the final authority on religious belief (*A Short History of the Oxford Movement* 23).

mixing water with wine when preparing the chalice.[9] All were intended to bring Anglican services more in-line with Catholic practices or those used by Anglicans in the seventeenth century (Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* 16).

Pugin, the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, and the Ecclesiologists

At the same time the Tractarians were promoting a return to High Anglican medieval liturgy, A.W.N. Pugin was advocating a revival of medieval church architecture in England. As was discussed in Chapter Four, Pugin felt strongly that Gothic architecture was representative of a moral, church-centred time in England. He therefore insisted that the Gothic style, the only style he viewed as being solely associated with the medieval period, was unique in its ability to serve the functional, theological, and moral needs of nineteenth-century Britain - it was the only ethical, and by implication, Christian, architecture (Whyte, "Sacred Space as Sacred Text" 250).

The architectural writings and lectures of Pugin, combined with the liturgical reforms promoted by the Tractarians, led to the establishment of architectural societies, including the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture and The Cambridge Camden Society.[10] Where Pugin was primarily interested in the revival of Gothic architecture and the Tractarians were concerned with a return to ceremonial liturgy, these societies were interested in how that liturgy could be facilitated and symbolically represented through Pugin's Gothic

[9] As S.L. Ollard explains in, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, the revival of ceremonial public worship is often wrongly labelled ritualism; however, a ritual is a service, but the Tractarians were not trying to change the service as much as they were attempting to affect the actions associated with it, which is ceremonial (113).

[10] In 1848, the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture officially changed its name to the Oxford Architectural Society, a name it had unofficially used since 1844 (Pantin 1).

architecture.[11] As William Whyte explains in "Sacred Space as Sacred Text," for these groups Gothic architecture was not just aesthetically more appealing or contextually more appropriate than other building types, it was more functional, more meaningful, and more intelligible symbolically than other styles (254-55).

Founded in February 1839 by members of Oxford University and other local architects and architectural enthusiasts, the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture was the first of its kind in England (Howell n.p.). Although not an architectural movement, an interest in Gothic architecture had been expressed early within the Tractarian Movement by Richard Hurrell Froude. On 22 April 1831, Richard Hurrell Froude delivered a lecture to the Oxford Ashmolean Society on church architecture wherein he spoke about gothic buildings and provided examples of medieval vaulting and mouldings. Additionally, he illustrated his talk with sketches he had made of Canterbury Cathedral, Cologne Cathedral, St Giles Church (Oxford), Christ Church (Oxford), and two Romanesque buildings, Iffley and St Peter's-in-the-East (Oxford) (Ollard, "The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society" 3).[12] While Froude was not a member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, his methods were taken up by them. In the Society's Rules and Proceedings they were explicit in advocating looking to medieval buildings and monuments to research the Gothic style. Additionally, the

[11] As Michael J. Lewis explains in his survey of the Gothic Revival, Pugin was a Catholic convert; therefore, his architectural reforms could not be fully accepted by the Church of England until they were somewhat disassociated from him. It was therefore largely through the establishment of Anglican architectural societies that Pugin's Gothic Revival became fully embraced by the Church of England (90).

[12] Froude's talk was subsequently published in three parts under the titles "Church Architecture" and "English Architecture" in the *British Magazine* (August 1832) 546-52; (September 1832) 14-20; (January 1833) 22-28.

Society recommended that local associations be formed in each part of England to collect drawings and descriptions of the edifices in their region (*The Rules and Proceedings*).

The influence of the Oxford Society cannot be overestimated; amongst their earliest members were influential churchmen, architects, and architectural critics, including Benjamin Ferry (1810-80), Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), Matthew Holbeche Bloxam (1805-88), John Ruskin (1819-1900)[13], and James Barr, whose monograph, *Anglican Church Architecture*, was inscribed to the society in 1841. The Society collected prints, drawings, casts, and models of architecture and architectural details, and compiled a library, which included books like: Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation, 4th ed.* (1835), M.H. Bloxam's, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture, 3rd ed.* (1838), J. Britton's, *History and Antiques of the Cathedral Churches of England* (1817-33), and A. Pugin's, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1825).[14] In addition to these activities, the Society produced publications, including tracts, abstracts of papers, working drawings and illustrations of churches, a monograph of Dorchester Abbey, and a Guide to the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford. Moreover, they would, on occasion, fund restoration projects; for example, from 1842-45, they hired Pugin to consult on the glass and sedilia for the restoration of Dorchester Abbey (Howell n.p.). As W.A. Pantin explains, in its early days the Society was primarily devoted to the science of building churches in accordance with the principles of Gothic architecture and of the Church of England as understood by the Tractarians (3).

[13] At this time Ruskin was a student at Christ Church, Oxford.
[14] The contents of the Society's library were listed in their 1839 Proceedings and added to in subsequent issues of the Proceedings.

Upon the establishment of the Oxford Society, associations with the aim to monitor and study the state of local architecture were created across the country, including the Cambridge Camden Society (est. 1839), the Bristol and West of England Architectural and Heraldic Society (est. 1841)[15], the Durham Architectural Society (est. 1841)[16], the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (est. 1841), the Lichfield Society for the Encouragement of Ecclesiastical Architecture (est. 1841), the Yorkshire Architectural Society (est. 1842), the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton (est. 1844), and the Worcestershire Architectural Society (est. 1844)[17].

Of these local bodies, the Cambridge Camden Society, renamed the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society in 1845, was the most productive and influential in England and abroad in terms of Church architecture (White, *Protestant Worship* 48, 198; Brandwood 58-59). Whereas the Oxford group had from their inception maintained a broad architectural focus that included the study of church and secular buildings, the Camdens were High Church undergraduate students at the University of Cambridge and they concerned themselves specifically with Gothic church architecture and the study of restoring and creating churches that were deemed appropriate for the Anglican Church ("Laws" 47). [18] According to Chris Brooks,

---

[15] Beginning in 1843, the Bristol and West of England Architectural and Heraldic Society, also known as the Bristol Architectural Society, produced a quarterly magazine, *The Archaeological Magazine*.

[16] The Durham Architectural Society was short-lived, but in 1861, it was revived as The Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland.

[17] For a detailed list of architectural societies, see: Levine, Philippa. *The Amateur and the Professional*, p. 181.

[18] The broad interest of the Oxford Society was apparent from the society's inception. At the first general meeting of the Society, held on 12 March 1839, a paper was read on the domestic architecture of the Middle Ages (*The Rules and Proceedings*). For details regarding the various interests of the Oxford Society, see: Pantin, A.W. *The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1839-1939*.

they accomplished this by compounding, "dogmatic theology gleaned from the Tractarians and dogmatic architectural theory gathered from Pugin" (246).[19] The result of this marriage they called the science of ecclesiology, which was described in 1847 by John Beresford Hope, as, "...that systematic study of the requirements of Divine Worship" ("Mr. Hope's Essay"). Additionally, in the same article, the Ecclesiologists described themselves as different from other architectural enthusiasts, indicating:

> The archaeologist...if he is interested in a church at all it is merely because it is old. On the other hand the merely [sic] architectural student regards a church only as an architectural monument. But the ecclesiologist, while excluding neither of these views, sees in a church mainly the material adaptation for the requirements of Divine worship (86).

As Christopher Webster explains, in practical terms this meant a return to the style, plan, and arrangement of pre- and immediately post-Reformation churches (14). Architecturally, this resulted in many changes to church planning. The classically-inspired interior of the earlier period was deemed unacceptable and was replaced with a gothic interior that placed prominence on the liturgical importance of the eastern chancel.[20] Moreover, the return to a more sacramental

---

[19] Where Pugin described Gothic architecture as the embodiment of Christianity, his definition of Christianity was broad and somewhat unspecific. The Cambridge Camden Society was far more dogmatic in their approach to the word Christian, which for them specifically denoted Anglicanism. For the Ecclesiologists, Gothic, or Pointed, as they called it, was the only style deemed acceptable for Anglican churches and to some degree the use of the style for other denominations was condemned as heretical on behalf of the architect.

[20] As James F. White explains, after the English Reformation of the sixteenth century, the function of a parish church space changed. During the Eucharist the laity could enter the chancel, which had previously been reserved for the clergy. The medieval notion of two distinct spaces (nave and chancel) persisted, but the function of the chancel had come to be the Eucharistic room, with the rest of the church being used for the service of the word (*Protestant Worship* 102).

liturgy, which placed emphasis on the Eucharist and baptism, meant that architecturally the altar and the font became a fundamental consideration for the Cambridge Camden Society. Additionally, the social theory of the Tractarians resulted in the abolition of pew rents and private pews, which the Camdens considered a symbol of inequality ("Pues" 3-5). These and other architectural consequences of ecclesiology were outlined in *A Few Words to Church Builders*, which was published by the society in 1841. As was discussed briefly in Chapter Three, this was a practical guide for architects and church building committees, wherein its author, John Mason Neale, outlines a formal set of ecclesiological, architectural paradigms to be incorporated in Anglican church buildings (Webster 127).

While other architectural societies shared many of the same concerns as the Cambridge group, their wide success laid in publications. In addition to *A Few Words to Church Builders*, the society circulated pamphlets, reports, and a journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, which was made available to churchmen and architects in Britain and the colonies. [21] William Whyte has suggested that *The Ecclesiologist* was more important than even Pugin in promoting the Gothic Revival for church architecture (Whyte, "Sacred Space as Sacred Text" 251). Where the Oxford Society had been primarily concerned with issues in the Oxford vicinity, the Cambridge Camden Society had broader aims, and, according to J. Mordaunt Crook, succeeded in transforming the appearance of every Anglican church in the world by 1867 through their publications and the activities of their membership (63).[22]

[21] The Cambridge Camden Society began publishing *The Ecclesiologist*, in 1841.
[22] It should be noted that, although not to the same extent as the Camdens, the Oxford Architectural Society did have some influence beyond Britain. As Alex Bremner indicates in *Imperial Gothic*, in the 1840's the society supplied architectural designs for the Afghan Memorial church in Bombay (Mumbai) and wooden churches in Newfoundland (14).

Essentially, the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival movement found its way to the British colonies with British churchmen and trained architects. This was the case in Canada, where the growth of the Christian religion combined with the Anglo-Catholic revival in England to create a veritable 'perfect storm' in terms of Gothic Revival church building. As a result, architects like William Hay and Henry Langley profited greatly from this unique colonial situation. Prior to the arrival of William Hay, attempts at Ecclesiological Gothic Revival architecture in Canada were few and can primarily be linked to three figures: Edward Feild (1801-76), John Medley (1804-92), and Frank Wills (1822-57).

In an era of considerable religious energy, Edward Feild arrived as Bishop of Newfoundland in 1845. Educated at Oxford, Feild was a strong proponent of the Tractarian Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society (Coffman, "St. John's Anglican Cathedral" 6).[23] Feild's counterpart in New Brunswick was John Medley, who before being appointed as Bishop of Fredericton in 1845, was a founding member of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society in 1841(Thurlby, "Christ Church, Maugerville" 21-22).[24] That year, while serving as secretary for the society, he published *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*. As Peter Coffman indicates in *Newfoundland Gothic*, this brief thirty-nine-page tract did little more than summarize the styles of British medieval architecture (54); however, the opening pages of the tract promoted

[23] For information regarding Bishop Edward Feild, see Coffman, Peter, *Newfoundland Gothic*; Coffman, Peter, "St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland."

[24] For more information regarding John Medley's biography, see Ross, Malcolm, "MEDLEY, JOHN," and Thurlby, Malcolm, "Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), Frank Wills (1822-1857), and the designs of Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, New Brunswick, with some elementary remarks on the impact of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills on the arrangements of Anglican churches in New Brunswick." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 40.1 (2015): 31-57.

the Ecclesiological Gothic movement and placed the responsibility of understanding, creating, and correcting church architecture in the hands of the clergy by stating:

> In the Middle Ages the Clergy were frequently the architects as well as the guardians of the Church; and if this cannot be expected now, at all events it is desirable that those to whom the care of our holy edifices is intrusted, [sic] should not be ignorant of the essential principles of the science to which we are all so deeply indebted (5).

Medley, who had designed an Anglican chapel at Oldridge, Devon (1841-43) (fig. 5.5, 5.6) elaborated on his desire for clergy to be more involved in architectural design in 1843, when he published an article on the advantages of open seats in Anglican churches.[25] In this article he discussed church architecture as a practical science that should be entrusted to and protected by the clergy, whom he referred to as guardians of the house of God (158).[26]

Once in New Brunswick, Medley employed the architect Frank Wills (1822-57) to design the first Ecclesiological Gothic Revival church in North America: St Anne's Chapel, Fredericton (1846-47) (fig. 5.7) (Richardson & Richardson 37-39; Thurlby, "Bishop John Medley"). Additionally, in 1850, Frank Wills published, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its*

[25] Medley's chapel at Oldridge demonstrates that he was well-educated in ecclesiology and that he had the ability to design churches himself. His chapel includes many of the architectural features that were considered desirable by the ecclesiologists, including an open-timber roof, stained glass, choir stalls, an elevated chancel with an altar and piscina, and open seats with carved bench ends. Additionally, the chapel had a twelfth-century font that was placed at the west end of the nave immediately west of the south entrance. For more information regarding Oldridge, see: Thurlby, Malcolm, "Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), Frank Wills (1822-1857), and the designs of Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, New Brunswick."

[26] The article, titled "The Advantages of Open Seats," was published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society in 1843 (pp 155-70), and was also published as, *The Advantages of Open Seats*. Oxford: I. Shrimpton, 1843.

Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day. Published in New York, this book was intended to present the American student of the Gothic Revival with a history and glossary of English architecture illustrated by examples of parish churches (5).[27]

As was discussed in Chapter Three, like Wills, William Hay also published on architecture. Whereas Wills was primarily concerned with the architecture of the United States, Hay's publications and his work dealt specifically with Canada and how to adapt his native Gothic Revival to the colony. His ability to remain up-to-date with British architectural trends, his admiration of Pugin, and his desire to make Ecclesiological Gothic a Canadian style, led Hay to have a thriving career as a church architect in Canada, where he executed more than nineteen Anglican church commissions. Hay's success can be measured not only by his own work, but by that of his pupil, Henry Langley. Conversely, while Langley tended to follow the rules of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists that were promoted by Hay fairly strictly, his plans demonstrate a pragmatic necessity for progression in church planning in Canada West, later Ontario, in the second half of the nineteenth century. For Langley, these practical adaptations culminated in a new kind of church planning wherein his churches, modelled after rural English churches, were

[27] Sometime between 1847 and 1848, Wills moved to New York, where he helped organize the New York Ecclesiological Society in 1848. Once founded, the New York Ecclesiological Society received copies of the publications that had been produced by the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society in Britain (Stanton 161). This made important documents like *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841) available in North America. The New York Society also began publishing a journal, The New-York Ecclesiologist, in October 1848. In its first edition a lecture by Wills entitled, "Reality in Architecture," was published. For more information regarding Frank Wills, see Richardson, Douglas. "WILLS, FRANK"; Thurlby, Malcolm. Christ Church Maugerville, New Brunswick: Bishop Medley, William Butterfield, Frank Wills, and the Transmission of Ecclesiological Principles in Anglican Churches in New Brunswick"; Thurlby, Malcolm. "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario."

no longer suitable for the countryside. They were instead fast becoming intended for growing Ontario urban centres.

The Anglican Churches

The first Anglican design commission Langley undertook was for St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto (fig. 5.8, 5.9).[28] Originally quite picturesque in appearance on a small square, the inspiration for the exterior of St Peter's was the thirteenth-century church, St Michael's, Longstanton. The Cambridge Camden Society first suggested Longstanton as a prototype appropriate for the colonies when the building committee for St James the Less, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, petitioned for drawings for their proposed new church.[29] The society sent them a set of measured drawings of St Michael's, which then became a standard model for Anglican architecture in North America. In Canada, St Michael's became a model commonly reproduced by architects, including Frank Wills (1822-57), William Hay, and Thomas Fuller (1823-98). In Canada, Longstanton-styled churches often omitted the nave-aisle arrangement that can be found at St Michael's, in favour of an aisleless interior. While there is no exact model for this arrangement, it has medieval precedence and can be found at St John the Baptist Church, Strixton (Northamptonshire), a parish church that was provided as an example of thirteenth-century English architecture in James Barr's *Anglican Church Architecture*. Additionally, the architectural details of Strixton were published in 1849, in Edward Barr's, *Elevations, Sections, and Details of Strixton Church, Northamptonshire*. Although Barr's monograph received a

[28] Many publications list St Peter's Anglican Church as Langley's second Anglican commission, giving credit to the rebuilding of St Stephen-in-the Fields as his first; however, the drawings for St Peter's indicate that it was designed on 29 December 1864, nearly one year before the fire that destroyed the original St Stephen-in-the Fields.

[29] St James the Less, Philadelphia was described in The New York Ecclesiologist's section on "New Churches" in October 1848. For more information regarding St James the Less, Philadelphia, see Stanton, Phoebe. *The Gothic Revival and American Architecture*.

negative review in *The Ecclesiologist*, it provided architects with a workable model for small churches. Langley's design, however, is particularly High Victorian and incorporates modern British architectural practices and theories that set it apart from the commissions executed by the firm when it was under Hay's leadership.

The façade of St Peter's rises from a wide base and extends upward in a heavily buttressed formation, culminating at an open bell cote. The façade pilasters leading to the bell cote that curve to form a surround for the west window at St Peter's are in imitation of the façade buttresses that can be found on either side of the west window at Longstanton (fig. 5.10).[30] The two-cell plan of nave and chancel with a south porch are all consistent with the Longstanton model and mimic many of William Hay's Anglican designs, including St Anne's Episcopal Church, Coupar Angus, Scotland (1847), St Paul's Anglican Church, Southampton, Ontario (1861) (dem.), and Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (1861) (figs 5.11, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.15). Many nineteenth-century authors and architects considered the two-cell plan to be the epitome of church design. For example, in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England and some remarks relative to Ecclesiastical Architecture and Decoration* (1843), Pugin wrote that a proper English parish church should consist of a nave, a south porch, and a chancel at the east end separated from the nave (16). Additionally, also published in 1843, James Barr wrote in *Anglican Church Architecture*, that it was the only plan that allowed the sacraments to be properly administered according to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer (21).

Langley's plan at St Peter's is also consistent with the ethical architectural canons promoted by Pugin. As Kenneth Clark explains in *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History*

[30] The reproduction of the Longstanton façade buttresses are particularly telling in terms of its influence at this church.

of Taste, for Pugin, Gothic was not only a style, but also a religion (122). As such, as was noted in Chapter Four, church architecture was representative of religious belief and truth; therefore, church planning had to be truthful and not hide construction materials, the essential parts of a building, or their functions. Pugin wrote about this in *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, first published in 1841, where he calls buildings that conceal their parts miserable and expedient and worthy only of a debased style (5). This type of architectural deceit came to be described within ecclesiological circles as "sham".[31]

At St Peter's, truth in design is accomplished through the division of the primary church areas, which are clearly delineated by the use of distinctive roof elevations. In terms of Anglican theology, the Ecclesiologists believed the structure of a church building physically embodied and represented the Anglican faith; therefore, the three primary areas of the church also symbolically make reference to the Holy Trinity ("Mr. Hope's Essay" 86).[32]

The steep pitch of the roof and the lack of aisles at St Peter's is a departure from the Longstanton model, which has a broad nave with a low-pitched roof that covers the north and south aisles. This indicates that Langley was looking to more modern sources for inspiration and likely was influenced by William Hay's, and ultimately Pugin's, writings. Both insisted that a steep roof was essential for the revival of Gothic architecture, and in his article "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada," Hay indicates specifically that a steep roof is necessary for Canadian weather (258). Additionally, Hay often designed churches without aisles. Examples can be found at All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856), and St George, Pickering Village (1857).

---

[31] For example, many churches were described as having sham elements in *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology, or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy*, which was written by Benjamin Webb in 1848.

[32] Links to ecclesiology would have been essential for this commission; the first incumbent was The Revd Samuel Johnson Boddy of St John's College, Cambridge.

The building materials used at St Peter's are a further divergence from the church's model; St Michael's, Longstanton was executed in stone, while Langley chose to use polychromatic (red and white) brick from the Don Valley. Pugin used brick on several occasions, primarily for houses, convents, and schools, but examples of brick ecclesiastical commissions exist at St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham (1839), St Wilfrid's, Hulme (1839), and St Augustine's, Kenilworth (1841). Moreover, William Hay was a proponent of brick, as evidenced by his numerous brick churches, including St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village (1857) and Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (1861). Hay, however, did not use polychromatic brick in his designs, but rather preferred to incorporate a sense of rural simplicity in his brick churches (figs 5.15, 5.16).[33] This kind of simplicity came out of the early ecclesiological movement and has been described by Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, as the movement's greatest architectural contribution (201). This indicates that Langley was looking to more contemporary sources and architects for inspiration, and in all likelihood was influenced by the writings of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and the work of William Butterfield (1814-1900) and George Edmund Street (1824-81).

As a critic, John Ruskin had no interest in the practical matters of architecture; he did not design buildings, create plans, or concern himself with functional design matters (Dixon and Muthesius 202). Instead, as Michael W. Brooks explains in his book, *Ruskin and Victorian*

[33] William Hay's contemporary, Frank Wills, also used brick for St Paul's Anglican Church, Glanford (1850). For a detailed architectural history of that church see:
Thurlby, Malcolm, "19th-Century Churches in Hamilton: Barton Stone United Church and St Paul's Anglican Church, Glanford." *Raise the Hammer* (2007): n.p.; and Thurlby, Malcolm, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St Peter's, Barton, and St Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 32.1 (2007): 49-60.

Architecture, he viewed buildings as an act of expression and approached the topic of architecture as an artist (1). Sensitive to the material and visual qualities of colour and texture, Ruskin viewed architecture as a subordinate part of landscape; therefore, in his writings he advocated for buildings that would enhance the qualities of nature, preferring the lighting effects of arches, the natural colours of materials, and the simplicity of a building's outline (Brooks 1-2). Ruskin's architectural criticisms were, however, rife with moral claims that were undoubtedly influenced by Pugin. In fact, as indicated by Kenneth Clark, "The Lamp of Truth," found in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), is essentially little more than an attack on sham (193). While Ruskin, like Pugin, was a moralist, he did not have a religious axe to grind in his works, and, unlike most of his contemporaries, he did not insist that Gothic architecture be used for any one specific purpose or religious denomination (Dixon and Muthesius 202). This is perhaps best seen in the series of articles "The Poetry of Architecture; or, the Architecture of the Nations of Europe considered in its association with Natural Scenery and National Character," that he published under the pseudonym Kata Phusin, in the *Architectural Magazine* starting in 1838. While echoing many of Pugin's principles, the articles are devoted solely to the discussion of domestic architecture. Ruskin's ideas were, however, taken up whole-heartedly by many practising ecclesiological architects, especially William Butterfield and George Edmund Street, who were both prominent members of the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society and became great champions for the use of brick and permanent polychromy in church architecture.

Butterfield demonstrated his love for polychromatic brick through his buildings, including his most famous church, All Saints, Margaret Street, London, which was funded by the Ecclesiological Society and began construction in 1850 (fig. 5.17). Street also used polychromy in his churches, as demonstrated at St James the Less, Pimlico, London (fig. 5.18), but his most

important contributions to the argument were through lectures and publications. For example, in 1850 he published "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church," in *The Ecclesiologist*, and on 18 February 1852, he gave a lecture entitled "The True Principles of Architecture and the Possibilities of Development," which was published in the August 1852 edition of *The Ecclesiologist*. As demonstrated by the playful title, this lecture, delivered one year after Ruskin's first publication of *The Stones of Venice*, took up Pugin's argument for Gothic architecture and combined it with the principles of architecture Ruskin outlined in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, but insisted that the style could not be static and that church builders should broaden their scope in terms of inspiration to include non-British sources, specifically recommending Italian buildings for their use of varying materials and colour (*The True Principles of Architecture and the Possibilities of Development* 249-50; Dixon and Muthesius 203).[34]

Street's admiration of ecclesiology and Ruskin is not surprising. Looking outside of England for architectural inspiration, while not often practised, was recommended by one of the founders of the Ecclesiological Gothic movement, Benjamin Webb. In 1848, three years before the publication of *The Stones of Venice*, Webb published *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy*, which is essentially a string of travel notes Webb made about each of the churches he visited while on the continent. Additionally, Street, like William Hay, trained with George Gilbert Scott, who was highly regarded by the Ecclesiologists and also an admirer of Ruskin. This is evidenced by Scott using a quote from Ruskin's "Lamp of Truth" at the opening of his 1850 monograph *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient*

[34] In 1855, Street also published *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of Tours in the North of Italy*, which surveyed the use of brick in the medieval period.

Churches (n.p.). Together, Ruskin, Street, and Butterfield changed the face of Ecclesiological Gothic Revival churches by ushering in the High Victorian movement in architecture, which was characterized by eclecticism, permanent polychrome, and surface textures created through varying materials.[35]

All of the ornament on the exterior of St Peter's Church, Toronto, is created through the interplay of coloured brick, placing Langley in-line with his British contemporaries. This type of colouration was used by William Butterfield at the rural parish church, St Barnabas, Horton-cum-Studley in 1867, and by William White (1825-1900) at Christ Church, Smannell in 1856, where the illusion of buttress weatherings is created through polychrome in a similar manner as at St Peter's (figs 5.19, 5.20). [36] The necessity to be 'in fashion' architecturally was presumably made necessary by the neighbourhood where St Peter's is located. According to John Ross Robertson, the people who attended and supported the church were "Neat, cleanly [sic] and cultured people" and their homes were "correspondingly superior" (36).

While the use of permanent polychrome decoration is expressly High Victorian, it is still in-line with the architectural rules developed by Pugin, whose second principle of Christian architecture outlined in *True Principles*, asserts that, "all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building" (1). Pugin's principles were not lost in High Victorianism; in fact, according to Rosemary Hill, Pugin and his ideas were at the heart of it (432). Ruskin, a founder of the movement, had reiterated many of Pugin's ideas in his writings. For example, Ruskin's "Lamp of Truth," in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, recalls Pugin's

[35] George Gilbert Scott was also a founder of the High Victorian movement; however, it is primarily his public buildings, such as the Midland Hotel at St Pancras Station, London (1865), and the Albert Memorial, London (1864-72), that are associated with High Victorianism.
[36] William White worked in GG Scott's office at the same time as Street and Hay, and Christ Church, Smannell was featured in the 1858 Architectural Exhibition in London.

ideas regarding truth in design and to materials, and his "Nature of Gothic," in the *Stones of Venice*, echoes Pugin's beliefs regarding architectural utility; therefore, in High Victorian architecture, Pugin's ideas remained central architectural principles, but they were translated into buildings in new and progressive manners.

As much as the exterior of St Peter's Church, Toronto, combines early and High Victorian architectural ideas, the interior does the same (fig. 5.21).[37] Many elements of the interior are absolutely ecclesiologically-correct and follow the architectural rules outlined in *A Few Words to Church Builders*. First, there is a distinct separation of the nave and the sanctuary accentuated by a change in elevation and a large chancel arch. For the Cambridge Camden Society, the separation of these two spaces was essential in the interior of churches. *A Few Words to Church Builders* indicates the nave and chancel are the only areas absolutely essential for a building to be labelled a church, explaining that symbolically and metaphorically, the nave represents the Church Militant for the attendees, and the chancel represents the Church Triumphant, expressly appropriated for the solemn rites of the Anglican service (5).

The 'stepping up' to the chancel from the nave was also prescribed in *A Few Words to Church Builders*, which indicates, "Every chancel…should be raised at least two steps at the Chancel arch" (11). Perhaps more importantly for St Peter's, it adds that, "a Chancel level with the Nave is all the more objectionable when…the Roodscreen is wanting" (11). While the current chancel arrangement only has one step at both the entrance to the chancel and at the altar, the chancel has been changed from its intended arrangement. The original 1864 drawings indicate that there were originally two steps at both locations (fig. 5.22).

[37] The interior of St Peter's Anglican Church has undergone many renovations, including additions made by the Langley firm in 1872.

In accordance with Pugin's principle of truth to materials, the wood corbels, wall rafters, and ceiling braces, were left exposed. Moreover, although they are now covered with paint, this truth to materials also extended to the brick of the walls, which were arranged in a striped pattern similar to those used by Butterfield and Street in this period (figs 5.23, 5.24). In 1904, John Ross Robertson reported that the interior of St Peter's had an amount of decoration and ornament that gave it a very handsome appearance with white brick walls interlaid with red brick to vary the colour (36) (fig. 5.25).

According to Robertson, the most decorative area of the church interior was the chancel. He described it as having carved wainscoting and a panelled ceiling painted dark blue with gilt stars (36). Echoing and consolidating many of the suggestions for chancel arrangements made by the Cambridge Camden Society, James Barr described the expected layout and decoration of chancels in *Anglican Church Architecture*, indicating that since it is set aside for the reverent celebration of the Holy Eucharist it should be, "...designed of spacious and dignified proportions, and...highly-embellished, but all decorations...of a severe and religious character" (45). Having this area highly decorated was standard in Anglican churches and the kind of panelled chancel ceiling at St Peter's was often used by Pugin, including at his only full Anglican commission, St Lawrence Church, Tubney (1845), and his most celebrated church, which was commissioned by the Earl of Shrewsbury, St Giles, Cheadle (1841-46) (figs 5.26, 5.27).

In the chancel of St Peter's, Langley emphasized the religious character described by James Barr by including three Early English windows. Triple lancets were favoured by the Cambridge Camden Society, who posited in *A Few Words to Church Builders*, "...it need not be said, (they) symbolize the Holy Trinity" (13). The use of these windows by Langley probably stems from two influential sources: St Michael's, Longstanton, and William Hay. In addition to

the Cambridge Camden Society providing measured drawings of St Michael's to the building committee of St James the Less, Philadelphia in 1846, exterior and interior drawings of St Michael's were published in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's 1848 monograph *Parish Churches: being perspective views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions*, which first appeared in twelve parts that were published between 1846 and 1847 (*Parish Churches* n.p.). This was a pattern book intended to provide architects in England and abroad with exterior and interior drawings, as well as architectural details, dimensions, and descriptions of parish churches in England. The sketch of the interior of St Michael's, Longstanton, includes a stunning example of an Early English medieval triple lancet window located in the chancel (fig. 5.28).

While the triple lancet motif can be found at Longstanton, it is more likely that Langley became aware of the motif via William Hay. Hay used triple lancets in nearly all of his Anglican chancels, including All Saints, Niagara Falls (1856), St George's, Pickering Village (1858), St Luke's, Vienna (1860), and Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (1861), which were all designed while Langley was in Hay's office (figs 5.29, 5.30, 5.31, 5.32).

The one detail of the interior that departs from the rules of ecclesiology is the original seating plan; it did not have a central passage leading to the chancel (figs 5.33, 5.34). This plan is extremely unusual for Anglican churches and harkens back to the classically-inspired, 'preaching box' style of church interior that was preferred in the Romantic period of the Gothic Revival, as at Old St Thomas Church, St Thomas, Ontario (1824) (fig. 5.35). These plans are most often associated with the eighteenth-century architect, James Gibbs (1682-1754), whose work became

popular in North America after the 1728 publication of *A Book of Architecture* (Thurlby, "Nineteenth-Century Churches in Hamilton" n.p.).[38]

Seating plans such as these, and the box pews that were used to create them, were intolerable for the Ecclesiologists. In *A Few Words to Church Builders,* they urged the removal and prohibition of box pews calling them, "monstrous innovations" that promote "unmixed evil" (20). They expanded on this sentiment in the pamphlet *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments,* which was first published in 1841. In the pamphlet they state that box pews do harm to the churches and the people in them by fostering an environment of selfishness and distraction, wherein church attendees are often forced to kneel facing one another rather than the chancel. This, according to the Cambridge Camden Society, left an impression of men worshipping each other, rather than God (11-12).[39]

Langley's straying from the rules of ecclesiology by including box pews in his design for St Peter's Church is curious; however, an 1866 letter to the congregation of St Peter's, written by the churchwarden, F. Richardson, indicates that the church had incurred a considerable amount of debt through its building campaign. This and other church records specify that these debts and future expenses were to be paid by pew rents and through the introduction of the Envelope System that was already being used at St James Cathedral, also in Toronto (Allen, *History of St*

[38] According to Nigel Yates, liturgically, plans with three blocks of pews were popular in the pre-Tractarian 1800's because, when combined with an interior that broke up the triple-decker pulpit into separate pulpit and reading desk, it provided a clear view to the altar (*Buildings, Faith and Worship* 116).

[39] Besides being discussed in the pamphlets produced by the Cambridge Camden Society, pews were the subject of many articles and correspondences published in *The Ecclesiologist* in the 1840's and 1850's.

Peter's Anglican Church; Richardson, *To the Congregation*).[40] This may account for the use of box pews in the plan of St Peter's. Catering to the needs and wants of a congregation when designing churches was a well-established tradition in the nineteenth century. George Gilbert Scott, for example, is known to have strayed from the norms of ecclesiology to accommodate church service requirements. Although built before the official founding of the Cambridge Camden Society, Scott's first church commission at Flaunden, Hertfordshire, was built in 1839 for an evangelical Anglican community and thus included a gallery and did not have a chancel (Cole 16).

For Langley, the inspiration for the seating plan at St Peter's Church was, again, likely William Hay. Hay used a similar plan, albeit on a smaller scale, when he designed St Luke's Anglican Church, Vienna (1860-62). Langley would have been in the final stages of his apprenticeship when St Luke's was designed and, as a clerk, was likely involved in its design, or at the very least, the draughting of its plans to some degree.

Langley's design for St Peter's was a constant work-in-progress throughout his career and he altered it several times. In 1872, he added transepts to the church to increase its seating ability from 400 to 540 and added an organ chamber to the north side of the chancel (fig. 5.36). Additionally, in 1880, he added a new west porch with a west and south entry and increased the seating by approximately forty seats (fig. 5.37). In 1905, St Peter's replaced all of its box pews with open seating. This renovation, which created a nave-aisle arrangement, effectively completed the ecclesiological nature of Langley's design (fig. 5.25).

[40] St James Cathedral, Toronto had paid seating until 1888, when the interior was modified by Frank Darling, who trained with Langley from 1866 until 1870.

Since the design for St Peter's Church, Toronto, was revisited by Langley on several occasions, it is not surprising that he used it as a source of inspiration for other Anglican commissions, including St Thomas Anglican Church, Brooklin, which Langley designed in 1869 (figs 5.38, 5.39, 5.40). Executed entirely in wood, St Thomas was the first Anglican church to be built in the village.[41]

The façade of St Thomas Church has a pilaster that rises to create a lancet frame in imitation of the St Peter's façade buttresses. Moreover, as at St Peter's, that frame extends upward to form a bellcote, which in Brooklin is rendered in wood. Overall, however, this church represents a reflection back to what Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson describe as William Hay's, "Romantic essay in wood", the now demolished, first Garrison Church of Toronto, which was built in 1858 (fig. 5.41) (171).[42] At the time of the Garrison Church's construction Langley was in his fourth year of indentureship with Hay and was likely involved in the design process for the building. At St Thomas, Brooklin, the size and shape of the windows, the patterning of the board and batten, and the placement of the north porch, all make reference to Hay's 1858

[41] Religiously, Brooklin was predominantly Protestant. In 1869, there existed four churches: a Presbyterian Church (1862), a Methodist Episcopal Church (1845), a Wesleyan Methodist Church (1867), and St Thomas Anglican Church (1869).

[42] While the proper name of the church was St John the Evangelist, the Hay church is usually referred to as the Garrison Church because it was built to serve the local community around Stewart Street in Toronto and the Garrison stationed at Fort York and the Stanley Barracks. Additionally, this title avoids confusion, as the Garrison Church was replaced by a brick church in 1893, which was built on Portland Street to the designs of Eden Smith (1858-1949).

design.[43]

Langley's church departs from its model by eliminating the aisles that were present in the Garrison Church. Hay's church was located in Toronto and was intended to serve a large population; however, in 1869, Brooklin was a small community of 500-600 people (Conner and Coltson 18). According to the plan, this church was designed to hold a maximum of 150 people (*Brooklin Church*). In comparison to the Garrison Church, or Langley's design for St Peter's, which originally was built to seat 400, 150 was a very small maximum capacity; therefore, aisles were not necessary in this church design.

Much like the exterior, the interior of St Thomas Church is an exercise in truth to design and materials (figs 5.42, 5.43). The importance of not concealing the materials used in the construction of a church was described by Pugin in *True Principles*, where he states that, "Pointed architecture does not conceal her construction, but beautifies it…" (3). At St Thomas Church, this truth to materials is best exemplified by the wood beams of the ceiling, which have been left truthfully exposed. In *A Few Words to Church Builders*, John Mason Neale describes types of ceilings referring to those with tie-beams as resembling barns and those with flat ceilings as reminiscent of drawing rooms, but describes the arched open roof as, "…most elegant and churchlike" (17). The inclusion of open timber roofs, like this one, in churches was further promoted by the Ecclesiologists in 1844, when they published an article on the topic, suggesting that a study be made on English Medieval examples of, what they called, open roofs ("Church

[43] The use of wood for churches was fairly common practice in Canada and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Hay designed several wooden churches in the Maritime provinces in the 1850's, including a Mission Church at St Francis Harbour, Labrador (1850), and an Anglican Church at Lamaline, Newfoundland (1855). Additionally, in 1850, Frank Wills designed Grace Church, Albany, New York as a wooden church, which he published in his 1850 monograph *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*.

Roofing" 101-2). In 1849, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon answered this call and published a detailed study, *Masterpieces of Medieval Open Timber Roofs*. This book was intended to be a pattern book that provided architects with examples of wooden roofs to be emulated in designs that could not accommodate vaults (Brandon, *Masterpieces of Medieval Open Timber Roofs* III). Additionally, this publication lent an antiquarian authenticity to the use of wooden roofs in nineteenth-century church architecture.

The entire interior of the Brooklin church was treated with a basic white wash and recalls the kind of rural simplicity that can be found in many of William Hay's churches, including Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, Ontario (1861), which, although simpler, has a similar open timber roof (fig. 5.44). In 1843, the Cambridge Camden Society printed an article in *The Ecclesiologist*, on simplicity and the importance of maintaining architectural propriety through restraint in ornament, stating that, "genuineness is too often sacrificed for show...and poverty-stricken designs are meretriciously tricked out as if for the mere purpose of deception" ("On Simplicity of Composition" 118). The author of this article was careful to distinguish what was meant by 'poverty-stricken', which he equates to meagreness, not plainness. Plainness he associates with simplicity and gracefulness, which he claims produces a pleasing effect in church architecture (121).

In addition to its simplicity in ornament, the nave with central passage and open pews leading to a slightly elevated chancel at St Thomas Church, makes it more ecclesiologically correct in orientation than Langley's first Anglican design, St Peter's Church, Toronto (1864-5). In 1843, John Medley had described closed (box) pews as, "... not only contrary to all sound principles of Architecture, and fatal to all excellence in the interior arrangement of a Church, but ... inconvenient, illegal, and unchristian" (Medley, "The Advantages of Open Seats" 156). The

Ecclesiologists also much preferred open seating or fixed open pews, such as the ones at St Thomas Church, to the box pews that were designed for St Peter's. They justified their preference for these open-styled benches in an article published in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1845, where they explained that they are more economical and can seat more people ("Open Seats" 270-72). Furthermore, another article published in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1845, focused specifically on wooden churches and acknowledged that open seats and benches were the only appropriate types of seating for churches executed in wood, suggesting that box pews in a wooden church would be an absurdity ("Wooden Churches" 149).

In 1870, Langley designed the Church of the Good Shepherd in Stayner, Ontario (figs 5.45, 5.46). For this Anglican church, Langley revisited his design for St Thomas, Brooklin (1869), combining elements of the Brooklin church with the polychromatic brick he had employed at St Peter's, Toronto (1864-65). The final product was an eclectic church plan that could accommodate 200 people and be built for no more than $3000.00 (Langley and Burke, *Brooklin Church*).

Like Brooklin, the Church of the Good Shepherd is a two-cell plan with nave, chancel, and porch entrance, and it has a bellcote over the west façade. The window arrangement at the west end is, however, noteworthy. Langley included three western lancet windows, not entirely unlike the windows he had used in the east end of St Peter's, Toronto. The placement of triple lancets in the west end of churches was a controversial topic within ecclesiology. The Cambridge Camden Society first approached the subject in 1841 in the second installment of *The Ecclesiologist*, where they wrote, "The triple lancet at the west end has, for a small church, no authority" ("New Churches" 19). Although in 1841, the Cambridge Camden Society did not qualify their distaste for western triple lancets, the topic was discussed on several other

occasions, usually in response to criticism the society took from its own members over this rule. For example, in 1842, *The Ecclesiologist* admitted it had received a letter challenging the rule. In response to this, the Ecclesiologists insisted that western triple lancets were not used in medieval architecture and therefore lacked architectural authority. Further, they suggested that this rule is so important that it ought not be considered a recommendation, but a law ("Western Triplets of Lancets" 37). [44] The Ecclesiologists did however, back off of their conviction to banish western triple lancets in 1843, when they admitted they did not consider their canon regarding the window as a point of vital importance ("Western Triplets" 65).

The inclusion of western triple lancets by Langley is peculiar; the Cambridge Camden Society far preferred, and suggested in their place, two tall and narrow lancets ("New Churches" 19). Additionally, William Hay had never used western triple lancets, but consistently used the double lancets recommended by the Ecclesiologists. With that in mind, the motif likely still came to Langley via Hay; however, it seems to extend back to George Gilbert Scott. Scott's Church of St Mary Magdalene, Flaunden (1838), although built long before Hay's employ by Scott in the mid-1840's, was the likely model for the Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner (fig. 5.47). The western triple lancet windows, south porch, polychrome, and bellcote are the same.[45] G. A. Bremner describes George Gilbert Scott as among the first and greatest champions of the mature (ecclesiological) phase of Gothic Revival in Britain (91). As such, as was implied in the Prologue, Scott would have been somewhat of a figurehead for Langley and his firm; it was Scott who first sent William Hay to Canada as the Clerk of Works for St John's Cathedral,

[44] It should be noted that western triple lancets do find medieval precedent in the west façade of Salisbury Cathedral, Romsey Abbey, and the parish church of St Mary, Potterne (Wiltshire).
[45] It should be noted that, although permanent polychrome exists at both churches, St Mary Magdalene, Flaunden was executed in stone (flint rubble) with red-brick dressings.

Newfoundland, and Hay used many of Scott's buildings as inspiration for his own work in Canada, Bermuda, and Britain. Additionally, in his own day, Scott was considered the greatest architect of the English Ecclesiological Gothic Revival;[46] he executed more than 879 commissions and at least 475 of those were churches (Clark 175).[47] It is, therefore, not terribly surprising that Langley has made reference to Scott, even if through a third-party in the figure of William Hay.

The Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner, does depart from George Gilbert Scott's Flaunden design by adding a large chancel with an apsidal east end. The model for the east end was likely Hay's Garrison Church, Toronto (1858), which, although executed in a somewhat angular manner, was apsidal. In addition to the apsidal east end, the pseudo-transepts that were included on both the north and south sides of The Church of the Good Shepherd augment the eclectic nature of the building. According to the plan for the church, on the interior, these did little more than add an extra window to the eastern-most bay before the chancel; however, on the exterior they created a legitimate form of ornament to the otherwise austere exterior (figs 5.46, 5.48, 5.49). This kind of structural ornamentation was in keeping with Pugin's ideas regarding church ornamentation. As mentioned, Pugin was adamant that all decoration, "should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building" (Pugin, *True Principles* 1).[48]

The actual model for the pseudo-transepts at Stayner came from Langley's Roman Catholic church designs. As Anglican church architecture had governing bodies, like the

[46] While this opinion may have been true amongst many circles, Gavin Stamp argues in "George Gilbert Scott and the Cambridge Camden Society," that Scott was not always favoured by the Cambridge Camden Society, who often criticised his work in *The Ecclesiologist*.
[47] This number reflects information provided by David Cole in Appendix 2 of his book, *The Work of Sir George Gilbert Scott*.
[48] This was Pugin's second principle of architecture and, metaphorically, it was an attack on the excesses of Victorian culture, which he viewed as immoral.

Cambridge Camden Society, so too did Catholic church design.[49] Transepts, or in Langley's case, pseudo-transepts, were required for Catholic church plans and can be found, for example, in his design for St Frances de Sales, Pickering, which was also commissioned in 1870 (fig. 5.50).

In 1885, Langley returned to his design for St Peter's Church, Toronto (1864-65), when he was commissioned for St Mark's Anglican Church in Sandhill (figs 5.51, 5.52). As he had at St Peter's, for this church Langley made reference to St Michael's, Longstanton, through the inclusion of façade buttresses that extend upward into a bellcote. Additionally, the two-cell plan with west porch and south vestry is articulated on the exterior of the church through the use of separate roofs. Moreover, similar to St Peter's, Toronto (1864-65), and The Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner (1870), all of the ornamentation on the exterior of the church is achieved through permanent polychromy.

The interior of St Mark's differs from The Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner (1870), and rather represents an amalgamation of Langley's designs for St Peter's, Toronto (1864-65), and St Thomas, Brooklin (1869). The roof design is similar to that of St Peter's with the wall corbels and ceiling braces exposed, leaving the rest of the ceiling to be panelled. The east triple lancet windows are also taken from St Peter's, Toronto; however, the wide aisle-less nave leading to an elevated chancel is borrowed from Brooklin (fig. 5.53).[50]

[49] As was discussed in Chapter Four, the architectural guidelines for Catholic churches were created in 1577 by Charles Borromeo (1538-84) and outlined in the *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae* (*The Instructiones*).

[50] It should be noted that, although the interior of St Mark's, Sandhill, has been altered extensively, originally the interior likely would have been ornamented through exposed brick in a manner similar to that used at St Peter's, Toronto.

The most interesting design produced by Langley that makes reference to St Peter's Church, Toronto (1864-65), is Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London, which Langley was commissioned to design in 1873 (fig. 5.54).[51] The majority of the exterior repeats many of the features of St Peter's in a fairly standard manner. For example, like St Peter's, the church is executed in yellow brick and has red brick details, reflecting the kind of High Victorian permanent polychromy that was popular in the period. Additionally, Langley included dormer windows, which he had first introduced at St Peter's to take the place of a clerestory. Interestingly, the porch at Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church is the same as the one at St Peter's, Toronto, but Langley did not add it to St Peter's until 1880, indicating that the London church was the model, rather than the copy in terms of the porch.[52]

For this church Langley modified his standard Longstanton design to make it better-suited to its corner location by removing the bellcote, which is traditionally located at the apex of the roof, and placing it at the northwest corner of the façade. Since this church is located on a corner lot, the tower placement corresponds to intersecting streets and is visible from multiple approaches to the church (fig. 5.55). This kind of urbanistic planning, which considers the site of the building and its surroundings in order to deal with building what were essentially rural English churches, in what was fast becoming urban Ontario, became a feature of Langley's practice in the mid-1860's (Westfall and Thurlby 55-57).

---

[51] The church was commissioned in memory of Benjamin Cronyn (1802-71), the first bishop of Huron. Bishop Cronyn was a Low Church supporter. As a result, he founded Huron University College in 1863, which was renamed the University of Western Ontario in 1908. For more information regarding Benjamin Cronyn, see: James J. Talman's entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

[52] It should be noted that Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church was the physical model, but the design was originally made by Langley early in his career for an English Church in Toronto that was never built.

While at first the bellcote design for Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church seems odd, especially seen against Langley's earlier Longstanton designs, but it had a certain amount of authority or precedence through published treatises and pattern books. In *Anglican Church Architecture*, James Barr wrote about deviating from regular church arrangements when the site or location of a proposed church requires it (30). Furthermore, in 1850, George Truefitt published the pattern book *Designs for Country Churches*, which depicted twenty-two full-page perspective illustrations of religious architecture in idyllic British scenery (Magrill 72). The book was reviewed in *The Ecclesiologist* in June 1850, where Truefitt was admired for his attempt to think in Gothic and create original designs to avoid blatant copyism ("Truefitt's Designs" 47).[53] Design no. XVIII, is of a church with a bellcote moved to the southwest corner (fig. 5.56). While the bellcote at Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church is located at the northwest corner, the drawings for the church indicates that it was planned at the southwest corner and subsequently moved to accommodate the church lot (fig. 5.57). Locating the bellcote at the corner of the building is very rare in both Canada and England; therefore, Truefitt's design is likely to have provided Langley with the model for Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church.

Although it is difficult to imagine a prolific architect, like Langley, using a pattern book, as Barry Magrill indicates in *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada, 1867-1914*, this was a common practice in the High Victorian period in Britain and the colony to keep architects apprised of the latest architectural fashions (72). Magrill suggests that George Gilbert Scott may even have used pattern books on occasion, and indicates that Scott might have referred to a book when designing St John the Baptist Cathedral, Newfoundland, which (again) was the

[53] According to Barry Magrill, the rural scenes that accompanied the churches in *Designs for Country Churches* were well-admired in Canada, where countryside and wilderness areas were being developed (*A Commerce of Taste*, 72).

commission that sent William Hay to Canada as Scott's assistant and clerk-of-works (68-73).[54] Additionally, when examining burial chapels, Magrill infers that Langley may have used Design IX from Truefitt's book when designing the chapel for the Necropolis, Toronto (1871-72) (Magrill 81).

Despite the fact that Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London (1873), was one of Langley's most interesting designs, it was not his first urbanistic commission. In 1865, Langley designed All Saints Anglican Church in Whitby using an urbanistic arrangement (figs 5.58, 5.59). As shown by the pathways included in the presentation sketch of All Saints, the church was located on a corner lot. As such, Langley placed the façade tower at the southwest corner where it would be most visible. As was briefly discussed in Chapter Four, Pugin viewed spires as beacons that could direct the faithful to the Church. In addition to writing about the importance of spires, Pugin illustrated how spires call attention to a church in *Contrasts*. His sketch of contrasted towns depicts the importance of spires for his Christian architecture. Each religious building is marked by a soaring spire, which differentiates it from the other buildings of the town (fig. 5.60). The spire was essentially emblematic of Christianity and Christian architecture. In much the same manner as the Ecclesiologists viewed triple lancets as symbolic of the Holy Trinity, with their great height and verticality, for Pugin, spires represented the Resurrection (Pugin, *Contrasts* 3). Pugin elaborated on this notion in *True Principles,* where he describes spires as an, "ancient and appropriate termination" for Christian architecture (Pugin, *True*

[54] Magrill illustrates a specimen page from George Truefitt's *Designs for Country Churches*, in relation to the Newfoundland cathedral; however, it is highly unlikely that the two are related in any kind of model/copy relationship since the cathedral was begun in 1846, four years before the first publication of Truefitt's book. Whether based on a pattern book design or not, Scott's design for the Newfoundland cathedral was revolutionary in terms of colonial architecture. According to G. A. Bremner, it heralded the dawn of a new era in colonial church architecture, wherein original design took precedence over the imitation of pre-existing models (91).

Principles 11). Moreover, in 1843, Pugin's "Letter on Spires" was published in the *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture*, wherein Pugin declared that he could not imagine how an architect of the Early or Decorated period of Gothic architecture could have designed a tower to be terminated without a spire, suggesting that every complete tower has a spire (19-20; 27).

For the overall design of the exterior of All Saints Church, Whitby, Langley looked to William Hay for inspiration. The profile of All Saints is nearly identical to William Hay's (now demolished) Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (1855) (fig. 5.61). Ultimately, however, the design of All Saints Church can be traced to George Gilbert Scott, who designed (the now demolished) St Mark's Church, Birmingham in 1840. While the tower at St Mark's, which also had a broach spire, was placed at the northwest corner, the triple lancet western windows surmounted by a small window contained within a large lancet enclosing arch are identical (fig. 5.62).[55]

While the exterior of All Saints Church was likely directly inspired by Hay's Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (1855), the interior was designed after the rules of ecclesiology.[56] Like the design Langley would prepare five years later for the Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner (1870), All Saints had a wide nave with a central passage leading to a raised chancel and elevated altar (fig. 5.63). Additionally, as at St Peter's, Toronto (1864-65), the brick walls, wood wall corbels and ceiling arch braces were all left exposed, and, as indicated by an archival photograph, the panelling in the chancel was decorated with gilt stars (fig. 5.64). Whereas Langley's design for Stayner included pseudo-transepts and an apsidal chancel, All

[55] Perhaps not coincidentally, St Mark's Church, Birmingham was also located on a corner lot; however, the streets intersected at the northwest side of the church where the tower was located.
[56] In 2009, All Saints Church was gutted by fire, but has since been restored.

Saints Church had a simpler arrangement with a flat-ended chancel pierced by an Early English triple lancet window surmounted by three small roundels.[57]

Reusing many of the design elements from All Saints Church, Whitby, in 1866, Langley prepared plans for St John the Evangelist Church, Port Hope (figs 5.65, 5.66). Like All Saints, St John the Evangelist Church has a southwest tower; however, the tower in Port Hope has a separate foundation and is extended from the church façade, whereas in Whitby the tower was placed at the west end of the south aisle. The Cambridge Camden Society cited specific places on the exterior of a church that were appropriate for a tower; all of these sites were attached to the body of the church, at the end of an aisle, over the chancel, attached to a transept, or in the centre of the west façade (Neale, *A Few Words to Church Builders* 8). Additionally, while Pugin had designed churches with towers in the southwest and northwest corner positions, he did not design a tower as a separate architectural component in the same manner as at Port Hope.[58] In Port Hope, the tower is attached to the south aisle and acts as a porch. Moreover, the tower is also very large and imposing likely as a result of the location of the church on a descending hill. George Gilbert Scott had done something similar at St Mark's, Swindon (1843-45) where the church tower is attached to the north aisle as a porch.[59] While it is unclear if Swindon was the actual model for the tower placement at Port Hope, a sketch of the church was published in the *Illustrated London News* on 11 October 1845 (fig. 5.67).

[57] Langley did not start using pseudo-transepts or apsidal east ends until 1870, when he designed several Catholic Churches, including St Frances de Sales, Pickering (1870).
[58] Examples of Pugin's churches with towers placed at the northwest and southwest corner exist at St Peter's, Marlow (1844-50), St Wilfrid's, Cotton College (1846-48), St Osmund's, Salisbury (1846-48), and St Thomas of Canterbury, Fulham (1847-48).
[59] The tower arrangement at Swindon was described by David Cole as, "an unusual position" (28).

While the layout of the façade is similar to All Saints, Whitby, the façade windows, as well as the shape of the tower and spire, are totally different. For these elements Langley seems to have again looked to George Gilbert Scott. In 1843, Scott designed St Michael's Church, Bowes Park; the windows and tower are nearly identical, but the tower placement is different (fig. 5.68). Langley moved the tower to its most urbanistic position, which in Port Hope, was the southwest corner of the church. Langley used a similar tower in the same location as Scott's in 1870, when he designed St John's Church, Dixie (Mississauga), and in 1872, when he designed St John the Evangelist Church, Elora (fig. 5.69).

The interior of St John the Evangelist, Port Hope is virtually a reproduction of the interior of All Saints, Whitby (1865) (fig. 5.70). Like Whitby, there is a wide aisle-less nave with a central passage leading to an elevated chancel and altar. The primary difference between All Saints, Whitby, and St John the Evangelist, Port Hope, is the ceiling. In Port Hope there is a wooden hammer beam roof, whereas in Whitby there was a wood arch braced ceiling over the nave and hammer beams were reserved for the chancel.

In terms of Langley's career, St John the Evangelist was his first attempt at creating a 'total design'. For this church he designed not only the building, but all of the fittings, including the altar rail, pulpit, reading desk, iron roof cresting, choir stalls, sedilia, and bishop's chair (figs 5.71, 5.72). The notion of 'total design', which would become a central characteristic of the Arts and Crafts Movement, was initiated largely by Pugin.[60] When Pugin designed churches, he often also took responsibility for the furnishings, fittings, plate, and even the floor tiles and stained glass windows. For example, at St Giles, Cheadle, Pugin designed the entire building and its

[60] For information regarding the Arts and Crafts Movement, see: Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan's, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*.

contents, including the screen, tiles, chandeliers, candle sticks, and the stained glass (figs 5.73, 5.74, 5.75). Additionally, Pugin wrote about church fittings in *True Principles,* where he illustrated and gave details regarding the design of wallpaper, floor tiles, hinges, and other church fittings (20-33).

The Ecclesiologists also promoted the idea of total design for church architecture. For example, in an article about chancel arrangements published in 1844, the Ecclesiologists discuss chancel furnishings and their proper placement, which they gleaned authority for in the Book of Common Prayer. According to the article, the Book of Common Prayer demands that prayers and songs be recited from the chancel. Architecturally, this then necessitates choir stalls and prayer desks ("The Arrangement of Chancels" 161-63).

In terms of total design, one of Langley's most important commissions was for the completion of Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, which was begun by William Thomas (1799-1860) between 1852 and 1854 (fig. 5.76).[61] Save for the façade, Thomas completed the first two bays of the nave and the chancel; the rest was completed by Langley, Langley, and Burke between 1874 and 1875, whose design relies heavily on the preliminary work by Thomas (MacRae and Adamson 148-49, Langley, Langley and Burke, *Completion of Christ Church Hamilton*). The most detailed and original part of the drawings, and concomitantly the commission, is the furnishings, which, although more decorative, are reminiscent of those that Langley designed for Port Hope (fig. 5.77).[62]

[61] While William Thomas created a design for the whole cathedral, only parts of it were used and appended to the 1830's classical cathedral designed by Robert Charles Wetherell.
[62] For the completion of the Hamilton cathedral Langley designed choir stalls, sedilia, a credence table, a communion table, a lectern, a reading desk, and a Bishop's chair.

In Canada, pattern books illustrating church fittings were widely available. In 1847, the Ecclesiological Society published the first edition of the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, which provided church architects with working drawings of church fittings. Many of the examples of hinges and iron work display the same kind of foliage designs that Langley used at St John the Evangelist Church, Port Hope (1866) (fig. 5.78). In addition to the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, in 1847, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon published *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: Illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of Doorways, Windows, etc. and accompanied with Remarks on the Several Details of an Ecclesiastical Edifice*. Their intention was for this book to supply architects with samples of medieval ecclesiastical details by presenting a series of specimens from existing churches (*An Analysis of Gothick Architecture* v). This book illustrates Gothic canopies, windows, mouldings, buttresses, woodwork, and metalwork. While it is unclear if Langley actually used this particular pattern book, the drawing of Window No. 3, depicting a window from the south side of the chancel of Glapthorne Church, Northamptonshire, is similar to the windows on the façade of St John the Evangelist, Port Hope (fig. 5.79).

In 1868, Langley designed St John's Church, Ancaster (figs 5.80, 5.81).[63] This was also a total design for Langley and, as the drawings located in the church indicate, he designed the building and its furnishings, including the iron hinges for the door and the furniture for the chancel. The litany desk is of particular note, as it closely matches one that was published in the second edition of the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* (figs 5.82, 5.83).

Langley first worked on St John's Church in 1865, when he was commissioned to add a chancel to the first St John's Church, which was constructed in 1824 as a Gibbsian-styled

[63] For a detailed architectural analysis and history of St John's Church, Ancaster, see: Thurlby, Malcolm and Candace Iron. "St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster: An Architectural History." *Raise the Hammer* (2007).

preaching box in the Romantic Gothic Revival style (fig. 5.84). Paintings of the first church housed in the church archives indicate that it was a wide, rectangular church with a central tower that partially projected at the west end. The windows, which were sash windows more commonly seen in domestic architecture, were pointed and had intersecting tracery.[64] Additionally, the tower had two balustrades and a small spire. Originally there were two windows in the east end of the church, which indicates that it had a double-decker pulpit against the east wall. While there are some examples of double-decker pulpits in Anglican churches, as at St James Anglican Church, Long Reach, New Brunswick (1841-43) (fig. 5.85), the arrangement was more popular for nonconformist churches. Examples can be found at the Barrington Meeting House, Barrington, Nova Scotia (1765), the Covenanter's Church, Grand Pre, Nova Scotia (1804) (fig.5.86), Union Presbyterian Church, Albert Bridge, Cape Breton (1857), and St Andrew's Church, Scarborough, Ontario (1849), although the pulpit has been removed in the latter example.

After the influence of the Tractarian Movement and Ecclesiology spread to North America, it was not uncommon for Anglican churches that had been built to the 'preaching-box' plan to have chancels added to them. In 1844, chancels were described by the Ecclesiologists as, "an indispensible part of a church" ("The Arrangement of Chancels" 161). Adding chancels to churches, which were often less than twenty years old, was a solution for congregations to make their church more ecclesiologically sound without taking on a complete rebuild. Examples of added chancels can be found throughout Ontario, including at St Mary Magdalene, Picton (1823;

[64] In this period it was not uncommon for sash windows with intersecting tracery to be used in church architecture. Examples exist at Old St Thomas Church, St Thomas, Ontario (1824), St Mary Magdalene Church, Picton, Ontario (1823-25), St John's Presbyterian Church, Belfast, PEI (1823-26), Paris Plains Church, Paris, Ontario (1845), and St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Thorah, Ontario (1840).

chancel added 1863-64), St James Anglican Church, Paris (1839; chancel added 1865), and the former Holy Trinity Church, Consecon (1847) (figs 5.87, 5.88, 5.89).

In 1868, a fire destroyed all of the original Ancaster church, save for the limestone chancel Langley had added in 1865, and Langley was commissioned to design a new building. Since Langley's new church also has a rectangular body and a partially projecting central façade tower, it appears that Langley reused the foundation of the first building, or, at the very least, modelled the new foundation after it (fig. 5.90). For the overall design of the tower, Langley appears to have looked to George Gilbert Scott's 1843 design for Holy Trinity Church, Shaftesbury. The tower's crenellations, pinnacles, and plate-traceried centre panel are akin to Scott's, while the top panel of the tower has an identical window and moulding (fig. 5.91).[65]

Unlike Scott's Shaftesbury church, which was not built with a chancel, Langley's new St John's Church conforms to the rules of ecclesiology. St John's has a steeply-pitched roof, tall walls, and is constructed of stone, which was the Ecclesiologists' favorite building material (Neale, *A Few Words to Church Builders* 9). While both the Ecclesiologists and Pugin would have objected to Langley's use of wood for the tracery of the windows, William Hay had used wooden tracery at St George's Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario (1857), and Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, Ontario (1861). Moreover, the kind of tracery, the moulding, and the masonry around the window are nearly identical to one that Pugin illustrated in *True Principles* (figs 5.92, 5.93).

[65] Langley would only use this style of tower once more for an Anglican commission, at St James Church, Stratford, which he designed in 1870. In Stratford, Langley moved the tower to the southwest corner, in its most urbanistic position.

The interior of St John's mirrors that of St John the Evangelist, Port Hope (1866) (fig. 5.94). The wide nave with a central passage and open timber, hammer beam roof are the same. Unlike Port Hope, the hammer beam roof at Ancaster, has quatrefoil motifs in the spandrels between the hammer beams and the arch braces. While there is no direct model for this ceiling, similar designs can be found in *Masterpieces of Open Timber Roofs*, and *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture*. At St John's Church, Langley's choice to include quatrefoils was likely made to create a sense of continuity throughout the church, as they match the tracery of the nave and west windows.

Henry Langley's largest and arguably his most important Anglican commission was for St George's Anglican Church, Guelph (1869) (figs 5.95, 5.96).[66] After several drafts of various plans for the St George's building committee and a change in site, Langley finalized a design which relied on all of his knowledge and experience with William Hay to deliver a church that is ecclesiologically correct and well-suited to its urban setting.

Langley's church was actually the third St George's Church in Guelph. The first St George's was a Commissioner's-style Gothic building. Not unlike the first St John's Church, Ancaster, St George's was a frame church with a large rectangular body and a west tower with pinnacles. In 1851, a new stone building designed by William Thomas was erected, this time in the Romanesque Revival style (MacRae and Adamson 220-21). In 1861, the American Civil War broke out and an Anglican priest from Virginia, The Revd Wall, was captured. He and his family were subsequently sent to Canada where they settled in Guelph becoming local celebrities for their trials of war in the South. Wall became the curate of St George's, which attracted crowds each Sunday (*A History of St George's Church* 23-24). William Thomas's Romanesque church

[66] In 1857, William Hay had designed St Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Guelph.

could no longer accommodate the number of worshippers the church now had and Langley was commissioned to design a new one.

Like all of Langley's churches, St George's follows Pugin's principles of church design. All of the interior components of the building are truthfully expressed on the exterior; the nave, aisles, transepts, and chancel each have a separate roof, which distinguishes them from one another and emphasizes their specific liturgical and social functions within the church. These separate roofs are also sufficiently steep to meet the ecclesiological demands of the Cambridge Camden Society and the stylistic stipulations of Pugin.

To further emphasize the ecclesiological content of the building, Langley designed a very large chancel for St George's. In addition to insisting on the religious import of chancels for the Anglican service, the Cambridge Camden Society provided very specific rules regarding their size. In *A Few Words to Church Builders,* the Cambridge Camden Society stated that a proper chancel should be as large as possible, but not more than half the length of the nave (Neale, *A Few Words to Church Builders* 6).

For the design of St George's, Langley used an eclectic mix of sources. The profile of St George's Church, with a southwest tower, a nave-aisle arrangement with a clerestory and transepts, and flat-ended chancel was likely modelled after George Gilbert Scott's, St Mary's Church, Hanwell (1841) (figs 5.97, 5.98). The south entrance door being incorporated into the tower, rather than through a distinctive porch, is particularly telling in this regard.

The treatment of the tower, while modelled after Scott's, further demonstrates how Langley's work could be suited to urban surroundings. St George's tower extends to the southwest, which places it in the perfect position to show prominently from all possible directions on all of the surrounding streets (fig. 5.99). This tower arrangement does, however,

create a ‘show side’ for the church wherein the north side is not nearly as impressive as the south (figs 5.95, 5.100). As was discussed briefly in Chapter Three, William Hay was also guilty of designing churches with show sides; his St George Church, Newcastle (1857), had a show side facing the road where it would most be seen (figs 5.101, 5.102). Likewise, in 1841, George Gilbert Scott designed St Giles Church, Camberwell in South London, with a show side (figs 5.103, 5.104). According to Gavin Stamp, this commission marked Scott’s acceptance of ecclesiology and gained him a reputation in England as a Gothicist (“George Gilbert Scott and the Cambridge Camden Society” 176). In 1845, Scott received praise for his design in *The Ecclesiologist*, which declared it, “the finest ecclesiastical structure of modern days” (“Transitional Churches” 59). In the same article the anonymous author proceeded to lament Scott’s decision to include a show side, which, according to the author, left a church that was much more pleasing on the north side facing the street, than the south side (“Transitional Churches” 60).

Although St George’s, Guelph follows Scott’s lead in terms of urbanistic planning and in design essentially copies St Mary’s, Hanwell, it does differ from its models in detail. This becomes especially evident at the clerestory level of the church. St Mary’s, Hanwell was executed in the Early English style and the clerestory windows are small trefoils and quatrefoils. Langley’s clerestory windows are much more elaborate and are modeled after William Hay’s clerestory at Grace Anglican Church, Brantford (1856) (fig. 5.105). The size and shape of the clerestory windows are identical, as is their placement between buttresses. Ultimately, however, the design of the clerestory windows can be traced to George Gilbert Scott’s Holy Trinity Church, Hartshill (1842) (fig. 5.106).

The interior of St George's was also designed after Grace Anglican Church, Brantford (figs 5.107, 5.108). The nave-aisle arrangement with a central passage leading to an elevated chancel with a large decorated east window was taken directly from Hay's church. This interior arrangement ultimately, however, goes back to Scott's, St Mary's, Hanwell, which Hay seems to have reproduced nearly identically in Brantford (fig. 5.109). Langley's interior, while modelled after Brantford, includes some of the details that Scott included in Holy Trinity Church, Hartshill. This is especially evident in Langley's use of mouldings over the nave arcade and his inclusion of wall shafts, which at Hartshill 'support' the springing of the plaster vault, and at Guelph, lead up to the wooden arch braces of the panelled ceiling, a feature he had used since his first Anglican commission at St Peter's, Toronto (1864-65).[67] In terms of materials, the columns of the nave arcade at St George's are cast iron. This was likely influenced by William Hay, who used cast iron for the nave arcade at Grace Anglican Church, Brantford.

In his design for St George's, Langley also included a full basement with school and service rooms. Although common in nonconformist churches, having school rooms in an Anglican church was still relatively rare at that time. The Ecclesiologists rarely wrote of schools or school rooms, but in 1851 they published a paper by William White, detailing some of the failures they found with modern design. In that article, they indicate that schools should have a distinctive character of their own and not merely be attached to another building (White, "Upon Some of the Causes and Points of Failure" 310-11). While the inclusion of basement school rooms in Guelph was likely conditioned in part by the slope of the land down to the Speed River,

[67] Unlike the 'sham' plaster vault that Scott designed for Holy Trinity Church, Hartshill, Langley used a panelled ceiling at St George's Church, Guelph. This ceiling is more akin to those produced by Pugin. Examples of Pugin's panelled ceilings can be found in the chancel of St Mary's Church, Uttoxeter (1838-39), the chancel of Our Lady & St Wilfrid's, Warwick Bridge (1840-41), and the chancel of St Lawrence, Tubney (1844-47).

it also reflects the other commissions Langley was working on at the time. In 1869, Langley was also commissioned to design two nonconformist churches: Chalmers Presbyterian Church in Guelph, and Georgetown Baptist Church, both of which included basement school rooms, an arrangement that was widely promoted for nonconformist architecture through pattern books.[68]

Overall, St George's, Guelph, although not the last Anglican church designed by Langley, was his grandest and most eclectic. St George's summarizes how Langley's work was rooted in the principles of Pugin and ecclesiology, and how his firm was established through the efforts of William Hay and the reputation of George Gilbert Scott.

Together Langley's Anglican churches can be considered rather conservative in their adherence to the architectural suggestions put forth by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists and through their reuse of architectural design elements found in the work of Hay and Scott; however, they also demonstrate how Langley adapted the designs of his architectural role models to more accurately reflect the rules of ecclesiology and to also suit the urban setting that Ontario was fast becoming. The articles on the colonies featured in *The Ecclesiologist* between 1847 and 1850, demonstrate the degree to which the colonies were viewed as the distant periphery, which the Ecclesiologists had little hope of understanding on their own right (Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic* 47-49). Because of this they relied on the correspondences of men in the colonies, like William Hay, to report on the conditions. As was the case with St James the Less, Philadelphia, the Ecclesiologists, along with other societies and pattern book authors, would then make

[68] Two of the most popular nonconformist pattern books in the nineteenth century were *Chapel & School Architecture*, written by Frederick James (F.J.) Jobson (1812-81), a Methodist minister, in 1850, and *Sketches of Churches Designed for the Use of Nonconformity*, written in 1865 by George Bidlake (1830-92). Both books promote the inclusion of school rooms in nonconformist churches. Bidlake's book in particular, provides plans of churches with basement school rooms.

suggestions for buildings, often citing repeated popular or standard models for imitation, like St Michael's, Longstanton. As time passed the reproduction of these models became problematic, as the churches that were most often recommended were rural prototypes in England. In Ontario, for Langley, this meant he had to be creative and meld the traditional suggestions coming from England with more contemporary, High Victorian practices to design churches that would satisfy the liturgical needs of Canadian Anglicans, while also having the ability to stand out against the Ontario urban, post-Confederation background. In small towns like Ancaster and Sandhill, urbanistic design was not necessary, so Langley stayed traditional with his design elements; however, in growing urban centres like London and Guelph, those traditional designs would be outgrown quickly. Langley therefore, had to adapt what he had learned as an apprentice with Hay to become more eclectic in his practice. Langley's eclectic design methods enabled him to continue the success of the firm that Hay had established before Confederation was even a consideration, and further gained Langley a reputation as a church architect in his own right in the newly established Ontario.

Chapter Six: The Nonconformist Commissions

As was demonstrated through the analyses of Henry Langley's Catholic and Anglican churches, his firm was cross-denominational in its religious architectural practice. Although he designed buildings for nearly every Christian denomination, by the last third of the nineteenth century Langley and his firm primarily created designs for nonconformists - Protestants that do not conform to Anglicanism.[1] In total he designed sixty-six full church buildings and fourteen additions and alterations for various non-Anglican Protestant congregations.[2]

While there are many explanations for why Langley's firm was able to obtain so many commissions from non-Anglican Protestants - including that there were numerous sects that fell under that label encompassing much of the population, and that Langley himself was a Protestant belonging either to the Baptist Church or the Plymouth Brethren[3] - it is likely that the success was a matter of social timing.[4] As C.T. McIntire explains in his chapter on "The Making of a

---

[1]For more information regarding the history of nonconformity and the denominations that fall under that category, see: Briggs, John, "The Changing Shape of Nonconformity, 1662-2000." Additionally, as has been explained previously, the term 'nonconformist' is here being used for its cultural meaning. The English Acts of Uniformity that resulted in the term nonconformist, which implies one that does not conform to the Acts of Uniformity, were passed in Britain and did not legally apply to Canada.

[2] These numbers reflect reported designs in newspapers and journals, actual designs that can be found in various archives, and surviving buildings. Please note that of the fourteen additions, at least three were not executed and of the sixty-six full church designs at least two were not executed.

[3] The 1861 Canadian Census lists Langley's religious affiliation as Baptist, while later census reports and his death registration indicate that he was affiliated with the Plymouth Brethren.

[4] The import placed on non-Anglican Protestant churches being designed and promoted by nonconformist architects finds precedence dating back to the 1850's. Frederick James Jobson (1812-81), for example, was a Methodist minister trained in architecture and wrote about the creation of churches for Methodists. Additionally, the British Congregational Chapel-Building Society, which was charged with the construction of one hundred memorial churches in 1853, produced its own handbook, *Practical Hints on Chapel Building*, in 1856. As Clyde Binfield explains in *Nonconformist Architecture: A Representative Focus*, although the Society never quite achieved its goals, its principles were promoted by architects who were themselves Congregationalists (261).

Canadian Protestant Community" in Jamie S Scott's, *Religions of Canadians*, Protestants have a complex history in Canada (88).

Nonconformists and Denominational Rivalry in Ontario

While Anglicans and Huguenots had existed in Canada since the sixteenth century, the seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries saw an influx of non-Anglican Protestants to Canada; however, these religious denominations existed under an Anglican Protestant establishment until 1854.[5] As William Westfall explains in *Two Worlds*, cultural change went hand in hand with religious reorganization (118). By the time of Confederation in 1867, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, and other Protestant groups asserted a Protestant identity of the new nation (McIntire 101). This is not to say that these groups did not experience conflicts amongst themselves. Once notion of establishment no longer existed in what would become Ontario, what had been considered the dissenting congregations began to flex their architectural muscles by commissioning large-scale building campaigns across the province akin to those of the Anglicans.[6] While it can be argued that this was a side effect of the burgeoning Protestant culture, a consequence to this was a reviving of the pre-existing denominational rivalries that would now be fought out architecturally as each Protestant denomination attempted to claim an architectural niche that was specifically its own.

While Canadian denominational rivalry was briefly explored in Chapter Five between the Anglicans and the Catholics of the Diocese of Toronto, it is clear that the nonconformists were

[5] While religious establishment officially ended in 1854 with the termination of the Clergy Reserves, informally, establishment carried on until Confederation in 1867 (Grant, "Religion and the Quest for a National Identity" 12; McIntire 101).

[6] According to John Webster Grant, in the mid-nineteenth century, nonconformists were propagating their doctrines so aggressively that by 1867 virtually no section of the present province of Ontario was unreached by the various Protestant Churches (*A Profusion of Spires* 154-55).

also involved going back to at least 1825, when The Revd John Strachan (1778-1867), who would become the first Anglican bishop of Toronto in 1839, gave a sermon addressing the death of Bishop Mountain of Quebec (1749-1825). In this sermon he discussed the accomplishments of Bishop Mountain and divided the early population of his diocese, which included Upper Canada, into three religious groupings: Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Dissenters. In doing so he described the dissenters as envious opposition to the Anglicans, specifically calling them inferior sects (Strachan, *A Sermon Preached at York*). This sermon roused a response from Egerton Ryerson (1803-82), a Methodist preacher, in 1826, who accused Strachan of ignorance, hypocrisy, and bigotry (Ryerson, "A Review of a Sermon").[7]

This denominational rivalry was not unique to Canada, but extended to Britain, where similar occurrences took place. In his chapter "Nonconformist Architecture: A Representative Focus," published in the *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity*, Clyde Binfield explains that the rise of nonconformist church architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century in England evolved into a distinctive visual form of nonconformity that reflected denominational self-confidence and growing architectural sophistication, which was demonstrated most clearly whenever, "...the Dissenting Joneses set out to keep up with the Anglican Joneses" (258-59).[8]

At this time in Ontario, as William Westfall explains, religious institutions waged an unceasing struggle to create a spiritual environment within an increasingly secular society through the creation of a metaphorical Protestant alliance based on a growing religious consensus regarding religious and social issues, including the secularization of education, in the

[7] William Westfall offers a textual analysis of Strachan's sermon and Ryerson's response in *Two Worlds: the Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (21-28).
[8] Binfield explains that this kind of rivalry extends (at least) to the Toleration Act of 1689, when dissent became officially tolerated, but clearly inferior, second-rate and second-class to Anglicanism, which was considered the normal national practice at the time (257).

province (*Two Worlds* 11).[9] Westfall indicates that the emergence of denominational colleges is evidence of the new Protestant culture that existed in Ontario; however, the building 'boom' that occurred in Protestant architecture in this period is also evidence of the emergence of Protestantism as a dominant body in the province. These churches, however, also indicate that there was tension between the Protestant denominations, recalling the rivalry that existed earlier in the nineteenth century. Through an analysis of the architecture of non-Anglican Protestants created in the 1860's - 70's in Ontario, and the international publications that addressed characteristics of nonconformist building, it seems clear that the denominations were attempting to assert individual identities amongst the Protestant culture of the province and that they were using architecture to accomplish it.[10]

[9] In *Architecture in Worship: the Christian Place of Worship*, André Bieler, attributes the increasing secularity of nineteenth-century culture worldwide to the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and the rise of rationalism. According to Bieler, by the nineteenth century the bonds of Christianity worldwide were severed, leaving an individualistic religious society (71).

[10] This is perhaps not terribly surprising since similar phenomena had been occurring in the United States since the American Revolutionary War and after American Independence in 1783. In fact there are records of architects refusing to take commissions for certain congregations based on the rivalry that existed in the United States. For example, in 1846, Richard Upjohn, by then a follower of ecclesiology, refused a commission for a Unitarian Church to be built in Boston on religious grounds because he did not want to support a nonconformist 'heretical' sect (Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Architecture* 73; Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* 96-97). Ontario had become home to many United Empire Loyalists and their descendants, many of whom were Anglican and associated nonconformity with Revolutionary attitudes in the United States, so it is likely that socially and culturally some of the feelings regarding religious denominational rivalry extending back to the Revolutionary War in the United States would have existed in Ontario as well. Additionally, in 1849, The Revd F.J. Jobson published an article on chapel architecture and the first Methodist chapel, The Foundry, which indicates that denominational rivalry and a desire to develop denominationally-specific architecture was prolific in England and abroad. In the article he expresses a desire for Methodists to create a form of architecture that is distinct from all other forms of building to create a characteristic unity and outward visual identity (Jobson, "The First Methodist Chapel, called "The Foundry"" 22).

Nonconformist Architecture and Liturgics

Nonconformist Protestant architecture is somewhat different from Anglican architecture and required distinct elements to accommodate its liturgical demands. As Basil Minchin explained in 1961, the greatest contribution nonconformists made liturgically was the restoration of the Word of God to a central place (162).[11] This meant that the person through whom the Word was communicated had to become the focus of attention for every worshipper, which resulted in architectural arrangements that placed emphasis on the pulpit and, for some denominations, the altar. Essentially the pulpit and the Communion table were brought into close relationship to emphasize the importance of preaching (Minchin 162). Nonconformist architecture was not, however, uniform in form or style. Christopher Stell explains that the political, religious, and architectural changes that took place in the history of British nonconformity assisted the various denominations to develop a greater sense of corporate existence, which led to a willingness to be more visible architecturally (318). Additionally, Victorian nonconformists had to adapt their architecture to rising social groups, providing facilities for children and philanthropic societies (Bebbington 41).

While many, including Pugin, conveyed that nonconformists of the nineteenth century had no architectural conscience, this is misleading; their architectural agenda just prioritized issues that were not of central concern to the Anglican and Catholic hierarchy. For nonconformists, the primary issue when dealing with architecture was not its symbolic representations, but rather its utilitarian, functional qualities and its ability to facilitate nonconformist liturgical practices. As indicated by Jack C. Whytock in his article, "Scottish

[11] As Stephen R. Holmes indicates in "Nonconformist Preaching and Liturgy," while preaching and liturgy are central to nonconformist worship, liturgical practices vary among denominations (247).

Liturgics and Church Architecture: a Study of a Transplanted Kirk on Prince Edward Island," published in the *Journal for the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, discussions of liturgics and spatial arrangements have primarily been focussed on how the practice of communion has impacted the layout of High Anglican churches through the inclusion of rood screens, altars, and altar rails; however, understanding how liturgical requirements affected the built spaces of nonconformists is equally significant to fully conceptualize the inner workings of their ecclesiastical architecture (53). As Clyde Binfield explains, the basic requirements for nonconformist churches were simple: room for people gathered in worship to hear the Word and observe the sacraments of Communion and Baptism (257). This was highlighted in *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages*, published in 1853 by the Central Committee of the General Congregational Convention of New York, where the idea of a church building was described as:

> ...a place for the united and intelligible worship of God by the whole assembled company... a place where all may lift up their voices in praise...and where all may hear...words of the prayer, dictated by the present wants and circumstances of the worshippers (6).

This is, however, not to say that nonconformist architecture was not innovative. As Binfield claims, there was nothing static about nonconformist architecture; it was influenced by dominant stylistic changes, it was open to opportunity, it was flexible, and, above all, it was functional (258).

Nonconformist Pattern Books

Much like the Catholics and Anglicans before them, Nonconformists produced a number of pattern books and instructional manuals for the building of 'correct' nonconformist churches in England and abroad. These instructional manuals were often accompanied by plans drawn by

influential architects. In many instances these practical guides incorporated issues that had been addressed by Pugin and the Anglican Cambridge Camden Society, but explained them through the guise of nonconformity and nonconformist liturgics.[12]

For example, the 1853 *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages* included a section on *Truthfulness*. In this section the Committee, in true Puginian fashion, warns against architectural falsehoods, promoting truth to materials and design. While truth to materials is an issue for the nonconformists, unlike the Cambridge Camden Society, they do not condemn or favour any materials for the building of churches. Instead they indicate:

> ...If stone is not to be had for the walls of the house of worship and bricks must be used, then let them be used openly and honestly, and not as though we were ashamed of them...Let us offer unto God what we have, what He has given us, but not mock Him and deprave our own conscience, by the pretended offering of that which we do not possess...(21).

To place these notions in a nonconformist context, the committee wrote about painting on the interior of church spaces, describing it as deceptive and out of place in a house of Christian worship (21). Practically speaking, painting the interior of churches was not favoured by nonconformists because of its propensity to distract the worshippers from their task to hear the

[12] The first nonconformist pattern book was W.F. Pocock's *Designs for Churches and Chapels of various dimensions and styles, consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections, with estimates: also some designs for altars, pulpits, and steeples,* first published in 1819. For information regarding Pocock's book, see: Binfield, Clyde, "Nonconformist Architecture: A Representative Focus" (268-69).

Word of God while at the church.[13]

None of the manuals mention Pugin or the Cambridge Camden Society specifically, but one in particular, published in 1855 by the English Congregational Chapel-Building Society, demonstrates that the nonconformists were fully aware of all architectural writers and debates by quoting Ruskin, and suggesting M.H. Bloxam's *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's *Parish Churches*, and Rickman's *Architecture in England*, as appropriate reading for those interested in architecture and style (*Practical Hints on Chapel Building* 10-11).[14]

While issues of denominational rivalry appear in the pattern books of nonconformists, the central issue in all of the guides produced by nonconformists was practicality and function. They featured sections on site, style, form, seating, schoolrooms, and often, instructions for choosing an appropriate architect who could design a practical church that could house a large congregation and meet the needs of the denomination that required the church.

In Ontario, the Langley firm would be charged with creating more of these functional churches than any other architectural firm in the province.[15] While Henry Langley and his firm designed many nonconformist churches, they can be grouped into several broad categories that stem from a number of design elements.

---

[13] In *When Church Became Theatre*, Jeanne Halgren Kilde explains the historical developments of Protestant church architecture, explaining that the sermon emerged and replaced the Mass as the centrepiece of Protestant worship, essentially replacing the visual and sensual forms of traditional worship with linguistic ones, often resulting in iconoclasm as some Protestants rebelled against the material culture of medieval Christianity (11).

[14] These were all authors that wrote on architecture, but were not associated with any specific denomination.

[15] Langley's greatest competition for nonconformist commissions was the firm of James Avon Smith and John Gemmell. Working at the same time as Langley in Toronto, Smith and Gemmell secured twenty-eight commissions from non-Anglican congregations in Canada. Prior to forming this partnership, Smith had already completed twenty-three commissions from various non-Anglican Protestant groups in Canada.

The Nonconformist Churches: Early Designs

The first category falls under his early nonconformist designs. These churches demonstrate a sense of continuity in design, wherein Langley borrowed elements from his Anglican and Catholic churches and incorporated them into churches that could accommodate the liturgical needs of nonconformity. All of these early nonconformist churches were executed in the Gothic Revival style, which, as was noted in previous chapters, was the style most often used by Anglicans, and in many cases by Catholics as well. Discussions of style were not lost on the nonconformists; however, they were, in theory at least, less doctrinal about their stylistic choices than Anglicans and Catholics had been.

As Malcolm Thurlby explains in his article, "Nonconformist Churches in Canada 1850-75," Gothic enjoyed great popularity with Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians; however, the traditional forms of medieval Gothic architecture, such as the basilican plan, had to be adapted to meet the needs of nonconformist liturgy. This led to a number of interesting design solutions (56-59). This notion had been discussed in an article in 1842, published in *The Baptist Magazine*, where Mr E. Trickett, of Bristol Baptist College, explained that more attention should be paid to utility and appearance than to past precedence of buildings that were erected for far different purposes in a different time and climate ("On Baptist Chapels" 411). This notion was echoed by John Blackburn (1792-1855), the editor of the *Congregationalist Magazine* (1818-45), the *Congregationalist Calendar* (1840-48), and the *Congregational Yearbook* (1846-47), where he published an essay, "Remarks on Ecclesiastical Architecture as Applied to Nonconformist Chapels," in 1847. In this essay, Blackburn promoted the use of the Gothic (English) style for chapels based on the ability to adapt the style to

nonconformist needs, and, what he saw as its aesthetic, utilitarian, and economical nature, indicating:

> ...we must confess, in spite of all our prejudices, that the beauty and flexibility, the copious resources and power of adaptation, and, above all, the moderate cost of what is popularly denominated the Gothic style, compel us to give it our suffrages. But we need not regard its symbolic mysteries, or adopt those ornaments which we know have been prostrated to purposes of superstition. We have our Protestant character to maintain...But let us avail ourselves of those attractive forms, which are most agreeable to the eye, and are so flexible as to permit the erection of organ lofts, schools, lecture rooms or vestries, in harmony with the general edifice. (Bebbington and Dix 156).

In addition to published tributes to the Gothic Revival, the style found a strong testament in the second half of the 1840's from the Model Plan Committee, which had been appointed by the Bristol Conference in 1846 to consider the requirements of Methodist chapels and obtain drawings from architects that could be used as models for Methodist churches throughout England. The committee established a competition and awarded the prize to the London architect James Wilson (1818-1900), who had designed a Gothic-styled chapel ("Methodist Church Architecture. Third Article" 121). This chapel then became a model for subsequent Methodist buildings, setting a precedent for the use of Gothic in nonconformist churches.[16]

In terms of the use of the Gothic Revival style, the nonconformists found their most avid champion in the figure of Frederick James Jobson (1812-81), an architect and Methodist minister

[16] The "Model Wesleyan Chapel" was published widely in various formats - first by the Model Plan Committee's secretary F.J. Jobson in the article, "Chapel Architecture No. 7: Model Chapels in Methodism: Circuit Efforts: Conclusion," on 4 April 1849 in the newspaper, *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser*, and subsequently in Jobson's monograph, *Chapel and School Architecture* (1850), and finally in the February 1856 edition of the *National Magazine*.

in England.[17] In 1850, Jobson published *Chapel and School Architecture, as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists,* wherein he discussed at length the advantages of the style for nonconformist chapels and churches in Chapter II: "The Gothic Style of Architecture Most Appropriate to a Building erected for the Object of Christian Worship," and Chapter IV: "The Propriety and Economy of Gothic Architecture, applied to Chapel Building."[18]

In Chapter II, Jobson declares that:

> Gothic architecture is Christian architecture, as distinctly and emphatically, as the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman, are Pagan. It arose out of the cultivation of the Christian religion; was formed and moulded by it; is its outward embodiment and representation; and, with few exceptions, has always been associated with it...and should be considered as the true and appropriate style of building for houses of Christian worship (15-16).

It seems clear that Jobson was a great admirer of AWN Pugin; his argument and his rhetoric are nearly identical, however they are specifically aimed towards the sensibilities of nonconformists.[19] In Chapter IV, Jobson indicates that the Gothic style can produce a church-like appearance in the built environment, while still accommodating the nonconformist religious requirements within, indicating that, "In adopting Gothic Architecture, we need not be inconsistent with our professed form of Christianity, as Protestants...The Gothic style of

---

[17] Jobson received his architectural training from E.J. Wilson (1787-1854), a Roman Catholic, who was associated with John Britton (1771-1857), Augustus Charles (AC) Pugin (1762-1832), and AC Pugin's son, AWN Pugin, the Gothic Revival's greatest proponent in the nineteenth century.

[18] Interestingly, illustrated in Jobson's section on "Examples of Chapels," is Portwood Chapel, Stockport (c.1848), which was the first church modelled after James Wilson's design for the Model Plan Committee.

[19] Pugin was a Catholic convert and, while his theories regarding Gothic Revival architecture were taken up by non-Catholics, his writings were intended for the Catholic Church. He often condemned Protestantism and blamed it for what he saw as the fall of civilized society. In fact, in his preface to the second edition of *Contrasts,* Pugin equated Protestantism with revived Paganism, describing it as overrunning the Christian world (iii-iv).

architecture is as fully suited to chapels as to churches..." (51). Additionally, much as Pugin had in *Contrasts*, Jobson illustrates his chapter with comparative drawings of classical and Gothic chapels, likening the classical example to a barn, while praising the Gothic example (fig.6.1).[20]

In 1855, the Gothic Revival was again promoted for nonconformist architecture, albeit in a more subtle manner, by the English Congregational Chapel-Building Society, which published *Practical Hints on Chapel-Building*. Much like the Cambridge Camden Society's *A Few Words to Church Builders*, this was a guide for architects and church builders; however, it was directed to the needs and wants of nonconformists, claiming that its principal object was to diffuse practical information on chapel-building in general (5). While the guide does not advocate openly for any one style, the section on style opens with a quote from Ruskin, a proponent of the Gothic, and it explains the pitfalls to all styles except for the Gothic Revival. For example, Grecian architecture is described as extremely costly, Norman architecture is described as heavy and uninteresting, and the Byzantine is described as belonging to a semi-barbarous age; the Gothic, however, is described as light and flexible (11-12).

The notion of using the Gothic Revival style for nonconformist churches was not just popular in Britain. In 1856, The Revd George Bowler of Roxbury, Massachusetts, published *Chapel and Church Architecture with Designs for Parsonages*, which provided nonconformist architects with a guide and sample drawings for designing churches for nonconformists. In his description of Design No. 11, Bowler advocated the use of the Gothic style for all noncomformist sects, indicating that it is no more costly than any other style, but presents advantages that no other style can provide (52). Additionally, Bowler explained that the Gothic

[20] While Jobson was perhaps the most popular nonconformist author to promote the Gothic Revival style, he certainly was not the first. For example, the 1824 edition of Pocock's *Designs for Churches and Chapels*, had three gothic designs for nonconformist churches.

Revival style can be executed in wood, stone, or brick, and can be adapted to suit all nonconformist needs by introducing galleries to allow for large numbers of seats (52).

The first example of Langley's early nonconformist designs is the (now demolished) Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866) (fig.6.2). For the façade of this church Langley looked back to his design for St Peter's Anglican Church (1865), reproducing the façade window and porch (fig. 6.3). The bellcote, which at St Peter's was associated with the St Michael's, Longstanton model for Anglican architecture, here was replaced by a corner tower with a spire. Additionally, the steeply pitched roof found at St Peter's, a feature deemed necessary by Pugin and advocated for Anglican churches by the Ecclesiologists, is low and quite broad at Alexander Street Baptist Church.

The inclusion of a tower at Alexander Street Baptist Church is significant; in fact nearly all of Langley's nonconformist designs included a tower. In past chapters the notion of towers lending a sense of religiosity to buildings has been discussed in terms of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society. As was explained in chapter four, Pugin described towers as beacons for places of worship. For nonconformists the symbolic associations of towers were not lost; *Practical Hints on Chapel-Building* suggested that towers afford churches a sense of publicity (18), while *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages* emphasized the importance of having a church or chapel being architecturally distinct from its surroundings, indicating that spires are recognizable signs of religion that afford a religious character to the buildings of which that they are a part (11).

The placement of the tower at the southwest corner of the façade was used by Langley a year earlier when he designed All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, Ontario (1865) (fig. 6.4); however, for Langley the corner tower position can ultimately be traced to William Hay's Gould

Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (1855) (fig. 6.5). While the position of the tower relates to Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, the shape of it does not. The overall design of the tower with openwork gables creating a polygonal composition at the base of the spire was somewhat unusual for Langley; however George Gilbert Scott had designed something similar in 1845-63 for the Lutherans of Hamburg, Germany at the Nikolaikirche, which may have provided the model for Langley (fig. 6.6). While at first it may seem odd for Langley to have referenced the Hamburg church, it may not be that far-fetched. The Nikolaikirche was designed by Scott in the mid-1840's, which is the exact time period that William Hay was in his office. Additionally, according to Michael J. Lewis, the Nikolaikirche is the building that established Scott as an international figure in Gothic Revival architecture, confirming that a historically-sophisticated Gothic adapted to the worship of nonconformists was possible (98).

The breadth of the roof over Alexander Street Baptist Church was typical for nonconformist church architecture, likely stemming from Christopher Wren's (1632-1723) Anglican auditory church plans of the seventeenth century. After the 1666 Great Fire of London, Wren was commissioned under the Rebuilding Act (1667) to rebuild many of the city churches that were destroyed in the fire. Of the eighty-seven churches destroyed, fifty-one were rebuilt; they were designed, their construction was supervised, and their accounts were passed by Wren and three surveyors who assisted him (Summerson 187-91).

While adopting classical forms, Wren altered the interior space of churches, eliminating the deep chancels that had been essential to medieval church construction, in favour of having a single, wide, unified space, which he called an auditory - a type of plan that would later come to be known as a preaching hall (Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space* 135; White, *Protestant*

Worship and Church Architecture 95-97). With their broad interiors and focus on the pulpit, auditory churches, above all, allowed worshippers to see, and more importantly, hear the service.

As explained by Jeanne Halgren Kilde in *Sacred Power, Sacred Space*, attempts to create church plans that enhanced the visual and auditory aspects of worship had been made by Lutherans and Calvinists on the continent, but Wren's auditory plan was extremely successful, likely because of his commission to rebuild the city churches of London (136).[21] After being commissioned, Wren wrote about Protestant church planning explaining that Protestant churches should be fitted as auditories, providing St James's, Westminster (1672-84) as a model for auditory planning (*Parentalia* 320) (fig. 6.7). Popularized further by the work of James Gibbs (1682-1754), whose Church of St Martin-in-the-Fields (1721-26) (figs. 6.8, 6.9), became an icon for building in North America, Wren's auditory plans fast became the norm for Protestant church construction in England and abroad.[22] In 1728, James Gibbs published *A Book of Architecture*, which contained 150 plates of designs and details for buildings and was extremely popular as a pattern book in England and North America. *A Book of Architecture* was especially impactful on American church architecture, which led to numerous churches in the Wren-Gibbsian style being erected in the Maritime provinces and Upper Canada under the influence of United Empire

[21] For an examination of the architectural arrangements Lutheran, Reformed, and Calvinist churches of the Reformation and immediately post-Reformation period, see: Yates, Nigel, *Liturgical Space*. This information is applied to the Canadian context by Jack C. Whytock in his article "Scottish liturgics and Church Architecture: A Study of a Transplanted Kirk on Prince Edward Island." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 39.2 (2014): 53-64.

[22] For more information regarding the Wren-Gibbs tradition in North America, see: Pierson, William Harvey, *American Buildings and their Architects Vol. 1: the Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles*; Coffman, Peter, "The Gibbsian Tradition in Nova Scotia."

Loyalists during and immediately after the American Revolution (1775-83).[23] Early nonconformist examples in Canada exist at Greenock Presbyterian Church, St Andrew's, New Brunswick (1824), and St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario (1831) (figs. 6.10, 6.11). With the advent of ecclesiology in 1839, the auditory plan fell out of favour for Anglicans.[24] For nonconformists, however, the auditory style with its broad interior was more appropriate because its shape enabled all attendees to see and hear the minister, so it continued to be used and adapted throughout the nineteenth century, executed in various styles.[25]

At Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto, the interior was very broad with a traditional auditory seating plan of two rows of benches with a central passage and two outer aisles (fig.6.12). Central passages were an area of debate amongst nonconformist church designers. In 1853, central aisles were recommended for small churches in *A Book of Plans* (25); however, only two years later in 1855, the English Congregational Chapel-Building Society warned against them in *Practical Hints on Chapel-Building*, indicating, "...It is never desirable to have a passage in direct line with the pulpit" (22). One year after that, George Bowler published several nonconformist plans that included a central passage. Design no. 6 in *Chapel and Church Architecture*, for example, is a Gothic-styled preaching hall that features a central passage, albeit with arc seating (figs. 6.13, 6.14). William Hay's Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, did not have a central passage (fig. 6.15), but at Alexander Street Baptist, the central passage was likely necessitated for liturgical reasons. Baptists place particular emphasis on full-

[23] In "The Gibbsian Tradition in Nova Scotia," Peter Coffman examines the effect of the American Revolution and loyalist immigration on the architecture of Nova Scotia, particularly around the Annapolis Valley.
[24] In *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations*, James F. White explains that Wren's auditory plans were the norm for most Anglican churches until the 1840's, when Ecclesiology re-introduced more traditional, medieval planning (95-97).
[25] In *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*, Angela Carr discusses the manners in which the auditory plan was combined with the Gothic Revival style in Toronto church architecture (21).

immersion adult baptism, which became a central concern for their church buildings (Binfield 257). As such, Langley included a baptismal pool built into the pulpit platform placed directly in front of the pulpit in his plan for Alexander Street Baptist Church (fig. 6.16). This arrangement had been prescribed in 1842, when an article was published in *The Baptist Magazine*, which indicated that the choir and baptistery should be located in front of, and near to, the pulpit, on a platform raised a few feet above the central aisle of the chapel ("On Baptist Chapels" 412).

Directly behind the pulpit platform Langley also included multiple vestries. This was discussed in *Practical Hints on Chapel-Building*, where it was suggested that it is important that at least two vestries be included; "one comparatively small, for the private use of the minister; the other much larger, for the use of the deacons, and other friends" (27). In the case of Alexander Street Baptist, there were three vestries. The third vestry was closely linked to the opening to the baptismal pool. George Bowler discussed the necessity to include a changing room in Baptist churches that is contiguous to the baptistery (9). Additionally, E. Trickett, suggested that three vestries - one for the minister and two for baptisms, committee meetings, and a library - placed near the pulpit for the convenience of the minster and the baptisms, were necessary for every Baptist church ("On Baptist Chapels" 413).

The inclusion of a pulpit platform rather than a high pulpit in Alexander Street Baptist Church warrants further examination. The correct position of the minister was a central debate amongst nonconformists and Baptists in particular in the nineteenth century. Christopher Stell suggests that Baptists of the mid-nineteenth century were primarily concerned with the internal arrangements of their churches ("Nonconformist Architecture and the Cambridge Camden Society" 320). Evidence of this exists in *The Baptist Magazine*, where the issue was debated over the period of 1840-50 by various anonymous authors and architects alike. For example, in 1840,

high pulpits were described as hazardous to the health of ministers, who could easily contract bronchitis from leaning over the high pulpit while orating a sermon. The author justified his claims through careful elucidation, indicating that:

> ...as sound naturally ascends, the speaker, from the high pulpit, is under the strong temptation, if not absolute necessity, of leaning forward, in order to send the sound downward, that the people may hear upon the floor; and in thus leaning over the pulpit, he bends his neck, compresses his lungs, and places himself in the worst possible position for easy, natural elocution. For every orator knows that, to speak easily, naturally, forcibly and safely, the body must be so erect, and the shoulders so far thrown back, as to give the lungs and throat, all the organs of speech, their natural unembarrassed position ("High Pulpits and the Bronchitis" 674).

A response to this initial letter to the editor described the practice of including a high pulpit as absurd, instead recommending that the minister be placed level with his audience where, "the preacher should be immediately in direct communication with every one of his hearers, so that every sentence, with all its eloquence of feeling may at once be perceived by them" ("On the Construction of Places of Worship").[26]

One of the most important features of Alexander Street Baptist Church was its basement plan (fig. 6.17). As can be seen from the exterior drawings, Alexander Street Baptist had a raised basement to allow for school rooms. According to James F. White, the Sunday School movement

[26] It is worth mentioning that placing the preacher at the same level as the congregation would generally have been difficult since most nonconformist churches had at least one gallery. As Nigel Yates explores in *Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors 1560-1860*, the practice of including or adding galleries and lofts to pre-existing church interiors for the purpose of accommodating nonconformist liturgy dates back to (at least) the seventeenth century (30-39). The author of "On the Construction of Places of Worship," however, seems not to have taken this into consideration, as he compared church auditoriums to university lecture halls where the lecturer is generally placed in-line or below his students.

brought about some of the most significant changes in nineteenth-century church architecture (*Protestant Worship* 163). A. Robert Jaeger described the importance of Sunday Schools in Protestant architecture of the nineteenth century in his unpublished thesis, "The Auditorium and Akron Plans - Reflections of a Half Century of American Protestantism," where he indicates that the inclusion of Sunday School rooms in nineteenth-century churches is reflective of the rise of the Sunday School as a religious institution (102-03). Though the Sunday School Movement was begun by religious Englishmen, like Robert Raikes (1736-1811) and Thomas Stock (1750-1803), it was not initially a religious movement, but rather was a charitable organization that sought to ease child poverty during the British Industrial Revolution (Jaegar 102). By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, Sunday Schools had become entrenched in the Protestant Churches and nearly all new nonconformist church buildings included Sunday School spaces in their designs (Boylan 20-21). In the case of Alexander Street Baptist Church, there were class rooms, infant school rooms, a lecture room with a platform, and a library. This was a drastic diversion from William Hay's Gould Street United Presbyterian Church design, where there were no classrooms included in the plan.

The importance of including rooms for religious education in nonconformist churches was discussed in nearly every nonconformist architectural publication produced in the nineteenth century. For example, in 1853, *A Book of Plans*, reported that the practice of holding Sabbath School classes in the primary worship space between morning and afternoon sermons should be avoided on grounds of the air becoming stale for the afternoon worshippers, insisting that separate rooms for Sunday School activities is of primary importance when constructing a church in order for that church building to be considered fully equipped for the work of its charge (16). Moreover, in 1856, George Bowler explained that:

> We take it for granted, in these days of Sabbath schools, that no associate body of men will so far forget the duty they owe to the young as to neglect to make provision for their religious instruction...no church then in our view, is complete without such conveniences as are afforded in a separate room for these purposes...all of these conveniences we may have in a properly constructed basement (9).

Additionally, in 1855, *Practical Hints on Chapel-Building* had deemed school rooms an indispensable appendage to places of worship, also suggesting that the basement be used to house the rooms. In doing so, *Practical Hints* was specific that if rooms are to be placed in the basement, the basement level should be as little below the level of the ground as possible. In order to avoid the inconvenience of the elevated floor level of the chapel itself, *Practical Hints* suggested placing the steps to the floor of the chapel inside the building springing on each side from a lobby, which is entered by a central door from the street (27). This is the exact plan Langley used at Alexander Street Baptist Church.

The design of Alexander Street Baptist Church proved to be a successful one. In 1904, John Ross Robertson described the Baptist community of Toronto, indicating that they had some of the handsomest places of worship in the Dominion. Regarding Alexander Street Baptist Church, he admired its Sunday School for its comfort and home-like qualities (*Landmarks of Toronto* 422-38).

In 1867, Langley reproduced his design of Alexander Street Baptist Church for the Baptists of Port Hope (figs. 6.18, 6.19). The architectural details were identical with the exception of the tower, which in Port Hope is more akin to the square tower with a broach spire that he had designed for All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, in 1865 (fig. 6.4). Similar to All Saints, Whitby, the tower at Port Hope Baptist Church is located at the intersection of cross

roads, which makes this an urbanistic design. By placing the tower in the southwest position Langley seems to have been taking the location of the building in relation to urban growth into consideration, with the tower acting as a symbol of the building communicating the notion of 'church' in the building's urban surroundings.[27] The notion of placing chapels and churches in prominent locations was discussed in *The Baptist Magazine* in 1842, when it was suggested that the site of a chapel should be of primary concern because if it is not convenient for the public, worshippers will be deterred from going to the chapel. The article further stated that the location should be central, public, respectable, and easy to access ("On Baptist Chapels" 411). In 1855, this notion was elaborated on in a Methodist context in an article printed in *The National Magazine*, where the anonymous author suggested that churches should be accessible, quiet, light and airy, and visible from different directions ("Methodist Church Architecture" 500).

Another church that demonstrates a large degree of continuity with Langley's older designs is (the former) Georgetown Baptist Church (1869) (fig. 6.20). For Georgetown, Langley designed an urbanistic church with a soaring spire at the top of a hill.[28] The church façade, however, can be literally dissected into its inspirational parts. First, there is a projecting central tower, which was likely inspired by Langley's earlier Catholic churches, most of which included projecting central towers. Ultimately, however, the projecting tower design can be traced back to William Hay's 1857 design for St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph (figs. 6.21, 6.22).[29]

---

[27] William Westfall and Malcolm Thurlby examined the manner in which nineteenth-century architects in Ontario used towers to enhance the presentation of a church in urban areas in "The Church in the Town: the adaptation of sacred architecture to urban settings in Ontario," which sought to integrate the fields of architectural theory and urban development through an examination of church building in Ontario in the nineteenth century.

[28] As was explained in chapter four, urbanistic planning considers the site of the building and its surroundings in order to deal with building churches in rising urban environments.

[29] For William Hay the use of a projecting central tower can be traced to his first church commission, St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Aberdeenshire, Scotland (1842).

With the exception of the spire on the tower, the overall exterior was probably inspired by Langley's 1868 design for St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster (fig. 6.23). The lower portions of the façade are especially telling in this regard; the Early English lancet windows on either side of the entrance and the geometric-traceried window above the door are identical (figs. 6.24, 6.25). Additionally, the upper portion of the tower was likely inspired by Langley's design for St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Toronto, also of 1869 (fig. 6.26).

The interior of Georgetown Baptist followed a nearly identical arrangement as that which Langley designed for Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866). There was a wide auditorium leading to a large pulpit platform with a full-immersion baptismal pool.[30] Additionally, the basement was raised to allow for the inclusion of school and meeting rooms. This overall arrangement of wide nave leading to a pulpit platform is what Nigel Yates referred to as a short-wall arrangement. According to Yates, this was one of three categories of liturgical arrangements used by nonconformists, especially Presbyterians, between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (*Preaching, Word and Sacrament* 65).[31] This general arrangement became a staple plan for Langley and his firm throughout the 1870's when he produced many wide-nave, auditory churches in a more advanced, High Victorian style.

While Langley generally favored High Victorianism throughout the 1870's, there was one example wherein he returned to his simpler early nonconformist style. In 1879, Langley was commissioned to design a Primitive Methodist Church in Unionville, Ontario. The title

[30] It is impossible to know if originally the seating was arced because the floor plan does not survive and the interior has been altered greatly from its original arrangement, but like Langley's other Baptist churches of this period, it likely had a central aisle leading to the baptismal pool.
[31] The other two plans described by Yates, were the long-wall arrangement, wherein the pulpit is placed on the long wall of what would traditionally be considered the nave, and the T-plan, which placed the pulpit and the precentor's in the middle of the building. An example of the long-wall arrangement exists at St Andrew's Presbyterian (now United) Church, Williamstown, Ontario (1812-13), which was the first Church of Scotland church built in Upper Canada.

'Primitive Methodist' evokes the ideas of John Wesley, who described early gospel preachers as primitive Methodists; however, according Kenneth Cracknell and Susan J. White, the term 'Primitive' represents a desire to return to the freedom of the first field preaching of 1739 (37). Both explain why the architecture of the Primitive Methodist Church expressed simplicity in design, as at Ebenezer Primitive Methodist Chapel, Brampton (1858), for example, where the church is a plain, load-bearing brick preaching hall. The only decorative elements to the building are the round-headed windows and minor classicizing elements, such as the broken pediment-shaped roofline (fig. 6.27). A slightly more sophisticated version of the single-cell preaching hall existed at the (now demolished) Elizabeth Street Primitive Methodist Chapel in Barrie, designed by Langley in 1870 (fig. 6.28).[32] The chapel was a simple Gothic Revival building with pointed windows and doors. There was a raised basement for schoolrooms and the interior featured a three-part seating arrangement with a pulpit platform at the liturgical east end of the nave (fig. 6.29). The three-part seating arrangement can be traced back to William Hay's plan for Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (1855), which also included a pulpit platform at the east end (fig. 6.15).

Langley's design for the Primitive Methodist Church in Unionville, while still simple when compared to his other nonconformist churches of the 1870's, is more complex than most Primitive Methodist Churches in general because it includes a tower (fig. 6.30). The interior, however, represents a return to Langley's early nonconformist planning by incorporating a wide-nave seating plan with two rows of benches leading to an eastern pulpit platform (fig. 6.31).

[32] The drawings for this church were signed "per EB" which indicates that they were likely created by Langley's apprentice, Edmund Burke.

The Nonconformist Churches: Three Influential High Victorian Designs, Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist Church, Oshawa (1867), Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto (1870), and Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872)

In 1867 Langley designed a church that would change the trajectory of his practice in terms of nonconformist designs permanently. Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (later United) Church, Oshawa is a masterpiece of High Victorian eclecticism and incorporates architectural elements that place Langley and his firm at the cutting edge of nineteenth-century design (figs. 6.32, 6.33).[33]

The exterior of the church is reminiscent of William Hay's design for St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph (1857), with a central tower that projects from the body of the church and has pinnacles at the base of the spire (fig. 6.22). Unlike Hay's church, Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church includes large Decorated Gothic windows at the gallery level. While the exterior does not represent anything architecturally revolutionary, the interior does.

The interior of the church consisted of an auditory with three-part seating on the main floor and a wrap-around gallery (figs. 6.34, 6.35). This, combined with the canted floor indicates that Langley was concerned that the large auditorium could function well and allow all attendees to see and hear the preacher at the pulpit platform. In nineteenth-century Methodist worship this was especially important because prayer, a distinctive and central feature of the Methodist Sunday service, had become clericalized with the preacher reciting the prayers for the entire

[33] In 1925, some Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists joined to create the United Church of Canada. The notion of Protestant union harkens back to the time of Confederation (1867) when, according to C.T. McIntire, Protestants felt a need for the Church to reflect the new nation (103). Individual nonconformist denominations achieved union throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century (Methodists 1875 and 1884; Presbyterians 1875; Congregationalists 1906). For more information regarding church unions, see: McIntire, C.T. "Protestant Christians." in *The Religions of Canadians*; Wilson, Douglas, *The Church Grows in Canada* (126-49).

congregation (White, *Protestant Worship* 164). Additionally, the pulpit platform at Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church was quite large and elevated with a moveable altar at the front to accommodate the celebration of the Eucharist, a central practice in Methodism (White, *Protestant Worship* 154).[34]

The inclusion of wrap-around galleries can be traced back to the works of Wren and Gibbs in Britain, but in North America they also had a long tradition in seventeenth and eighteenth-century nonconformist meetinghouse architecture. In Canada the influence of early meetinghouse architecture is often overlooked, however, in terms of nonconformity it provides an early North American example of building for the needs, wants, and services of nonconformists[35] and provides precedence for the use of galleries in nonconformist churches.[36] Early Canadian examples exist at the Barrington Meetinghouse, Nova Scotia (1765), The Hay Bay Church, Ontario (1792), and the White Chapel, Picton, Ontario (1809) (figs. 6.36, 6.37, 6.38).

Meeting houses of the seventeenth, eighteenth and the more advanced versions of the nineteenth centuries were unpretentious and largely unadorned structures intended to serve both religious and secular functions; however, they were designed to reflect nonconformist religious practices and consequently were also symbolic of their rejection of Anglican architecture and

---

[34] In his monograph *Methodism*, Rupert E. Davies explains that in the nineteenth century the central components of Methodist worship were the Sacrament (communion), the Class Meeting, and the Preached Service (134).

[35] In their book *Meetinghouse to Megachurch: a Material and Cultural History*, Anne C. Loveland and Otis B. Wheeler claim meetinghouses were functionalist - designed to suit the purposes, beliefs, and activities of the people who used them (5-9).

[36] It should be noted that, while the use of galleries for nonconformist churches in North America finds its precedence in the architecture of meetinghouses, Nigel Yates traces the tradition of including galleries in nonconformist churches to seventeenth-century Calvinist churches in France and Switzerland, providing the church at Charenton (1623) as an example (*Liturgical Spaces* 46).

liturgy (Loveland and Wheeler 1).[37] Nonconformity had been established in North America, specifically what would become the United States, by Puritans from Britain, who, doctrinally were strict Calvinists with a tradition of worship centred on the communication of the Word of God through the preaching of sermons. Meetinghouses placed emphasis on the horizontal, rather than the vertical axis of the building, which focussed attention on the sermon, rather than the ceremony of religious practice.[38] Additionally the inclusion of galleries that wrapped around the pulpit allowed for more seating and further emphasized the centrality and visibility of the minister, focussing the attentions of the attendees on the pulpit and the Word of the sermon being preached. Designs for churches that included galleries were popularized through North American pattern books. For example, Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant: containing a collection of new designs of carpentry and architecture,* first published in 1797, contained elevations and a plan for a classically-styled meetinghouse with galleries (fig 6.39).[39]

As mentioned, the main floor seating for Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist consisted of three rows or blocks of benches, with the outer two blocks being placed on an angle. Using three blocks of seating for the main plan of churches was well established in nonconformist architecture going back to early meetinghouses; Hay Bay Church, for example, had three blocks of seats (fig. 6.38). William Hay's Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (1855) also had a three-block plan, Jobson had suggested a three-block plan as being appropriate for

---

[37] In his article "Meetinghouses of Puritan New England: The Transatlantic Passage, 1630-1800," published in *The Archaeology of Post-Medieval Religion*, Peter Benes traces the origins of early meetinghouse architecture in the United States to sixteenth and early seventeenth-century meetinghouses built by Calvinist reformers in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands.
[38] Nigel Yates traces this practice to the early Reformed interiors of the Netherlands, where pre-Reformation buildings were adapted to suit nonconformist practices (*Liturgical Spaces* 46-47).
[39] For a more thorough examination of meetinghouse architecture, see: Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre*, Chapter 1; Anne C. Loveland and Otis B. Wheeler, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History*, Chapter 1.

Methodist churches when illustrating a "Model Wesleyan Chapel" in *Chapel & School Architecture* of 1850 (fig. 6.40), and a three-block plan was advocated in 1855 for Methodist churches in the *National Magazine*. Moreover, in a Canadian context, *The Canada Farmer*, had published a three-block seating plan on 16 January 1866, demonstrating that by the time Simcoe Street Methodist was designed the three-block plan was a norm for nonconformist, and certainly for Methodist churches (fig. 6.41).[40] Angling the seats was, however, a newer invention and demonstrates a move towards the direction of the amphitheatre seating plan that would emerge as a standard for nonconformist architecture within fifteen years of Simcoe Street Methodist being designed by Langley. There is evidence, however, that angling benches to create a plan that encircles the pulpit was becoming popular, or at the very least, accepted, for nonconformist architecture by the mid-1850's. For example, there is a design for a three-block plan with arced seating in George Bowler's *Chapel & Church Architecture* (1856), and in 1865, George Bidlake included three angled seating plans in his publication *Sketches of Churches designed for the use of Nonconformity* (figs. 6.42, 6.43).

The most important part of Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church, architecturally and socially speaking, is its Sunday School. Langley incorporated an Akron Plan Sunday School into his design, and it was one of the earliest in the province at the time, indicating that Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church was intended to be a multipurpose church incorporating educational, social, and institutional facilities into its design

[40] Begun in 1864, *The Canada Farmer* was an agricultural and horticultural magazine that occasionally featured sections on architecture.

(figs. 6.34, 6.35, 6.44).[41]

Sunday Schools were viewed as especially important for Methodist congregations; their development can be traced back to John Wesley, who in 1785 published an account of Sunday schools by Robert Raikes in the *Arminian Magazine* ("An Account of the Sunday-Charity Schools"). Additionally, from 1736 to 1738, Wesley himself took to the instruction of children on Sundays, and in 1766 Wesley encouraged all Methodist preachers to include the children of Methodist parents in their ministry (Jaeger 104).

As has been discussed briefly, Sunday School facilities had by the middle of the nineteenth century become an integral part of nonconformist church architecture. Although in its first years the Sunday School was sometimes not given any space in a church building, not even a pew, the design of Sunday Schools evolved during the course of the nineteenth century with the growth of the institution both in size and importance (Jaeger 102). Architecturally, the design developments of church architecture to include specific spaces for classrooms reflect that development. Originally a room in the building was sufficient for instructional purposes with small groups of students gathering around their instructor, who would be located in the centre (Loveland and Wheeler 67). As was observed with Langley's early nonconformist churches, as the institution of the Sunday School developed and more children enrolled, the basements of churches were often reserved as spaces for lecture and school rooms. When Sunday Schools gained popularity and attendance rose, students were often broken up into different age groups or

[41] As was discussed by John Webster Grant in *A Profusion of Spires*, one notable feature of religious life in Ontario during the last quarter of the nineteenth century is the marked increase in the number of voluntary organizations and social associations that were housed/hosted in the churches of the province. Additionally, often societies were established to keep Sunday School graduates involved in their churches. The church, therefore performed a social role in society as well as a religious one. Church buildings then needed to accommodate those functions through the inclusion of social and institutional facilities (Grant 171).

grades, which increasingly required more individual school rooms; this resulted in the Akron Plan.[42] Described as revolutionary by A. Robert Jaegar (1), the Akron Plan of the 1860-70's enabled students to join the congregation for opening and closing exercises, while also allowing them to retreat to individual classrooms for instruction (Loveland and Wheeler 67).

The Akron Plan was developed between 1866 and 1867 by Lewis Miller, a Sunday School superintendant in Akron, Ohio, and a local architect, Jacob Snyder, who built a separate Akron Plan Sunday School building to accompany First Methodist Episcopal Church, Akron (Lawrence 84). The plan was then popularized by the architect George Kramer, who incorporated Akron Plans into his designs for a number of auditorium churches. The Akron Plan was an arrangement perfectly suited to the operation of the modern Sunday School and soon Sunday Schools came to rival the church proper architecturally (Jaeger 140).[43]

Essentially an Akron Plan features an auditorium or lecture room with a pulpit or small pulpit platform with seating arcing around the pulpit. At the rear of the lecture room there are niches that act as smaller schoolrooms and can be closed off either with permanent or sliding doors for individual, graded instruction. In terms of location, Akron Plan Sunday Schools are

[42] In 1872, the International Uniform Sunday School Lesson series was introduced. It consisted of a curriculum of Bible passages to be used in all schools across all denominations, making education a key feature of church life (Ingersol 264-65).

[43] Langley's Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, Akron plan was designed in the same year as Miller and Snyder's Sunday School in Akron, Ohio, indicating that Langley was up-to-date with American architectural trends. While the Akron Plan had not yet been published in architectural pattern books or architectural journals, as A. Robert Jaeger explains, excitement over the Akron Plan spread very rapidly and it became the topic of lectures and discussions on Methodist churches. Additionally, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Akron became a destination for visiting church building committees (159). In 1911, Marion Lawrence wrote about this phenomenon, indicating that the religious press, leading authorities on Sunday School work, and ministers advised those interested to see the building of the Akron Sunday School first-hand before determining their own Sunday School building plans, and if possible to use that type of plan (86). While there is no proof of travel, Langley or someone in his firm may have visited Akron; as will be observed, Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, which Langley designed in 1872, bears a strong resemblance to the Akron Church.

usually placed behind the pulpit platform of the main sanctuary, as at Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa (1867), but may also be placed in a separate building, as was the case at First Methodist Episcopal Church, Akron, Ohio, to one side of the sanctuary, as at Paris Presbyterian Church, Paris, Ontario (1894), or in the basement, as at the former Highgate Methodist (United) Church, Highgate, Ontario (1898-1918).[44]

The year 1870 represents another milestone in Langley's nonconformist church designing career when he designed, what Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson have coined, his masterpiece of mid-Victorian Toronto industry celebrated in yellow brick, Metropolitan Methodist (later United) Church, Toronto (177) (fig. 6.45). The church Langley designed, which came to be known as Toronto's Cathedral of Methodism, is, among other things, a monument to denominational rivalry, reflecting a fundamental change in the attitude of Protestants, and specifically nonconformists in Ontario, wherein architecturally they expressed a desire to be viewed as autonomous denominations with particular needs, wants, and practices across the province.[45] The placement of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church on McGill Square, located directly between the Catholic and Anglican Cathedrals was planned deliberately (fig. 6.46). This kind of intentional location planning was described by Jeanne Halgren Kilde, who suggests that locations of churches were used to broadcast the social significance of buildings and congregations throughout the landscape in which they were located, indicating that, "A

[44] In 1877, Langley reproduced this design for Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa (1867) when his firm was commissioned to design a Presbyterian Church in Beaverton, Ontario. The drawings include the delineator's initials, "AAP". This indicates that the drawings were executed by Albert Asa Post (1850-1926), one of Langley's apprentices. As such, the reproduction of the earlier design is not surprising; apprentices often spent the first years of their articles copying the work of their mentor meticulously.

[45] Metropolitan Methodist Church was dubbed the Cathedral of Methodism by C. Pelham Mulvaney in his book, *Toronto: Past and Present* (1884), where he indicates that the church should be regarded as a Cathedral of Methodism rivalling the cathedrals of the Anglicans and the Catholics (161).

modest storefront church sends a far different message than does a massive cathedral sited prominently...church buildings and spaces are political places, places in which social power and authority are asserted...” (Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre* 10-11). This appears to have been the case with Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church; the Methodists of Toronto purchased that site with the intent of building a church to rival the cathedrals of both the Anglicans and the Catholics. In fact, in 1868, a meeting was held to discuss the purchase of the land on McGill Square. At that meeting, Egerton Ryerson moved, “that it is desirable to purchase McGill Square for connexional purposes including a representative church” (St. John 42). This seems to represent a shift in nonconformist, specifically Methodist, attitudes towards denominational autonomy and rivalry, as only 15 years prior it had been suggested in the *National Magazine*, a North American publication devoted to literature, art and religion, that Methodist churches not be placed too near to other church edifices risking a breach of “Christian courtesy” (“Methodist Church Architecture” 500).

Once the land was acquired, an anonymous architectural competition was held and initially the commission was awarded to William George Storm (1826-92), formerly of the firm Cumberland & Storm, who had been responsible for designing University College (1856) and the central block of Osgoode Hall (1857). When Storm’s design was deemed too expensive to execute, Langley was awarded the commission. It was recorded by The Revd Anson Green (1801-79) that once finished, the church was the largest edifice in the city and that it provided impetus for church building around the country (Green 417, 421).

In the nineteenth century the church was described as French Gothic throughout. This is, however, rather misleading. While the gables on the façade, especially that over the principle doorway, and the pinnacles located at the corner of the building are reminiscent of those found

on the south transept of Notre Dame in Paris, and on the exterior of Reims and Amiens Cathedrals, the general shape of the building and the tower are British.[46]

The inclusion of French Gothic details at Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, however, is perhaps not terribly surprising. Both the Anglican and Catholic Cathedrals on either side of McGill Square were executed in the English Gothic Revival style. The choice to employ, or perhaps more accurately, apply, French Gothic details may have been an attempt to design something that was visually and architecturally distinct in the built environment. It is however, likely that the French Gothic reference at Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church came through the intermediary of British architects and their buildings. As Michael J. Lewis expressed in his analysis of the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century, by the middle of the 1840's England was the international leader of the Gothic Revival, incorporating elements of continental Gothic architecture in English designs (100; 110-27). For example, William Burges' design St Finn Barr, Cork (1863-1904), was inspired by early French Gothic cathedrals, with specific reference to Laon Cathedral. Moreover, as was explained in chapter four on Langley's Anglican churches, George Gilbert Scott seems to have been an influential figure in the Hay-Langley firm in terms of architectural influence, and Scott had on several occasions incorporated French Gothic into his designs. For example, as Geoffrey Tyack indicates in his article, "Gilbert Scott and the Chapel of Exeter College, Oxford," which was published in *Architectural History* in 2007, Scott had worked with Rector Thomas Stevens in 1847-48, to remodel the Bradfield Church, Berkshire,

[46] Notre Dame, Paris was a very important building and popular building in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1831, Victor Hugo (1802-85) published *Notre-Dame de Paris*, which featured the cathedral, and in 1845 a restoration of the cathedral was undertaken by Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus (1807-57) and E.E. Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79). For information regarding the restoration, see: Hearn 1-8; and Reiff.

and included French Gothic detailing in the design.[47] Additionally, in 1847, Scott travelled to France to study French Gothic architecture. From that point he incorporated French Gothic details in many of his designs, including the Nikolaikirche at Hamburg (1845-63) and Exeter Chapel, Oxford (1853). The Nikolaikirche in particular had a gable over the principle doorway that was similar to those used by Langley at Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church (fig. 6.6).[48]

The massing of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church was described by John Ross Robertson in 1904; he compared it to the exterior of St Mary's, Sheffield, England (349). While it is unlikely that there is any direct correlation between the two churches, Robertson's observation is not entirely out of line. St Mary's Sheffield was a Commissioner's church with a wide nave and central façade tower; it, like Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, was essentially a Gothic-styled Gibbsian preaching box. As has already been explained, the Gibbsian-Wren auditory church encapsulated within a Gothic shell was the staple layout for Langley's nonconformist churches, at least until 1874, when the firm began to experiment with amphitheatre seating.

The tower of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church is intriguing and may represent a connection to the church's primary donor – The Revd William Morley Punshon (1824-81). Whether at Punshon's request or perhaps as part of Langley's strategy to win the commission, the form of the tower, the gables that adorn the tower, and the gables located over the principle west door, are all reminiscent of the Parish Church of St George in Doncaster, England, which is

[47] Scott's restoration of the north Transept of Westminster Abbey (begun 1849), and his apse addition to St Peter ad Vincula, Hampton Lucy (c. 1857) also had French Gothic influences.
[48] George Gilbert Scott also lectured at the Royal Academy in the 1850's and 1860's that architects should study French architecture as the inspiration for Gothic Revival buildings (Tyack 135). For more information regarding this, see: Crook, J. Mordaunt. "Early French Gothic."

where Punshon was born and raised (fig. 6.47). Perhaps not coincidentally, George Gilbert Scott had been commissioned to rebuild St George's following a disastrous fire in 1853.[49]

While the exact models and stylistic influences may be debateable, what is certain is that this was Langley's greatest and most eclectic High-Victorian nonconformist church to date drawing influence from multiple sources. The main sanctuary, for example, was based on that of Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1867), but increased in scale. The three-part, angled seating plan and the inclusion of a wrap around, elliptical gallery all came from the Oshawa design (fig. 6.48). Moreover, Langley included a large Akron Plan Sunday School at Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, indicating that he was incorporating the latest architectural innovations for nonconformist, and particularly Methodist church building in this design (fig. 6.49).[50]

With the galleries Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church could seat 1900 people, but that could be expanded to accommodate as many as 2400 through the use of, what John Ross Robertson called, a "draw seat room" (349).[51] The gallery at Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church was supported by slender iron columns, which extended above the gallery to also

[49] For information regarding the rebuilding of St George's, Doncaster, see: Cole, David, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott* (63-64). For information regarding Scott's restoration theory and work, see: Marx, Claudia, "Scott and the Restoration of Major Churches" (91-111).

[50] By the early 1870's, the Akron plan was popularized via publications and lectures throughout North America. For example, the *Sunday School Journal*, published the plan of First Methodist Church, Akron's Sunday School as a model and, in 1873, characterized the plan as the finest in the world ("The Akron School-Room").

[51] According to the drawings of the church, this appears to be an area placed behind sliding doors that were placed on either side of the tower at the gallery level. This may have also referred to an area of the Sunday School. Often sliding doors were used in conjunction with Akron Plans to allow the space to be taken over for extra seating in the auditorium. At Metropolitan Methodist, however, this seems unlikely because the Sunday School was placed directly behind the pulpit platform, which would leave the attendees seated there behind the pulpit.

'support' a plaster vault, which Angela Carr has referred to as a canopy of gothic arches (*Toronto Architect Edmund Burke* 22).

Metropolitan Methodist was Henry Langley's showpiece and as such he completed a total design for this project. The drawings for the church indicate that Langley designed every aspect of the building, including the decorative elements. Although it is nearly impossible to trace the origins of each architectural element Langley used in the design of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, it is likely that he employed one or a number of pattern books for their inspiration. Though none of the nonconformist pattern books available in the nineteenth century dealt specifically with ornamentation, plasterwork, woodwork, or metalwork, the type of foliage used for the door hinges and bench ends is similar to those illustrated in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture*, first published in 1847, which, as mentioned in chapter four, was a nondenominational architectural analysis of doorways, furnishings, ornaments, woodwork, and metalwork (figs 6.50, 6.51, 6.52).[52] Additionally, the hood mouldings and the mouldings for the ceiling ribs are similar to mouldings illustrated by the Brandons, and the gables Langley designed for the organ loft of Metropolitan Methodist are quite similar to sedilia that are illustrated in *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture* (figs 6.53, 6.54, 6.55, 6.56, 6.57).[53]

[52] As discussed by Barry Magrill in *A Commerce of Taste*, this pattern book was available in Canada and used by Canadian architects. While records of Langley's library do not exist, this, and many other pattern books were in the collection of William George Storm (1826-92) and Fred Cumberland (1821-81).

[53] The inclusion of an organ loft is quite significant in this design. As James F. White explains in *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*, choral music was an innovation for nineteenth-century Methodists; soloists, duets, quartets, octets, and eventually full choirs became increasingly frequent at revivals and normal services (165).

Promptly after his design for Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Langley was commissioned to design a large Presbyterian Church in Ottawa in 1872.[54] Knox Presbyterian Church, while designed urbanistically with a double-tower façade in the High Victorian Gothic Revival style, was clearly inspired by Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church in detail (fig. 6.58).[55] This is especially evident in the gables over the entrances to the church, which like those at the Metropolitan Church, had crockets. Additionally, the Decorated window located above the central entrance of Knox Presbyterian Church is very similar to that at Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto.

The ogee mouldings over the second-storey windows are clearly taken from a different source. By this time the use of applied ogee ornaments was largely out of fashion; however, their use at Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, may be attributed to work Langley had completed in 1869, when he was commissioned to expand the Enoch Turner Schoolhouse in Toronto. The schoolhouse and Little Trinity Anglican Church, located adjacent to the school, were both designed by Toronto architect Henry Bowyer Lane (1817-78). Like Knox Presbyterian Church, Little Trinity has large ornamental ogee mouldings adorning the façade (fig. 6.59).[56]

Knox Presbyterian was Langley's first design to include multiple towers; all of his earlier Catholic, Anglican, and nonconformist designs included a single tower either placed centrally or in the corner position. While there is no exact model for Knox Presbyterian Church available, it

[54] In the second half of the nineteenth century Ottawa experienced a period of economic expansion and architectural development. In 1857-58, Ottawa (then called Bytown) was chosen as the permanent capital of the United Province of Canada (Canada after Confederation in 1867), and the parliament buildings were built between 1859-65 to the plans of Thomas Fuller (1823-98) and Chilion Jones (1835-1912).

[55] Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa was demolished in 1930 to allow for the widening of Elgin Street.

[56] It should be noted that George Gilbert Scott had used ogee ornaments as late as 1850-51 at the west entrance to St Mary the Great, Cambridge.

is possible that Langley used a pattern book for inspiration for this design. For example, the façade of Knox Presbyterian had some similarities to George Bidlake's Design 10A and 10B, which were published in *Sketches of Churches Designed for the Use of Nonconformity* in 1865 (fig. 6.60, 6.61).[57]

The interior of Knox Presbyterian Church followed Metropolitan Methodist quite closely, but in a slightly more advanced manner. For example, the seating was arranged in a three-part seating plan, but where Metropolitan Methodist had angled seating leading to the pulpit platform, Knox Presbyterian, Ottawa had arc seating, wherein the three rows of pews curved to form around the pulpit platform at the front (figs. 6.62, 6.63).[58] This indicates a development in planning towards amphitheatrical planning; however, since the arc only affects the first few rows near the pulpit platform and the rest of the benches are arranged in a more traditional longitudinal manner, amphitheatre seating is not yet achieved.

Like Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Knox Presbyterian had a gallery that ran around the perimeter of the auditorium. This gallery was supported by iron columns and iron brackets that Langley included in his design of the building, which in conjunction with designing the other ironwork, the furnishings, and the newel posts for the stairs, makes this a total design project. The use of iron brackets in particular is notable, as gallery supports were discussed in *A Book of Plans*, where it was suggested that galleries were often constructed with an unnecessarily heavy appearance creating a clumsy look on the interior of churches. The Central

[57] Although it may be purely a coincidence, the layout of the façade at Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa is nearly identical to that at First Methodist Episcopal Church, Akron, Ohio, where the Akron Plan was first developed. This may represent a link between Langley and that iconic church either through publications or through personal experience with the building.
[58] Langley first used arc seating in 1869, when he designed Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario.

Committee recommended that this be avoided through the use of columns or brackets from beneath the galleries, as at Knox Presbyterian (25).

The primary difference in the auditorium planning of Knox Presbyterian Church and Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, regards the incorporation of an organ loft at the gallery level and a choir space on the main level: Metropolitan Methodist had both and Knox Presbyterian did not. This deviation in planning likely stems from the debate experienced within the Reformed traditions of Christianity regarding the incorporation or elimination of music in services dating back to the time of the Reformation. For example, in 1523, music was eliminated from services in Zwingli's Zurich, and in 1527, the Zurich city council ordered the removal and destruction of pipe organs in churches (White, *Protestant Worship* 62). Additionally, in 1536, the Reformed Church declared that organ playing was one of the abuses of religion and music in the church was relegated to the voice of the minister or his clerk (Cunningham 76-77). John Knox (c.1505-72), whom the Ottawa church is named after, attempted to regulate services through the creation of a fixed Reformed liturgy in the sixteenth century and did not approve of music in services, but rather placed emphasis on preaching and the sacraments, which may account for the lack of a choir and organ in Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa.[59]

The Nonconformist Churches: High Victorian Designs of the 1870's and 1880's

After the design of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), and Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872), the number of non-Anglican Protestant commissions

[59] Knox's ideas regarding public worship and the form it should take are outlined in his *The Book of Common Order*, which he introduced to an English congregation in Geneva in 1556. This was a manual of public worship that focussed on prayer, sermon, and the sacraments of Baptism and Communion. *The Book of Common Order* did not include hymns or music of any kind. As James F. White explains in *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*, music began being re-introduced in Reform, and specifically Presbyterian Churches in the second half of the nineteenth century worldwide (76).

received by the Langley firm grew exponentially with nonconformist groups making an indelible mark on the Ontario cultural landscape through the building of churches. Langley produced similar designs with wide nave (auditory) interiors in the High Victorian Gothic Revival style throughout the 1870's and into the 1880's. These all included galleries of various types, and most had three-part seating, which was sometimes angled or arced. In terms of the overall designs, they can be broken down into three types: those that were directly inspired by Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church and incorporated various design elements and motifs that had been central to the Toronto design, those grounded in High Victorianism and inspired by Langley's early nonconformist designs and Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, and finally, those that seem to take after the "Model Wesleyan Chapel" first published by the Model Plan Committee's secretary F.J. Jobson in the article "Chapel Architecture No. 7: Model Chapels in Methodism: Circuit Efforts: Conclusion," on 4 April 1849 in the newspaper *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser*, and subsequently republished by Jobson in *Chapel and School Architecture* (1850), and in the February 1856 edition of the *National Magazine*.

Langley's 1873 commission for the Methodists of Peterborough, Ontario, demonstrates the manner in which Langley relied on these three basic designs for the majority of his nonconformist work after 1870.[60] For this commission Langley produced designs for the façade in all three strains with a common interior plan that included a raised basement for a lecture room and smaller classrooms, a main floor with two-part seating and a central aisle, a horseshoe gallery, and a large pulpit platform.

The first façade variation followed the Model Plan Committee's recommendation for a "Model Wesleyan Chapel" with some slight changes that reflect the developments that had

[60] Peterborough Methodist Church was renamed George Street United Church in 1926.

occurred in nonconformist architecture since the 1840's when the recommendation was first made. Langley's design, for example, included a raised entrance, which could accommodate the elevated basement and sanctuary. From the south view, the southwest bay was to have a turret to differentiate it from the rest of the church and mark the south entrance, giving the church external expression of the internal arrangement of the lobby, which held stairs to the sanctuary and the basement. The façade buttresses, the pinnacle at the apex of the roof, the inclusion of a large decorated window with a hood moulding at the gallery level, and the small opening with a hood moulding at the attic level are, however, all telling in terms of the design's inspiration (figs. 6.40, 6.64).

The second façade design for Peterborough was inspired by Langley's early nonconformist churches, specifically Georgetown Baptist Church (1869), and its likely model, St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Toronto (1869). The raised basement and the general proportions of the façade design are similar to the first variation Langley had designed for Peterborough, but in the second variation, he included a tall central tower. The height of the tower is further emphasized by the raised basement of the church. The design of the tower is nearly identical to that of St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Toronto (1869), but the niche included in St Patrick's to allow for a sculpture of the church's namesake, is at Peterborough replaced by a large decorated window similar to the one Langley had included in the first variation of the design (fig. 6.65). Additionally, the façade entrance is articulated by a gable, as it was at St Patrick's.

The final façade variation for the Methodists of Peterborough was based on the design of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870). Essentially this design took the body of the second variation and added to it the pinnacle-capped tower from Metropolitan Methodist

(United) Church (fig. 6.66). Executed in yellow brick, this third variation is the one that was built (fig. 6.67).

In 1877, Langley designed a simplified version of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church in Milliken's Corners (Markham), Ontario (figs. 6.68, 6.69).[61] For this Primitive Methodist congregation Langley simplified the Metropolitan design by using Early English lancet windows and created decoration through an interplay of red and yellow brick. In addition to the permanent polychrome, Langley incorporated a gabled porch and corbel table on the church body and the tower, design elements that can be traced back to Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866).

The interior of Milliken Primitive Methodist Church was similar to Metropolitan Methodist, albeit on a much smaller scale, with a three-part angled seating plan and a choir at the east end. The Sunday School was much simpler, however, with schoolrooms being placed in the raised basement, as they had been at Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866) (fig. 6.70).

Langley designed another Metropolitan Methodist-inspired church in 1880 in Richmond Hill, Ontario, for a Presbyterian congregation (figs 6.71, 6.72). The exterior of Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church is yellow brick with red-brick stringcourses and details, incorporating the High Victorian polychrome that Langley had included in many of his Anglican church designs, including St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto (1865) and the Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner (1870). None of the publications regarding nonconformist architecture dealt with the issue of external ornamentation or polychrome specifically, but since architectural rivalry seems to have been embedded in the building boom that occurred in post-Confederation Ontario, it is not terribly surprising that staying up-to-date with architectural fashion was important in this

[61] Originally known as Milliken Primitive Methodist Church, the building was renamed Ebenezer United Church in 1926.

period. Additionally, as was indicated earlier, Ruskin, a great proponent of structural polychrome, was recommended reading for those interested in nonconformist building.

The exterior of Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church is a monument to external articulation of internal arrangements. First, stringcourses executed in red brick delineate each level of the church and the gable that was placed over the entrance at Peterborough, was here moved up a level indicating where the western gallery is on the interior of the church from the façade. Additionally, there are polygonal walls framing the central tower, which Langley had never included before in a design. Here the polygonal walls indicate on the exterior where the stairs leading to the basement and the gallery are in the interior.

Like many of Langley's commissions in this period, his design for Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church was a total design. The drawings included designs for a small pulpit, cast-iron and wood pews, the panelling for the gallery, and folding doors for the Sunday School (figs 6.73, 6.74). Additionally, the Sunday School took up the idea of the Akron Plan that Langley had used at Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1867), Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), and Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872), by including a large lecture room with a platform, podium, and smaller classrooms at the periphery that could be closed off with folding doors, all located in the raised basement (fig. 6.75).

Langley reproduced his design for Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church nearly identically in 1884, when he designed a Lutheran Church in Tavistock, Ontario (fig. 6.76). Here the polygonal walls enclosing the stairs were squared-off and the tower was left unfinished, but many of the other details, including the corbel tables, stringcourses, and weatherings on the buttresses are the same.

The interior of the church is also similar to Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church in that the Sunday School is placed in the basement and the sanctuary has a similar hammer-beam roof, but otherwise it was more akin to Langley's other High Victorian nonconformist designs. It included three-part seating, a large pulpit platform with a substantial font, an altar and altar rail, and a full gallery supported on three sides by iron columns, which housed a large organ loft at the west end (fig. 6.77). All of these architectural elements of the interior reflect the liturgical demands of Lutheran worship. In *The Larger Catechism*, Luther described two sacraments: Baptism and Communion, which he referred to as the Sacrament of the Altar (6-7). These two practices are central to Lutheran practice. As James F. White explains in *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*, Baptism is viewed as initiating one into the priesthood of all believers and Communion became a weekly practice (41-42). As such, the inclusion of the altar and altar rail allowed for weekly Communion, while the font was necessary for Baptism.

An early example of Langley's High Victorian nonconformist churches can be found at First Baptist Church, Guelph, which Langley designed in 1871 (fig. 6.78). The church was executed in local limestone known as Guelph dolomite, the same material William Hay had used for St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, in 1857-58. With its southwest tower placement and a moulding over the west windows, the likely inspiration for First Baptist Church, Guelph, was William Hay's Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (1855) (fig. 6.5). The most obvious difference is the gable over the west door of the Guelph church, which, like the second variation for the Methodist Church in Peterborough (1873), was likely inspired by Langley's Catholic designs of the late 1860's. Like First Baptist Church, they also include gabled entrances, as at St Patrick's Catholic Church, Toronto (1869) (fig. 6.21).

A similar façade arrangement can be found at Trenton where Langley designed a Methodist (later United) church in 1876-77 (fig. 6.79). Like Guelph, the Trenton church has a stringcourse that runs along the façade and outlines the west windows, which in this case number three. The tower originally had a tall broach spire and seems to have been modeled on the tower Langley had designed for Georgetown Baptist Church in 1869, but in this case is placed at the southwest corner of the façade to accommodate the corner lot the church was built on. Moreover, although drastically altered in its present state, there was not originally a door in the tower, rather it was located in the centre of the façade in the form of a gabled porch, not unlike the one that was found at Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866) (figs 6.2, 6.80).

Like the exterior, the interior of Trenton Methodist (United) Church has been altered from its original form, especially at the east end, but it is essentially a High Victorian example of an auditory church (fig. 6.81). Originally the main floor would have been reminiscent of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), with a vaulted chancel filled by an organ case with a large pulpit platform in front. Furthermore, the seats would have arced around the platform in a manner similar to that of Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872). The gallery at Trenton was quite different than that of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church and Knox Presbyterian Church, recalling the rear gallery that Langley had used at Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866) (figs 6.82, 6.83).

Between 1874 and 1878 Langley designed a series of churches, most of them Methodist, with corner-tower, urbanistic designs. The first was in 1874, when he was commissioned to design a Wesleyan Methodist Church in Aylmer, Ontario (fig. 6.84, 6.85).[62] The design of the tower and its location on the façade relate to Hay's Gould Street United Presbyterian Church,

[62] Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist Church was renamed St Paul's United Church in 1926.

Toronto (1855), which Langley had made reference to many times in his work, as at All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby (1865), where Langley reproduced the tower nearly identically (fig. 6.4).

While the corbel table, Decorated west window with moulding and label stops, as well as the broach spire (never completed), were all fairly standard design elements for Langley by this period, the windows running across the central portion of the façade were not. They indicate that Langley may have been looking to a pattern book, and specifically to George Bidlake's *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformity*, where a similar arrangement of five small lancets located under a large west window between two entrances can be found in *Design No. 4*, and with a northwest tower in *Design No. 10A* (figs 6.86, 6.60).

As was the case at both Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa (1867) and Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church featured three-part angled seating leading to a large, elevated pulpit platform with an altar and pulpit. Additionally, as was the case at the Metropolitan Church, Aylmer had a large, elliptical gallery that housed an organ and choir at the liturgical east end immediately behind and above the pulpit platform (figs 6.87, 6.88).

Located directly behind the pulpit platform was a very large Akron Plan Sunday School based on the apsidal school design of Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870) (fig. 6.89). In this case, as at Metropolitan Methodist, the main floor had a Sunday School auditorium or lecture room with a platform, while the smaller classrooms were located both behind the platform and distributed radially at the gallery level.

In 1874, Langley also designed a Presbyterian Church in Madoc, Ontario (figs 6.90, 6.91). Like Aylmer, St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc has a corner tower, but it is placed at

the southwest position of the façade. Executed in stone, the façade features a triple lancet window with an enclosing arch, indicating that the likely model was William Hay's Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto (1855). The form of the windows is slightly modified from the Gould Street model and relates very closely to the design Langley had executed for the Anglican's of Stayner, Ontario in 1870 (fig. 6.92)

To the Madoc tower Langley added a clock. Including clocks on church towers was not uncommon for nonconformist churches at the time. Examples can be found in numerous pattern books, including George Bowler's, *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages* of 1856; however, it represents a one-off for Langley (figs 6.93, 6.94).

The interior of the Madoc church has three-part angled seating with a large pulpit platform and a small round window in the east wall (fig. 6.95). The window in particular makes reference to Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866), which had an identical window. The auditorium differs from most of Langley's nonconformist designs by incorporating a wood-panelled ceiling with open-timber arch braces that resemble tracery. Langley had only incorporated such a design element once in his nonconformist churches at Georgetown Baptist Church (1869), but it was a much more simplified design.

The Sunday School design at Madoc also represents a return to designs like the one he had made for Georgetown. Likely as a result of the small size of this church, the Sunday School was placed in the raised basement, but it was not an Akron Plan. Instead it consisted of a large open lecture room with a permanent classroom, Dorcas room, and vestry located at the rear of the basement (fig. 6.96).

In 1877, Langley combined his design for St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc (1874), with that of Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1874), at Erie Street Methodist (later

United) Church in Ridgetown, Ontario (figs 6.97, 6.98).[63] Like many Canadian towns with agricultural economies, Ridgetown's population was small until the coming of the railroad. Rapid urban expansion and development spurred by the railways was a common pattern across Canada, and particularly Ontario, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Cooper 10-11).[64] Towns like Ridgetown developed into commercial centres and transportation points resulting in the expansion of local businesses and services and the need for new, larger permanent houses of worship. In 1872 the Canadian Southern Railway built a station in Ridgetown, after which the population began to expand rapidly. According to the 1880 Historical Atlas of Essex and Kent Counties, in 1872 the population of Ridgetown was a few hundred, but it had become an important railway stop in Western Ontario with a population of at least 2100 by 1880 (*Illustrated Historical Atlas* 61-2). Erie Street Methodist (United) Church was built in the middle of this economic development.

The Ridgetown church was executed in red brick with yellow brick dressings; however, the Early English triple lancet west window was reproduced from Langley's St Peter's, Madoc design. The corbel table and the tower with simple lancet openings, which was located in the northwest corner, take after the Aylmer church. The entrance that was located in the tower in Aylmer was transformed into a raised central porch at Ridgetown to allow for the raised basement for the Sunday School.

The Sunday School was a modified Akron Plan with a large lecture auditorium with permanent seating and folding doors along the back that could close off two small classrooms and a vestry, while the main floor included a three-part angled seating plan as at Simcoe Street

[63] The Erie Street Church was demolished in December 2008.
[64] For example, between 1872 and 1881, the population of St. Thomas, Ontario tripled as a result of the establishment of railway lines (*History of the Canadian Southern Railway*).

Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa (1867), and arguably more importantly, Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870) (fig. 6.99). The main auditorium of Erie Street Methodist (United) Church also featured a rear gallery, an element that can be traced back to Langley's design for Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866) (fig. 6.100).

After designing Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown in 1877, Langley was commissioned to design a Methodist Church in Newmarket, Ontario (fig. 6.101).[65] For this church design he combined his designs from Aylmer and Ridgetown to create something eclectic and well-suited for Methodist worship in a small town. The elaborate west window and the northwest tower were both taken from Langley's design for Aymler Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1874), while the central raised porch was taken from his design for Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown (1877). The interior of Newmarket Methodist Church was essentially a reproduction of Langley's Ridgetown plan with three-part angled seating, a large pulpit platform, and a rear gallery. Langley even reproduced his modified Akron Plan basement Sunday School in the Newmarket church (fig. 6.102).

Langley produced similar High Victorian Gothic Revival designs for congregations across Ontario. For example, in 1876 he designed Knox Presbyterian Church, Beaverton with a central tower and Early English windows, like those found in his early nonconformist designs, while in 1877 he designed a Carpenter's Gothic Methodist church in Parry Sound (figs 6.103, 6.104). Moreover, in 1878, he designed a Methodist church in Cookstown with Perpendicular

[65] The church that resulted from Langley's design is somewhat different than the drawings and includes two towers, rather than one, both with mansard roofs, rather than a broach spire. Additionally, the tracery in the windows was simplified likely as a result of the drawings being sent to the building committee and executed by a local builder without supervision of the architect.

Gothic windows and a northwest tower, and a Methodist Church in Aurora with a double-tower façade similar to that of Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (figs 6.105, 6.106).

In addition to his High Victorian Gothic Revival towered churches, Langley and his firm designed a series of churches that seem to be based on the popular "Model Wesleyan Chapel". As discussed previously, the Model Plan Committee had been appointed by the Bristol Conference in 1846 to consider the liturgical and social requirements of Methodist chapels and obtain drawings from architects that could be used as models for Methodist churches. The committee's secretary was none other than F.J. Jobson, who would publish the committee's findings, as well as his own architectural anecdotes in *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser*, in a series of articles on Chapel Architecture in 1849. The first article introduces the notion of the creation of a nonconformist, more specifically a Methodist, outward identity through the creation of buildings ("Chapel Architecture"). The second article describes the wants of Methodists in architecture and architecture that is appropriate for Christian worship, discussing style and recommending Gothic for chapels based on its historical precedence in England ("Chapel Architecture No. 2"). The third article delineates the different phases of Gothic architecture, proving historical background and describing the differences between Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular architecture ("Chapel Architecture, No. 3"). Articles 4, 5, and 6 describe what is meant by a chapel and how one should be built depending on the size of the congregation and the location of the building in a village, town, or city ("Chapel Architecture, No. 4"; "Chapel Architecture, No.5"; "Chapel Architecture, No. 6"). The seventh article, printed on 4 April 1849, was the most important, at least in terms of Langley's practice. In it Jobson published model churches for Methodists, including the Chapel of St John's Square, Clerkenwell (1849), Poplar New Chapel, London (c. 1845), and Islington Chapel (c. 1845), all Decorated Gothic churches.

Additionally, he published the exterior, plan, and details of the chapel at Portwood, Stockport, by the architect James Wilson, which the Model Plan Committee had chosen as a Model Wesleyan Chapel. In his article Jobson suggested that the models he provided not be copied meticulously, but rather used as inspiration for future Methodist chapels in England and abroad. According to Jobson, the erection of chapels based on model architectural ideals grounded in Methodist practice was by far the most practical and least expensive mode of training for architects, builders, and trustees ("Chapel Architecture, No. 7").

Jobson popularized his sentiments and his models in 1850, with his publication of, *Chapel and School Architecture*, wherein he consolidated and republished much of the information in his seven articles on chapel architecture and added information regarding the building of Sunday Schools and school houses. This monograph disseminated Jobson's ideas widely; they were no longer relegated only to Wesleyans, but became popular amongst all nonconformist groups. This notion was indicated in 1850 when *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* published a review of Jobson's book, suggesting,

> There is no one who has done so much to diffuse among Wesleyans, intelligence and good taste in reference to the architecture of sacred edifices, as the Rev. F. J. Jobson. His earnest and tasteful articles...have principally contributed to define the present age of Methodism as that in which narrow prejudices have been broken through, a barbarous taste has been corrected, and the models of Wesleyan architecture have been brought into harmony not only with the aesthetics of a cultivated epoch, that is a slight matter, but with the associations appropriate to the sanctity and beauty of congregational worship. Mr. Jobson's work...fulfills a purpose, and occupies a place, altogether its own...Nonconformists in general will find it a manual more adapted than any other they

> will be likely to meet with to correct erroneous opinions and tastes as to chapel building ("Chapel and School Architecture" *264*).

After the publication of Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture*, and the republication of the Model Wesleyan Chapel in the February 1856 edition of the *National Magazine*, a North American periodical devoted to literature, art, and religion out of New York, churches based on the Model Wesleyan Chapel were built throughout the nonconformist world.[66] Some Canadian examples exist at: Berkeley Street Methodist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1871), Cambridge Street Methodist (United) Church, Lindsay, Ontario (1871), the United Baptist Church, St Andrews, New Brunswick (1864-65), Knox Presbyterian Church, Dundas, Ontario (1874), Second Wesleyan Methodist Church, Guelph (1874-76), and Carmel Presbyterian (United) Church, Hensall, Ontario (1886-87) (figs 6.107, 6.108).[67]

Langley also designed several nonconformist churches in this manner. The first was in 1869 at Chalmers Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (figs.6.109, 6.110). The choice of the general layout and form of the façade was not initially Langley's; the Chalmers building committee and Board of Managers asked Langley to plan their church after the general style of Knox Church, Montreal (1865) (Stelter n.p.). In 1887, the design of Knox Church, Montreal was described by Revd Robert Campbell as comfortable and useful, but not very imposing (Campbell 744). Like (the now demolished) Knox Church, Montreal (fig. 6.111), Chalmers Church is not terribly imposing, but was executed in stone and features façade buttresses topped with pinnacles that create a three-part façade. Additionally, like its model, Chalmers Presbyterian has varying

[66] The Model Wesleyan Chapel was republished along with a review of Jobson's book in the third article on Methodist Church Architecture in *The National Magazine* (1856): 121-26.
[67] For more information and an architectural history of Knox Presbyterian Church, Dundas, Ontario (1874), see: Iron, Candace, and Malcolm Thurlby, "Two Heritage Churches in Dundas Part 2: Knox Presbyterian Church.

elevations/angles at the roofline that delineate where the aisles are located on the interior of the church, dormer windows that light the main auditorium, and a raised basement to allow for the inclusion of school rooms. The façade window at Chalmers Presbyterian, Guelph, does differ from that which was on the façade of Knox Church, Montreal. Montreal had a large rose window, whereas Chalmers Presbyterian has a large Decorated window more akin to that of the Model Wesleyan Chapel.

Unlike the Model Wesleyan Chapel, Chalmers Presbyterian Church featured a three-part arc-seating plan (fig. 6.112). Langley seems to have reserved arc seating for Presbyterian Churches. Until the firm began incorporating amphitheatrical seating plans in nonconformist churches, arc seating was only used in Presbyterian designs, as at Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872), and Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church (1880). This could relate to the liturgics of Presbyterian worship. As previously mentioned, in the mid-nineteenth century Presbyterian worship revolved around the spoken Word and the celebration of Communion; arc seating curves the benches around the pulpit platform very closely, focussing the attention of the congregation on the minister and the altar, and concomitantly on the Word and the Sacrament. Additionally, the inclusion of a deep pulpit platform at Chalmer's Presbyterian Church was likely to allow for a large communion table. In this period it was customary in Presbyterian churches for the communion table to be placed well enough in front of the east wall and pulpit to enable the minister to serve from behind the table (Fiddes 54-55).[68]

In 1875, Langley designed a church that was closer in design to the Model Wesleyan Church than Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph (1869) had been. Although executed in polychromatic brick rather than stone, Tara Wesleyan Methodist (later United) Church followed

[68] For more historical information regarding Guelph and the building of Chalmers Presbyterian Church, see: Stelter, Gilbert A. "Henry Langley and the Making of Gothic Guelph."

the Model Wesleyan Chapel in a nearly exact manner (figs 6.113, 6.114). The three-part façade created through the use of buttresses has a single continuous roofline that is interrupted only by the pinnacles atop the buttresses. Like the Model Wesleyan Chapel, the pinnacles are simple and do not have crockets, as they did at Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph (1869). Although the façade of Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church has been altered, the layout of the façade windows, the inclusion of the raised basement, and use of permanent polychrome enclosing arches around the windows are the same as those on the Model Wesleyan Chapel.

The interior also follows the plan for the Model Wesleyan Chapel (fig. 6.115). Although at Tara there is a central aisle, as opposed to a three-part seating plan, having the stairs located at the west end that lead up to the gallery or down to the basement, the large octagonal pulpit in the main auditorium, and the inclusion of stairs behind the pulpit platform leading to the basement are all similar, indicating that Langley may have looked to the plan, likely through Jobson's book, for inspiration. Like Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church Toronto (1870), Langley created a total design for the Tara congregation. His drawings include details of the communion rail, pulpit, window tracery, and sliding doors for the basement (fig. 6.116). While the folding doors have been removed from the basement, the original configuration still exists with school rooms and a vestry located at the rear of a large lecture room (fig. 6.117).

In 1876, Langley designed Kincardine Methodist (later United) Church by combining the overall façade of Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church and design elements he had used in his High Victorian towered churches (figs 6.118, 6.119).[69] The profile of the building with a raised basement and three-part façade with a corbel table and gabled porch entry is very similar to that of Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church, but the façade buttresses were modified to

[69] Kincardine Methodist Church was renamed Kincardine United Church in 1926.

polygonal turrets rather than the traditional stepped buttresses at Kincardine. The façade window and stringcourse are, however, more akin to those found on Langley's towered churches, as at First Baptist Church, Guelph (1871) (fig. 6.78).

The interior of the church has been completely renovated, but originally it, like the exterior, was eclectic in design and planning (figs. 6.120, 6.121, 6.122). Like the Tara church, the Kincardine auditorium had a traditional nave-aisle plan with a large pulpit platform with a raised pulpit and altar rail. There was also an elliptical gallery that housed the organ at the liturgical east end, recalling the one Langley had included in Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto (1870). Moreover, the gallery was supported using iron columns and brackets, as at Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872), and the ceiling braces were akin to those Langley had used in Madoc (1874) with a quatrefoil tracery design.[70]

The Nonconformist Churches: Romanesque Designs

In addition to the Gothic Revival churches that have already been examined, the Langley firm designed a series of Romanesque churches for nonconformists in the early years of the 1870's. This was likely under the influence of pattern books. *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages,* produced by the Congregationalists in 1853, and George Bowler's *Chapel and Church Architecture* (1856), both contained working plans for Romanesque-styled churches. As Michael J. Lewis explains in his book *The Gothic Revival*, nonconformists endorsed the Romanesque on grounds of symbolism and economy, although their designs were more often than not Gothic in every aspect - massing, verticality, asymmetry - but their windows were round

[70] In 1877, Langley reproduced his design for Kincardine Methodist (United) Church in Seaforth for another Methodist congregation and in Orillia for a Baptist church. Additionally, the general design was used again in 1884-86 for a Baptist church in Renfrew, Ontario, but this was very likely under the direction of Edmund Burke.

arched (97).[71] This notion is best illustrated through Design III and Design V published in *A Book of Plans*, which are both Gothic Revival in proportion and include pointed pinnacles, but have round-headed windows throughout (figs 6.123, 6.124). Front Elevation No. 10 in Bowler's book is equally illustrative of this trend, featuring buttresses and a central tower with spire combined with round-headed windows (fig. 6.125)

In 1870-71, Langley's firm designed a Baptist church in Aylmer that follows this trend (fig. 6.126). The proportions of the church are entirely Gothic - the roof is steeply-pitched and there is a tall central tower. In fact, through the design process the congregation was provided with the choice of a Metropolitan Methodist-styled central tower executed in round arches or a tower with a Gothic broach spire.

Another example can be found at the Baptist church in Oshawa (fig. 6.127), which may have been designed using George Bidlake's pattern book *Sketches of Churches Designed for the Use of Nonconformity* (1865). The profile of the façade with a corner tower and the placement of the windows are very similar to Bidlake's Design No. 6. Moreover, the interior plan of the church is consistent with that provided by Bidlake in the working plan for Design No.5 (figs 6.128, 6.129).

The Nonconformist Churches: Amphitheatrical Planning

In the final phase of Langley's nonconformist church designing career he and his firm fully embraced 'modern' innovations by incorporating amphitheatrical seating plans into their church designs. The first example of an amphitheatrical plan in Canada came out of the Langley firm in 1874-75, at Jarvis Street Baptist Church.

[71] The Romanesque style offered nonconformist congregations an alternative to the Gothic Revival, which was theoretically free from associations with Catholic popery or Anglicanism (Thurlby, *Nonconformist Churches in Canada* 66; Panayotidis 85).

While amphitheatres in general were an ancient invention, they were first described in terms of Reformation and Post-Reformation church architecture in the sixteenth century. As Jeanne Halgren Kilde explains, from the earliest days of the Reformation, reformers had been aware of the desirability of Protestant worship spaces planned and emanating from a single point - centrally planned spaces in the shape of circles, squares and octagons, which would allow for a large number of worshippers to be placed near a pulpit. While some were executed, none have survived, and from the few sketches that exist of them, it seems clear that they fell short of a fully-developed radial plan (*When Church Became Theatre* 14).

Amphitheatre, or perhaps more accurately, amphitheatre-like planning was further developed in the eighteenth century when the German architectural theorist, mathematician and expert on the work of Vitruvius, Leonhard Christoph Sturm (1669-1719), published *Architectonisches Bedencken von Protestantischer kleinen Kirchen Figur und Einrichtung* in 1712, which included several plans for Protestant churches that were in the form of squares, circles, and triangles, all with radiating seating (figs 6.130, 6.131, 6.132).[72] Sturm's ideas were materialized in 1726 with the building of George Bahr's, Die Frauenkirche in Dresden, which had a square massing with a circular seating space on the interior filled with raked, amphitheatrically-planned seats.[73] This type of planning was developed throughout the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the construction of St Paul's Lutheran Church, Frankfurt am Main (1789), which was designed with a round plan and amphitheatre church seating.

---

[72] In *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: theological and historical considerations*, James F. White describes these kinds of plans as Reformation spatial experiments wherein the goal of the design was to secure a central type church in which there would be a sense of unity between the space occupied by the clergy and that occupied by the congregation.

[73] For an in-depth analysis of Die Frauenkirche, see: Jeanne Halgren Kilde's, *When Church became Theatre: the Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America*.

While Sturm's work was influential in terms of the amphitheatre's appearance in nonconformist church architecture in Germany, it is unlikely that architects in North America were aware of his work. Instead the movement toward amphitheatre seating seems to have come as a result of Christian revivalism. Early in the nineteenth century new charismatic Church leaders arose, especially in the United States, changing the internal arrangement of churches dramatically by rejecting the traditional longitudinal plan that was associated with the Gothic Revival, in many ways seeking a return to the spatial structure of the outdoor camp meetings of the eighteenth century (Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre* 20-22; Jaeger 37-38).[74]

These leaders of the Second Great Awakening attracted large crowds of people to their Sunday services and once traditional church buildings could no longer accommodate the increasing number of congregants, they often resorted to the use of secular theatres for their services (Jaeger 54).[75] When money was available for the building of a permanent church structure, the theatre plan was deemed to be an efficient and logical arrangement in order to allow for large numbers of congregants and to keep them in as close a proximity to the pulpit as possible.

Essentially amphitheatrical interiors are wide and functional. As Jaegar explains, with the introduction of the plan came a period of experimentation wherein church designers were freed of the encumbrances of traditional church planning and left to focus on the creation of a new form of religious architecture for the modern nonconformist church. This space allowed for the theatrics of evangelical sermons and simultaneously could accommodate large crowds of

[74] The association between outdoor evangelical camp meetings and amphitheatrical architectural spaces is not terribly surprising. In 1766, John Wesley visited Gwennap Pit in Cornwall, later describing it his journal as a natural amphitheatre (187).
[75] In Chapter two of *When Church Became Theatre*, Jeanne Halgren Kilde provides an in-depth analysis of the rental and conversion of the Chatham Theatre located in Manhattan, New York, by Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875).

worshippers gathered in one place to hear and experience the salvation offered by the Gospel and the preacher (33). Most of the successful revivalists were located in large industrial cities, like New York, in the United States; therefore, amphitheatrical planning primarily became an urban development (Jaeger 56).[76]

While the use of amphitheatrical planning in North America may have been largely instigated by revivalism, it was not relegated to revivalist denominations and by the end of the Second Great Awakening in the 1840's, the amphitheatrical plan was being debated in various nonconformist publications. By 1870, the plan was recommended for all nonconformist sects through pattern books. For example, a series of letters and articles were printed in the *Baptist Magazine* between 1840 and 1842, which discussed the construction of places of worship. In the first, the author who identifies himself only as A. Layman, suggests that churches be built upon the same plan as theatres for lectures (lecture halls) in order to place the preacher in direct communication with all of his listeners ("On the Construction of Places of Worship" 568). In 1861, the architect Philip Sambell of Cornwall, England, suggested that:

> "...a room nearly semi-circular, with one straight side; with seats rising tier above tier to the extreme limits of the chapel, and with the minister lowest of all, is evidently the most scientific, for this plain reason, sound does not descent, it ascends...Think of the impressive effect of such an arrangement; the monkish fashion of pews knocked away...the congregation, as is fitting, feeling themselves in their true position - equals in the house of God, all looking towards the minister, all exhibiting an harmonious unity of purpose; the dispenser of the word of life embracing all at a glance, and when he speaks

[76] The earliest known amphitheatrical church in North America was the Broadway Tabernacle, built in 1836 as a Congregational church.

the sound radiates clear and distinct to the utmost confines of the room ("On the Construction of Chapels" 355).

Additionally, the British architect, James Cubitt (1836-1912), recommended a move towards more centralized planning in 1870, when he published *Church Design for Congregations: its developments and possibilities*. While Cubitt did not recommend theatre planning overtly, he provided images and descriptions of centrally-planned churches from various periods of architectural history, providing commentary and precedence for their use in the nineteenth century.

While amphitheatrical planning was very novel, Langley had been steeped in the architectural traditions of Britain and was trained by William Hay to incorporate precedent that could serve as a legitimate basis for his architecture; he was conservative. For this reason, it seems likely that most, if not all of the designs that came out of the Langley office for amphitheatrical churches were executed under the guidance or the hand of Edmund Burke. As Angela Carr has indicated in her monograph on Burke, the Langley firm was reluctant to change; however, with Burke as a partner, the firm slowly embraced new architectural plans and styles coming north from the United States (32).

The notion of whether to embrace architectural change or not seems to have been a point of debate throughout the 1870's in North America. While many were advocating the new amphitheatrical form for nonconformist architecture because it was innovative in combining the practicality of camp meeting, meetinghouse, and theatre architecture with new, North American architectural stylistic interpretations of historical styles, including the Gothic Revival and the Romanesque, there was a stream of conservatism that existed as well. This was discussed in an untitled article printed in the *American Architect and Building News* in 1877. While reporting on

the 1877 Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church that had taken place in New York, the author asked the question, "What shall be done with modern churches?", indicating that,

> "The better architects, it must be confessed, being better acquainted with the traditional types, and more sensitive to their beauty, have been on the whole rather slower in conforming than their less instructed fellows, who were trammelled with little knowledge of the past, and who have so done the most of what has been done in developing certain new forms of churches..." ("The Congress of the Protestant..." 357).

In terms of style, amphitheatrical churches vary, as evidenced by the variety portrayed in pattern books produced at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. In Canada, for example, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada assembled a committee on church architecture, which published a pattern book, *Designs for Village, Town and City Churches*, in 1893, of recommended architectural plans. While many of the designs are for amphitheatrical churches, they are executed in the Gothic Revival and the Richardsonian Romanesque style at random.

In the case of Jarvis Street Baptist Church the building committee travelled throughout the United States studying architecture and looking at possible models. According to John Ross Robertson, their aim was to construct a church that would be an object of pride for the Baptist denomination (423). The general style of the church is Gothic, but it was employed in a new and innovative manner.[77] The tower of the church, for example, is placed on the diagonal in an urbanistic manner to face the corner of the lot at Gerrard and Jarvis Streets directly (figs 6.133, 6.134). On either side of the tower are equally sized gables that form a square auditorium space

[77] Angela Carr has attributes Jarvis Street Baptist Church to Edmund Burke, as his first independent work within the firm. While it, and the amphitheatrical churches that came after it are likely attributable to Burke, they do represent how the firm progressed to stay up-to-date with American architectural fashions near the end of the nineteenth century.

on the interior. There is then an apsidal area behind the pulpit platform that accommodates an Akron Plan Sunday School (figs 6.135, 6.136, 6.137).[78]

The interior of Jarvis Street Baptist Church demonstrates a profound change towards contemporary building trends by incorporating a large amphitheatrical seating plan - the first in Toronto (Carr 27). The longitudinal plan that had been a staple design for the Langley firm since its inception was here replaced by a square auditorium with a horseshoe gallery supported by iron piers and a main floor filled with canted, repeating arcs of curving benches radiating out from a large pulpit platform (figs 6.138, 6.139, 6.140). The use of iron piers to support the gallery would have been particularly important for this design. Iron piers are thin and do not impede the view to the pulpit as much a thick wood or stone columns, and, as mentioned previously, Baptists need full visual access to the pulpit platform and the baptismal pool.

In 1904, John Ross Robertson described Jarvis Street Baptist Church declaring that, "the architects of this beautiful church were the first to introduce ecclesiastical amphitheatrical construction in Canada..." (423). This claim is, however, misleading. While Jarvis Street Baptist was one of the earliest examples, there were contemporaneous amphitheatrical seating plans in Canada. For example, in 1874, Smith and Gemmell designed a Wesleyan Methodist Church in Port Hope with amphitheatrical seating.[79] Furthermore, Joseph Savage designed the Zion Tabernacle in Hamilton, Ontario in 1874, which was published in the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* in 1875, where it was described as having an audience room with a floor laid in the form of an amphitheatre ("Church Architecture" 382).

---

[78] Jarvis Street Baptist Church suffered a fire in 1938, but it has been rebuilt with some alterations. For information on the fire and rebuilding, see: *From Strength to Strength" a Pictorial History of Jarvis Street Baptist Church 1818-1993*; "Our Holy and Our Beautiful House -." *The Gospel Witness* (1938); "A Tour of Jarvis Street Church Building, Toronto." *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate* 23.22 (1944).

[79] Smith and Gemmell's church in Port Hope was built between 1874 and 1875.

Besides the seating, with the soft lighting, lavish Gothic ornament and an elaborate vault or canopy similar to the one Langley had designed for Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), the atmosphere of the sanctuary was transformed. John Ross Robertson described the atmosphere inside the auditorium as comfortable, modern, warm, and sociable (423). As William Westfall has argued, auditorium churches with amphitheatrical seating plans eliminated the class structure associated with traditional longitudinal churches fitted with pews. As such, the change to amphitheatrical seating reflects the increasing importance of community within nonconformist denominations and a fundamental change in social attitudes - class was no longer apparent through seating plans, instead emphasis was placed solely on the pulpit (157).

In the 1870's the firm of Langley, Langley & Burke designed two more Gothic Revival churches with amphitheatrical seating plans. The first was Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario, which they designed in 1875 (figs 6.141, 6.142) Like many churches designed by Langley's firm, this design was eclectic. The exterior is reminiscent of Langley's High Victorian towered churches of the 1870's. For example, the façade has two towers of differing heights like those at Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa (1872) and, although not executed, in the plan there was a triple lancet window on the façade similar to the one used at St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc (1874). Like Jarvis Street Baptist, between the façade towers and on either side of the church there are large gables that create a square auditorium on the interior to hold an amphitheatrical seating plan (figs 6.143, 6.144, 6.145). Also like Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1874), Central Methodist has a large apsidal east end that houses an Akron Plan Sunday School (figs 6.146, 6.147).

In 1877, Langley's firm reproduced the plan for Central Methodist Church, Woodstock (1875) nearly identically at St Andrew's Presbyterian (now Lutheran) Church, Toronto (figs

6.148, 6.149). While the towers have been moved to create an urbanistic configuration and the east end is squared off rather than being apsidal, the general design is the same. The interior is also similar and has an amphitheatrical seating plan, a U-shaped gallery supported by iron piers, and an elaborate plaster vault (figs 6.150, 6.151). Additionally, behind the pulpit platform there is a large Akron Plan Sunday School (fig. 6.152).

The Nonconformist Churches: the Richardsonian Romanesque

In the second half of the 1880's, Langley's firm produced a number of amphitheatrical churches primarily in the Richardsonian Romanesque style. As discussed previously, Romanesque was not unfamiliar to the firm; Langley had designed several churches using a round arch style throughout the 1870's, but it was not until the American architect Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-86) developed his own unique style of architecture that the Romanesque became widespread throughout North America for church architecture (Carr 30).[80]

After attending the University of Louisiana and Harvard, Richardson studied in Paris at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Upon his return to the United States in October of 1865, he applied a personal Romanesque style to his designs that combined aspects of French Romanesque architecture - round arches and monumentality, which he had experienced in the Auvergne region, with his own stylistic elements - squat and heavy arches, varying surface textures with elaborate patterning, and ribbon windows. Richardson essentially created an entirely new style.

On June 1, 1872, Richardson won a competition to design Trinity Church in Boston. Executed in what would become known as the Richardsonian Romanesque style, Trinity Church resonates a message of architectural authority. With its use of polychrome masonry and heavy arches it creates a sense of presence in the urban landscape. With this commission Henry Hobson

[80] It is very likely that all of the Richardsonian Romanesque designs were executed by or under the direction of Burke rather than Langley.

Richardson became a leader in North American architecture. Trinity Church was published widely in architectural magazines and journals making the new style a success in the United States and Canada. In 1877, the *American Architect and Building News* described Trinity as, "...perhaps the most noteworthy American church of the day" ("The New Trinity Church" n.p.).

In the 1880's Langley's firm abandoned the Gothic Revival entirely in favour of the Richardsonian Romanesque style. While these churches were executed largely under Edmund Burke and Charles Edward Langley (1870-1951), Henry Langley was still a senior member of the firm, which was a leader in implementing and popularizing the style in Canada. Sherbourne Street Methodist (Later United) Church, Toronto (1886-87) (fig. 6.153) for example, was one of the earliest examples of a Richardsonian church in Canada (Carr 34).[81]

Described in 1904 as, "the Handsomest Church in Central Toronto" (Robertson 362), Sherbourne Street Methodist Church, must have made a grand architectural statement at the time of its construction. Large and executed entirely of Credit Valley stone with brown stone dressings, the church synthesizes all of the nineteenth century's architectural developments in Canada. The exterior consists of multiple turret-like towers and large facing gables articulated with a Richardsonian checkerboard pattern. As with Jarvis Street Baptist Church (1874), this created a square auditorium space on the interior, which held an amphitheatrical seating plan. Although the gallery was located at the west end, it curved and was support by iron piers to keep them from becoming a visual encumbrance.[82] While the plan of the building is very similar to Jarvis Street Baptist Church, the use of the Richardsonian Romanesque to execute it is notable because it was not British. To this point most of the building styles employed in Canada were

[81] Sherbourne Street Methodist (United) Church has been known as St Luke's United Church since 1959.

[82] Although the amphitheatrical seating plan has been removed from the church, the elliptical barrel vault ceiling still exists.

representative of British associations. The Richardsonian Romanesque, however, was developed in the United States by an American; it was an entirely North American innovation in architecture and is, therefore, also representative of a move towards a distinctively North American style.

In 1887, Langley's firm was granted a commission to design a Methodist Church in Toronto's Annex. Trinity Methodist (later United; now Trinity-St Paul's United) Church is a monochromatic Richardsonian Romanesque church executed in rusticated Credit Valley stone (figs 6.154, 6.155). The façade features two towers, one taller than the other, both with Richardsonian pyramidal roofs, turrets and simple pinnacles. Between the towers are large gables, which, like Jarvis Street Baptist Church (1874) and Sherbourne Street Methodist (United) Church (1886-87), creates a square interior, which holds a large, open amphitheatrical seating plan that facilitated the Methodist sermon flawlessly, leading John Ross Robertson to describe the church as handsome and magnificent (403-04).

Langley's firm continued to design churches in a manner similar to Sherbourne Street Methodist and Trinity Methodist throughout the closing years of the nineteenth century, especially in urban areas, like Toronto and Woodstock. Essentially with these designs, the Langley firm combined the apex of nineteenth-century nonconformist design found in the amphitheatrical seating plan with the latest in North American architectural fashion.[83]

While the majority of the work Langley and his firm executed for ecclesiastical designs came from nonconformist congregations, it is clear that there was a certain amount of continuity,

[83] For more information regarding the Richardsonian Romanesque buildings produced by the Langley firm, see Euthalia Lisa Panayotidis's 1991 unpublished thesis, *Gothic and Romanesque: A Question of Style the Arrangement of Protestant Churches and School Houses in Nineteenth Century Ontario: The Work of Henry Langley* (York University); Carr, Angela, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture* (29-38).

or for lack of a better word, borrowing, in terms of architectural ideas and details across all of the Christian denominations that he designed churches for. While in all likelihood this occurred because his practice was so popular, even while reusing elements from Catholic and Anglican designs Langley managed to create an architecture that was distinctively nonconformist and architecturally up-to-date. Through the incorporation of architectural elements, like pulpit platforms, arced seating, galleries, Sunday Schools, and ultimately, amphitheatreatical interiors, Langley found a way to accommodate the religious needs of the growing Protestant culture in Ontario in the second half of the nineteenth century, and to ultimately express their theological beliefs architecturally, while simultaneously adapting his designs to the increasingly urban environment of the newly-formed province.

Many of his designs were simple, intended to do little more than meet the needs of the congregation commissioning his talents; however, some were monumentally important and innovative. Whether executed in Gothic or Romanesque, they changed the face of Ontario greatly, fostering and representing a climate of denominational rivalry wherein each congregation sought an individual identity amongst the Protestant culture of the province. By negotiating liturgics, social change, and urban growth in his nonconformist architecture, Langley designed buildings that have come to reflect a distinctively Canadian cultural history.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion:

In *Theology in Stone*, Richard Kieckhefer suggests that when looking at church architecture there are two basic questions that one should ask: how is it used, and what sort of reaction is it meant to elicit (10). To address these concerns one must look at the makeup of the building - its shape, configuration, and plan - to discern how it relates to the dynamics of worship. In order to consider the reaction that these forms were intended to elicit, one must then consider the types of worship central to the building's users to determine how the building works and how it facilitates those practices. Essentially, a thorough analysis of a church can reveal the building's original purpose as a place of worship. While the function of a church as a building intended to facilitate religious practices is a primary concern, churches, when viewed as cultural and social texts, also reflect changing patterns of life and thought (Gowans xvii).

As I have proven throughout this dissertation, Henry Langley, was the most prolific church architect for all denominations in what would become Ontario in the nineteenth century. This is an undeniable fact, but the question that architectural historians must ask is, "Why?". The answer to this question, I contend, lies in Ontario's social and cultural environment, where, in the second half of the nineteenth century, all the major Christian denominations were establishing an architectural type they could call their own in a place that was somewhat foreign to them - the emerging urban Ontario.

If, as Spiro Kostof claims, architecture is the theatre of human activity, then in Ontario, churches must be viewed as essential social texts from the nineteenth century, a time when, as William Westfall asserts, socially and culturally the province was religious (Westfall, *Two Worlds* 3-18). Langley's churches, then, are evidence of the history of religious practices and

reflect the underlying Protestant culture of the province, while also revealing the denominational differences, developments and growth of the groups that commissioned his firm.

In this context, the success of Langley's architectural practice confirms the central position of religion in English-Canadian life in the nineteenth century. Census results indicate that by 1871, nearly 80% of the population in Ontario identified as being Protestant (Grant, *A Profusion of Spires* 224). Moreover, the ratio of Catholic to Protestant commissions within Langley's firm speaks to the rise of this distinctively Protestant culture in English Canada. As explained by John Webster Grant in *The Church in the Canadian Era*, the problem raised by new and growing cities called for a sharing of resources amongst the various Protestant churches, which gave rise to an aggressively Protestant Ontario (105). Evidently the adoption of the Gothic Revival style was one such instance of interdenominational sharing. In Ontario, images of pointed arches and spires had become symbolic of the sacred world and churches of all denominations were constructed in the Gothic Revival.

That is not to say that there was not denominational rivalry. Post-1867, denominational positions were matters of deep conviction and membership in a particular denomination was a badge of personal identity (Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* 1). Additionally, with the rise of cities, the individual churches sought to appeal to people who were also adjusting to new styles of urban living. This changing urban environment led to increasing religious education and social work because ultimately the churches had to fight to remain dominant against urban commercial pursuits, industrialisation, and secularity (Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* 98-99; Grant, "Religion and the Quest..." 16-17). Keeping in mind Gowans' quote that opened this dissertation, "...architecture, considered as cultural expression, is the product and reflection of a number of patterns of development, operating simultaneously, and superimposed one on the

other... ” (xviii), the rise of the Protestant culture in Ontario seems to have combined with rapid urbanization spurred by industrial developments and the establishment of railroads, resulting in a spate of church building across the province.

As a professional and one of the first Canadian-born and trained architects in Ontario, Langley benefitted from this provincial growth considerably. Buildings like Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), confirm that within English Canada’s Protestant culture there was a burgeoning denominational self-confidence, which is reflected architecturally through the construction of large, imposing church buildings that could facilitate religious services and the social functions of a church. With churches as the ‘bread and butter’ of his architectural firm, Langley’s thriving practice was the product of a particular moment in the history of Ontario. In order to monopolize on the opportunities the emerging urban centres were providing, it appears that Langley developed plans that met the liturgical and theological needs of each religious group.

His strategic designing capabilities are demonstrated through the planning typologies that Langley used. While many of his church designs could be viewed as imitative of his prior plans, in fact each one was unique.[1] Langley never reused a design exactly; rather he merged and developed basic forms into individual designs that were denominationally appropriate. Furthermore, although architectural forms may be similar in his work, he tailored each design to the specific needs of the congregation commissioning his talents. His urbanistic plans, which address the physical constraints of site, attest to this fact.

[1] Mary Louise Mallory discusses Langley’s planning in terms of his Anglican churches, which she describes as developing from the same basic architectural form, but each being distinctive in size, shape, decoration (10).

In High Victorian terms, Langley's methods fall under the category of 'development'. While in the 1840's, Gothic Revival authorities, like the Cambridge Camden Society, expressed that an ideal church would not be distinguishable from a medieval original, by the 1850's 'development' in the form of creative solutions for constructing Gothic Revival churches in urban centres, executed using the most readily available materials was preferred. It is this kind of development, used by figures no less significant than George Gilbert Scott, William Butterfield, and George Edmund Street, that Langley employed in his designs. His use of local dolomite and the negotiation of traditional ecclesiological principles into an urbanistic design at St George's Anglican Church, Guelph (1869), exemplifies this kind of architectural development.

Besides placing him within the architectural movement of High Victorian development in the second-half of the nineteenth century, Langley's resourceful designing, which clearly relied on a set of standard church plans that could be scaled up or down in size and proportion, executed in varying materials, and modified internally, made him extremely successful in Ontario. Remembering that the majority of his church commissions were between 1865 and 1880, and he completed more than one hundred of them, his methods were as much practical from a business point of view as they were innovative.

Although Langley used the Gothic Revival for all denominations, he utilized it differently for each religious group. His Catholic churches, while pointed, are not anything like his Anglican churches, and his Anglican church are vastly different than his other Protestant churches. Each design that left the Langley firm, however, was prepared using functionality as its guiding principle.

Catholic communities strove to maintain their foothold in the province by erecting distinctively Catholic churches that were reminiscent of those in Europe. Langley therefore

embraced an ultramontane approach to Catholic architecture by maintaining and incorporating the architectural doctrines that had been established in the sixteenth century by Charles Borromeo and combined those with the language of church architecture found in the Gothic Revival style as it was promoted by Pugin. As a result of this amalgamation of theoretical points of reference, Langley designed Catholic churches that successfully housed sacramental worship by retaining traditional spatial forms, which placed emphasis on the central role of the mystery of the Eucharist in Catholic Mass, while also perpetuating the symbolic resonance of Catholic identity by maintaining links to Rome - all encapsulated within a Gothic Revival shell.

For Anglicans, Langley was fairly conservative and relied on the Ecclesiological Gothic style, albeit adapted to High Victorian aesthetics, which metaphorically symbolized all things important to the Anglican Church and its adherents. By making reference to English Parish churches, like St Michael's, Longstanton, and by incorporating elements of George Gilbert Scott's churches, Langley provided the Anglicans of Ontario with a direct reminder of the mother country - England. Moreover, at the heart of ecclesiology is High Church worship. Langley's Anglican churches allowed for that form of worship seamlessly by elevating the position of the chancel both metaphorically and physically, and placing attention on the altar and the pulpit through the incorporation of longitudinal seating plans. Meanwhile, truth to materials and honesty in design were central principles of Langley's Anglican church plans. Truth was, for example, the governing principle at St Thomas Church, Brooklin (1869), where Langley rendered ecclesiological principles in wood; even the windows are angular as not to combat the naturally longitudinal tendencies of wood grain (Mallory 22). Furthermore, the exterior profile of Langley's designs for All Saints Church, Whitby (1865) and St John the Evangelist Church, Elora (1872), express function and incorporate elements of symbolism as promoted by Pugin and

the Ecclesiologists, including spires and distinctive chancels. These exterior arrangements not only reflect Pugin's great principles, but also represent the real presence of God within the building. Langley's predilection for truth and ecclesiology in general, undoubtedly stems from his training with William Hay. Hay's writings in the *Anglo-American Magazine* are steeped in the vocabulary of Pugin, with truth as their central concern.

Langley's greatest benefactors, the nonconformists, found themselves in a particularly complex position in nineteenth-century Ontario. They were an integral part of the Protestant identity of the province, but they were the fastest growing religious group; the Methodists alone nearly doubled their numbers between 1842 and 1871 (Grant, *A Profusion of Spires* 224). With Confederation, the nonconformist groups in Ontario began announcing their presence in new and innovative manners, which included large-scale building campaigns. For these Protestant groups Langley found authority for the use of Gothic in the writings of Ruskin, Jobson, and pattern books, but he modified traditional longitudinal planning to accommodate nonconformist liturgics. At Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church (1870), for instance, he designed an auditory with a traditional meetinghouse gallery, which placed the attention of the congregants on the pulpit platform. Remembering that nonconformist theology is based on experiential worship and that a church is a place where God is discussed, not present, Langley's nonconformist interiors were guided by the practice of preaching.

Langley's nonconformist designs were practical and inventive. Without the burden of ecclesiological traditionalism, Langley merged auditory, and later, amphitheatrical seating plans with innovative Sunday School designs, which he made fashionable through the Gothic Revival style. Because of Langley's ingenuity in terms of nonconformist design, his Protestant churches represent the apex of Gothic Revival 'development' in Ontario.

In 1892, the Canadian Architect and Builder published an account of a toast that Langley gave at the Ontario Association of Architects Convention that year. It was noted that, “Mr. Langley arose to propose a toast “To the Old Times and the New in Architecture” (“Ontario Association of Architects’ Convention”). This toast, while brief, summarizes the important role that Henry Langley played in the history of architecture in Ontario. His career bridged many of the changes that occurred in professionalization, education, and Gothic Revival design. Moreover, his architectural firm held a prominent position in the province with a reputation for church architecture that could be traced to William Hay and George Gilbert Scott. From the time Langley assumed leadership of the firm in 1862, he adopted that reputation and developed it into a thriving business. His churches came to characterize the face of religious architecture in nineteenth-century Ontario, and in many ways they are still relevant as monuments to a past time – one where religion played a central role in society and where architecture held intrinsic meaning. Although Langley worked in Ontario, his position within the Gothic Revival movement worldwide is no less significant than George Gilbert Scott’s was in England. Like Scott, Langley witnessed immense changes in the architectural profession and ushered in many of the practical changes that occurred in church architecture in Canada, setting a trajectory for Gothic Revival church design that would extend well into the twentieth century.

Works Cited:

"1861-St. Patrick's Shrine Church Centennial-1961." *The Canadian Register* [Toronto] 11 Mar. 1961, Toronto ed.: n. pag. Print.

A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages. published under the direction of the Central Committee, appointed by the General Congregational Convention, October 1852. Comprising Designs by Upjohn, Downing, Renwick, Wheeler, Wells, Austin, Stone, Cleveland, Backus, and Reeve. New York: Daniel Burgess & Company, 1853. Print.

Addleshaw, G.W.O. *The Architectural Setting for Anglican Worship: an inquiry into the arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to the present day*. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1948. Print.

A History of St. George's Church Guelph, Ontario 1832-1982. Ed. Peter B. Moore. Guelph: Ampersand, 1982. Print.

Allen, Isobel. *History of St Peter's Anglican Church: 1862-*." Toronto: St Peter's Anglican Church. Print.

"An Appeal for Organization." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 1.2 (1888): 3. Print.

An Essay On the Qualifications and Duties of an Architect, &c: With Some Useful Hints for the Young Architect or Surveyor. London: Printed for the author, and sold by Taylor, 1773. Print.

"A Neat Country Church." *The Canada Farmer* 3.2 (1866): 20-21. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. 27 July 2015. <http://eco.canadiana.ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/oocihm.8_04206_49/6?r=0&s=1>.

"Architectural Offices." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 3.11 (1890): 123. Print.

Arthur, Eric. *Toronto, No Mean City*. Ed. Stephen A. Otto. 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986. Print.

Articles of Agreement, Charles Acton Bond to Langley and Burke. 15 Sept. 1886. Articles of Agreement. Toronto, Ontario. Print.

Articles of Agreement, J.T. Townsend et al. and Wm G. Storm. 11 Sept. 1874. Articles of Agreement. Toronto, Ontario. Print.

Articles of Agreement: Student Apprentice, Charles H. Linch to Burke, Horwood and White. 3 Nov. 1909. Articles of Agreement. Toronto, Ontario. Print.

Articles of Agreement: Student Apprentice, Fred E.L. Abrey to Burke and Horwood. 1 Oct. 1903. Articles of Agreement. Toronto, Ontario. Print.

Ashenburg, Katherine. *Going to Town: Architectural Walking Tours in Southern Ontario*. Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1996. Print.

"A Tour of Jarvis Street Church Building, Toronto." *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate* 23.22 (1944): n.p. Print.

Barnwell, P.S., Geoffrey Tyack, and William Whyte, eds. *George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878: An Architect of Influence*. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014. Print.

Barr, Edward. *Elevations, Sections, and Details of Strixton Church, Northamptonshire*. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1849. Print.

Barr, James. *Anglican Church Architecture with some Remarks upon Ecclesiastical Furniture*. 3rd ed. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1846. *Google Books*. Web. 6 Feb. 2012. Print.

Bebbington, David W. *Victorian Nonconformity*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011. Print.

Bebbington, David W. and Kenneth Dix, eds. "John Blackburn on the Gothic Style." *Protestant Nonconformist Text Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century*. Vol. 3. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006. 156. Print.

Benes, Peter. "Meetinghouses of Puritan New England: The Transatlantic Passage, 1630-1800." *The Archaeology of Post-Medieval Religion*. Ed. Chris King and Duncan Sayer. Woodbridge (Suffolk): Boydell, 2011. 179-95. Print.

Benjamin, Asher. *The Country Builder's Assistant: containing a collection of new designs of carpentry and architecture, which will be particularly useful, to country workmen in general*. Greenfield (Mass): Thomas Dickman, 1797. Print.

Bennett, Vicki. *Sacred Space and Structural Style: The Embodiment of Socio-Religious Ideology*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa P, 1997. Print.

Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970. Print.

Beszedits, Stephen. *Eminent Toronto Architects of the Past their lives and works*. Toronto: B & L Information Services, 1983. Print.

Bidlake, George. *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformity*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865. Print.

Bieler, Andre. *Architecture in Worship: the Christian Place of Worship*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965.

Binfield, Clive. "Nonconformist Architecture: A Representative Focus." *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity*. Ed. Robert Pope. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013. 257-84. Print.

Blackburn, John. "Remarks on Ecclesiastical Architecture as Applied to Nonconformist Chapels." *Protestant Nonconformist Texts Volume 3: The Nineteenth Centruy*. Ed. David W. Bebbington and Kenneth Dix. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2015. 156. Print.

Blomfield, Reginald. *Architectural Drawing and Draughtsmen*. London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1912. Print.

Blunt, Anthony. *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*. Oxford: OUP, 1962. Print.

"Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada - Annual Meeting." *The Globe* [Toronto] 18 Jan. 1866: 1. Print.

Board of Arts and Manufactures Annual Report. Rep. Toronto: n.p., 1860. Print.

Bowler, Revd George. *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856. Print.

Boylan, Anne M. *Sunday School: the Formation of an American Institution 1790-1880*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1988. Print.

Brandon, J. Arthur, and Raphael Brandon. *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: Illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of Doorways, Windows, etc. and accompanied with Remarks on the Several Details of an Ecclesiastical Edifice*. London: W. Kent & Co., 1847. Print.

---. *Masterpieces of Medieval Open Timber Roofs*. London: David Bogue, 1849. New York: Dover, 2005. Print.

---. *Parish Churches: Being Perspective Views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions*. London: W. Kent &, 1851. Print.

Brandwood, Geoffrey K. "'Fond of Church Architecture' - the Establishment of the Society and a Short History of Its Membership." *'A Church As It Should Be' The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*. Ed. Christopher Webster and John Elliott. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000. 45-61. Print.

Bremner, G.A. *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire c.1840-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. Print.

---. "Scott and the Wider World: The Colonial Cathedrals, 1847-74." *George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878: An Architect of Influence*. Ed. P.S. Barnwell, Geoffrey Tyack, and William Whyte. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014. 70-90. Print.

Bremner, G.A., ed. *Ecclesiology Abroad: The British Empire and Beyond*. Vol. 4. London: Victorian Society, 2012. Print.

Briggs, John H. Y. "*The Changing Shape of Nonconformity, 1662-2000*." Ed. Robert Pope. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013. 3-26. Print.

Brittain-Catlin, Timothy. Introduction. *Contrasts and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. By A.W.N. Pugin. Reading: Spire Books, 2003. i-vii. Print.

Brooks, Chris. *The Gothic Revival*. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1999. Print.

Brooks, H. Allen. "Looking at Architecture in Canada." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 18.4 (1959): 165. Print.

Brooks, Michael W. *John Ruskin and Victorian Architecture*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1987. Print.

Brothseau, Mathilde. *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980. Print.

Brown, Ron. *Downtown Ontario: Unusual main streets to explore*. Toronto: Polar Bear Press, 2003. Print.

Buggey, Susan and Gary D. Shutlak. "Stirling (Sterling), David." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 5 June 2012.
< http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?id_nbr=5853>.

Cameron, Christina and Janet Wright. *Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980. Print.

Campbell, Revd Robert. *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal*. Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co. Publishers, 1887. Print.

Canada. *Census returns for 1861*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Print.

Canada. *Census returns for 1871*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Print.

Canada. *Census returns for 1881*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Print.

Canada. *Census returns for 1891*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Print.

Card, Raymond. *The Ontario Association of Architects 1890-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950. Print.

Carr, Angela. "From William Hay to Burke, Horwood & White: A Case History in Canadian Architectural Draughting Style." *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 15.2 (1990): 41-51. <http://sextondigital.library.dal.ca/jssac/PDFs/Bulletin/Vol_15/vol15_no2_OCR_150dpi_PDFA1b.pdf>.

---. "Indices of Identity: A Canadian Architectural Practice in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century." *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 21.1 (1996): 11-17. <http://sextondigital.library.dal.ca/jssac/PDFs/Bulletin/Vol_21/vol21_no1_OCR_150dpi_PDFA1b.pdf>.

---. *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*. Montreal: Mc-Gill-Queen's UP, 1995. Print.

Chadwick, Owen. *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. Print.

Chalmers Presbyterian Church, Guelph. *Minutes of Board of Managers Meeting*. 30 August 1969. Print.

Chapple, Nina Perkins. *A Heritage of Stone: Buildings of the Niagara Peninsula, Fergus and Elora, Guelph, Region of Waterloo, Cambridge, Paris, Ancaster-Dundas-Flamborough, Hamilton and St. Mary*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Ltd., 2006. Print.

Charles Edward Langley Diploma. 1892. Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room, Toronto. Print.

"Cheap Churches." *The New York Ecclesiologist* October (1848). Web. 14 Feb. 2012. <http://anglicanhistory.org/ecclesiologist/ny/1.html>.

Christianson, Paul. "St. John's Anglican Church, Portsmouth, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*. 38.1 (2013): 5-20. Print.

"Church Architecture." *The Canadian Methodist Magazine* 1.4 (1875): 382. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. 28 July 2015. <http://eco.canadiana.ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/oocihm.8_04086_4/96?r=0&s=1>.

"Church Roofing." *The Ecclesiologist* May (1844): 101-07. Print.

Church, R.W. *The Oxford Movement Twelve Years 1833-1845*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1891. Print.

Clark, Kenneth. *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974. Print.

Clerk, Nathalie. *Palladian Style in Canadian Architecture*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984. Print.

Coffman, Peter. *Newfoundland Gothic*. Quebec: Editions MultiMondes, 2008. Print.

---. "St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 31.1 (2006): 3-22. Print.

---. “The Canadian Churches of Stephen C. Earle.” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 38.1 (2013): 67-74. Print.

---. “The Gibbsian Tradition in Nova Scotia.” *Tributes to Pierre Du Prey: Architecture and the Classical Tradition, from Pliny to Posterity*. Ed. Matthew M. Reeve. N.p.: Harvey Miller, 2015. 211-27. Print.

---. "The Introduction of Ecclesiology to Nova Scotia." *Ecclesiology Abroad: The British Empire and Beyond*. Ed. G.A. Bremner. Vol. 4. London: Victorian Society, 2012. 79-93. Print.

Cole, David. *The Works of Sir George Gilbert Scott*. London: Architectural Press, 1980. Print.

"Colonial Architecture.-Newfoundland." *The Ecclesiologist* April (1848): 274-79. Print.

"Colonial Church Architecture - St. Thomas, Pouch Cove." *The Ecclesiologist* February (1849): 216-17. Print.

Conner J.C. and J.W. Coltson. *The County of Ontario Directory, for 1869-70*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1869. Print.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Ontario Association of Architects. Rep. Toronto: Ontario Association of Architects, 1889. Print.

Cooper, Bruce Clement., ed. *The Golden Age of Canadian Railways*. Stroud, Gloustershire, U.K.: Worth, 2010. Print.

Cracknell, Kenneth and Susan J. White. *An Introduction to World Methodism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.

Crinson, Mark and Jules Lubbock. *Architecture, art or profession? Three Hundred years of Architectural Education*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994. Print.

Crook, J. Mordaunt. "Early French Gothic." Ed. Sarah Macready and F.H. Thompson. *Influences in Victorian Architecture, Society of Antiquaries Occassional Papers* New Series.VII (1985): 48-58. Print.

---. *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*. London: John Murray, 1987. Print.

Crossman, Kelly. *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens UP, 1987. Print.

Cubitt, James. *Church Designs for Congregations: its developments and possibilities*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1870. Print.

Cunningham, Colin. *Stones of Witness: Church Architecture and Function*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999. Print.

Cumming, Elizabeth and Wendy Kaplan. *The Arts and Crafts Movement*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2002. Print.

Davies, Rupert E. *Methodism*. London: Epworth Press, 1976. Print.

Death Registration for Henry Langley, 9 January 1907, Series MS935, Reel 128, Archives of Ontario. Print.

De Grandpre, Marcel. "Traditions of the Catholic Church in French Canada." *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition*. Ed. John Webster Grant. Toronto: Ryerson, 1963. 1-13. Print.

Designs for Village, Town and City Churches. Toronto: Canadian Architect and Builder, 1893. Print.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography. University of Toronto and the Université Laval, 2003. Web. 25 Apr. 2016. <http://www.biographi.ca/en/>.

Dixon, Roger and Stefan Muthesius. *Victorian Architecture: with a short dictionary of architects and 251 illustrations*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1978. Print.

Doig, Allan. "The Nineteenth-Century 'Church Catholic': Liturgy, Theology and Architecture." *Sacred Text-Sacred Space: Architectural, Spiritual and Literary Convergences in England and Wales*. Ed. Joseph Sterrett and Peter Thomas. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 227-45. Print.

Downs, Barrie. *Sacred Places: British Columbia's Early Churches*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1980. Print.

(DSA) Dictionary of Scottish Architects 1840-1989. Ed. Abigail Grater, David M. Walker, Leslie Harris, and Yvonne Hillyard. 26 July 2008. Historic Scotland. 12 Sept. 2011 <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/index.php>.

Eastlake, Charles. *A History of the Gothic Revival*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970. Print.

Eustace, Revd Bartholomew J. "The Sacristy." *Liturgical Art* 5.2 (1936): 47-59. Print.

Fay, Terence J. "Catholic Christians." *The Religions of Canadians*. Ed. Jamie S. Scott. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2012. 33-74. Print.

Fiddes, Victor. *The Architectural Requirements of Protestant Worship*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961. Print.

"Fine New Church Has Risen from Ashes of Metropolitan." *The Toronto Daily Star* 13 Dec. 1929, Real Estate sec.: 43. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Toronto Star*. Web. 15 July 2015. <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/docview/1432213425?accountid=15182>.

Froude, Richard Hurrell. “Church Architecture.” *The British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information, Parochial History, and Documents Respecting the State of the Poor, Progress of Education, Etc.* 1 (1832): 546-52. Print.

---. “Church Architecture.” *The British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information, Parochial History, and Documents Respecting the State of the Poor, Progress of Education, Etc.* 2 (1832): 14-20. Print.

---. “English Architecture.” *The British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information, Parochial History, and Documents Respecting the State of the Poor, Progress of Education, Etc.* 3 (1833): 22-28. Print.

Gallegos, Matthew. "Charles Borromeo and Catholic Tradition." *Journal of the Institute for Sacred Architecture* 9 (2004): 14-18. Web. 10 Oct. 2013. <http://www.sacredarchitecture.org/images/uploads/volumesPDFs/Issue_9_2004.pdf>.

Gidney, R.D. and W.P.J. Millar. *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. Print.

Gowans, Alan. *Building Canada: an Architectural History of Canadian Life*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1966. Print.

---. *Looking at Architecture in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1958. Print.

---. “Notre-Dame de Montreal.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 11.1 (1952): 20-26. Print.

---. “Sainte-Croix D’Orleans: A Major Monument too Long Neglected.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* September (1988): 69-76. Print.

---. *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression*. New York: Icon Editions, 1992. Print.

Grant, John Webster. *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988. Print.

---. “Religion and the Quest for a National Identity: The Background in Canadian History.” *Religion and Culture in Canada*. Ed. Peter Slater. N.p.: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1977. 8-21. Print.

---. *The Church in the Canadian Era*. Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998. Print.

Green, Anson. *The Life and Times of the Rev. Anson Green, D.D.* Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1877. Print.

Greenhill, Ralph. *The Face of Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1960. Print.

Greenhill, Ralph, Ken Macpherson, and Douglas Richardson. *Ontario Towns*. Ottawa: Oberon, 1974. Print.

Grenhill, Ralph and Verschoyle Benson Blake. *Rural Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1969. Print.

Hall, Michael. *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014. Print.

"Hay & Gundry, Architects." *The Globe* 9 Dec. 1861. Print.

Hay, William. "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada." *Anglo-American Magazine* 2 (1853): 253-55. *Google Books*. Web. 20 Nov. 2011.

---. "New Churches." *The Ecclesiologist* October (1850): 200-01. Print.

---. "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture." *Anglo-American Magazine* 2 (1853): 70-73. *Google Books*. Web. 11 Nov. 2011.

---. “Village Churches.” *Anglo-American Magazine* 4 (1854): 20-23. *Google Books*. Web. 22 Jan. 2011.

Hearn, M.F., ed. *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentary*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 1990. Print.

Helmstadter, Richard J. "The Nonconformist Conscience." *Religion in Victorian Britain IV Interpretations*. Ed Gerald Parsons. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988. 61-95. Print.

Herring, George. *What was the Oxford Movement?*. London: Continuum, 2002. Print.
"High Pulpits and the Bronchitis." *The Baptist Magazine* (June 1840): 673-74. Print.

Hill, Robert G. *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*. N.p., Apr. 2009. Web. 25 Apr. 2016. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/>.

---. "Bond, Charles Herbert Acton." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950* (n.d.): n. pag. Apr. 2009. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1669>.

---. "Gundry, Thomas." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*. Robert G. Hill, 2009. Web. 5 August 2013. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/757>.

---. "Langley, Henry." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*. N.p., Apr. 2009. Web. 25 Apr. 2016. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1433>.

Hill, Rosemary. *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2007. Print.

---. "Pugin, God's Architect." *The Guardian* 24 February 2012. Web. <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/feb/24/pugin-gothic-architect>.

---. "Pugin's Churches." *Architectural History: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain* 49 (2006): 179-205. SAHGB Publications Limited. Web. 1 Feb. 2012. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40033822>.

Historic Architecture of Canada. Ottawa: The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, 1967. Print.

History of the Canadian Western Railway. St. Thomas, Ontario: St. Thomas Public Library, 2013. Print.

Hitchcock, Henry-Russell. *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1977. Print.

Holmes, Stephen R. "Nonconformist Preaching and Liturgy." *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity*. Ed. Robert Pope. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013. 247-56. Print.

Hope, Alexander James Beresford. "Ecclesiological Movement in Scotland." *The Ecclesiologist* 9 (1848): 9-13. Print.

Hopkins, J. Castell. *A Souvenir: a history of the growth of the Queen City and its Board of Trade, with biographical sketches of the principal members thereof*. Toronto: Sabiston Lithographic & Pub. Co., 1893. Microfiche. *Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions* (1981): CIHM NO. 07297.

Howell, Peter. 'Founders of the Oxford Architectural Society (act. 1839-1860).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, OUP*. Web. 17 July 2013. < http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/theme-print.jsp?articleid=97266> .

Hubbard R.H. *The Development of Canadian Art*. Ottawa: the National Gallery of Canada, 1963. Print.

---. "Modern Gothic in Canada." *National Gallery of Canada Bulletin* 25 (1975): 3-18. Print.

---. "Victorian Gothic in Canada." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 6.3/4 (1947): 6; 34. Print.

---. "Canadian Gothic." *Architectural Review* 116 (Aug. 1954): 102-08. Print.

Hryniuk, Margaret and Frank Korvemaker. *Legacy of Stone: Saskatchewan's Stone Buildings*. Regina: Coteau Books, 2008. Print.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Essex and Kent. 1880-1. Toronto: H. Benden & Co, 1973. Print.

Ingersol, Stan. "Education." *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism*. Ed. Jason Vickers. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013. 261-78. Print.

Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. Ed. The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society. London: John Van Voorst, 1847. *Google Books*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. < http://books.google.ca/books?id=B9w-AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, second series. Ed. The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society. London: John Van Voorst, 1856. *Google Books*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=p_knAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Iron, Candace, and Malcolm Thurlby. "Two Heritage Churches in Dundas Part 2: Knox Presbyterian Church." *Raise the Hammer* (2010): n. pag. 20 Aug. 2010. Web. <https://raisethehammer.org/article/1148/two_heritage_churches_in_dundas_part_2:_knox_presbyterian_church>.

Jaeger, A. Robert. "The Auditorium and Akron Plans - Reflections of a Half Century of American Protestantism." Thesis. Cornell University, 1984. Print.

Jobson, F.J. *Chapel & School Architecture, as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Paractical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-Houses*." London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1850. Print.

---. "Chapel Architecture: as applicable to the Wesleyan Methodists." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (17 Jan. 1849): 22. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/Zga53>.

---. "Chapel Architecture, No. 2." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (31 Jan. 1849): 38. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/ZgZp8>.

---. "Chapel Architecture, No. 3." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (14 Feb. 1849): 54. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/ZgaY5>.

---. "Chapel Architecture, No. 4." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (28 Feb. 1849): 70. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/ZgZj7>.

---. "Chapel Architecture, No. 5." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (14 March 1849): 86. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/ZgZe0>.

---. "Chapel Architecture, No. 6." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (21 March 1849): 94. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/Zgav5>.

---."Chapel Architecture No.7: Model Chapels in Methodism: Circuit Efforts: Conclusion." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (4 April 1849): 110. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/Zgac7>.

---. "The First Methodist Chapel, Called "The Foundry"." *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser* (17 Jan. 1849): 22. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 8 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/Zgek0>.

Kalman, Harold. *A History of Canadian Architecture*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1994. Print.

---. "Recent Literature on the History of Canadian Architecture." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 31.4 (1972): 315-23. Print.

Kalman, Harold and John de Visser. *Pioneer Churches*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1976. Print.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Print.

Kilde, Jeanne Halgren. *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: an introduction to Christian architecture and worship*. New York: Oxford UP, 2008. Print.

---. *When Church Became Theatre: the Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford: OUP, 2002. Print.

Knox, John. *The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland, or John Knox's Book of Common Order, as Prescribed by the General Assembly, and Used at and after the Reformation*. Ed. Rev. John Cumming. London: J. Leslie, 1840. Print.

Kostof, Spiro. *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford UP, 1995. Print.

Langley, Henry. *Primitive Methodist Chapel. Parliament Street, Toronto*. 1871. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Langley, Henry and Edmund Burke. *Brooklin Church*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

Langley, Langley, and Burke. *Completion of Christ Church Hamilton Amended Plan of Front according to Contract*. 1874. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

Lawrence, Marion. *Housing the Sunday School or a Practical Study of Sunday School Buildings*. 1911. Reprint. London: Forgotten Books, 2013. Print.

"Laws." *'temples...worthy of His presence': the early publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*. Ed. Christopher Webster. Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2003. Print.

"Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New Catholic Church in Whitby." *The Whitby Chronicle* 19 Sept. 1967: n. pag. Print.

Leroux, John and Thaddeus Holownia. *St. Andrews Architecture 1604-1966*. Kentville NS: Gaspereau Press Printers & Publishers, 2010. Print.

Levine, Philippa. *The Amateur and the Professional: antiquarians, historians, and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1839-1886.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986. Print.

Lewis, Michael J. *The Gothic Revival*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2002. Print.

Loveland, Anne C. and Otis B. Wheeler. *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: a Material and Cultural History*. London: University of Missouri Press, 2003. Print.

Luther, Martin. *The Larger Catechism*. Grand Rapids, Mich: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, n.d. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost). Web. 2 June 2015.

MacRae, Marion and Anthony Adamson. *Hallowed Walls: church architecture in Upper Canada*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1975. Print.

---. *The Ancestral Roof:* Domestic *Architecture of Upper Canada*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1963. Print

Magrill, Barry. *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada, 1867-1914*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2012. Print.

---. "An Architecture of the Printed Page: Canada's Consumption of Pattern Books and Journals in Late Nineteenth-century Church-building." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*. 33.2 (2008): 33-42. <http://sextondigital.library.dal.ca/jssac/PDFs/Journal/Vol_33/vol33_no2_OCR_150dpi_PDFA1b.pdf>.

---. "Development" and Ecclesiology in the Outposts of the British Empire: William Hay's Gothic Solutions For Church Building in Tropical Climates (1840-1890)." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 29.1,2 (2004): 15-26. Print.

Maitland, Leslie. *Historical Sketches of Ottawa*. Peterborough: Broadview Press Ltd. 1990. Print.

---. *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture*. Ottawa: Parks Services, 1990. Print.

Mallory, Mary Louise. "Three Henry Langley Churches: Victorian Gothic Architecture and the Diversity of Sects in Ontario." Thesis. University of Toronto, 1979. Print.

Marx, Claudia. "Scott and the Restoration of Major Churches." *Sir George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878*. Ed. P.S. Barnwell, Geoffrey Tyack, and William Whyte. Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2014. 91-111. Print.

Masetti, Pio Tommaso. *Memorie istoriche della chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva e de'susi moderni restauri*. Rome: Bernardo Morini, 1855. Web. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=15bcL5yVK7QC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

McIntire, C.T. "Protestant Christians." *The Religions of Canadians*. Ed. Jamie S. Scott. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012. 75-130. Print.

McKenry, Jennifer. *With Our Past Before Us: Ninteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area*. Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1995. Print.

Medley, John. *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*. Exeter: P.A. Hannford, 1841. Print.

---. “The Advantages of Open Seats.” *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* 1 (1843): 155-70. *HathiTrust Digital Library*. Web. 12 May 2014. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015059660657>.

---. *The Advantages of Open Seats*. Oxford: I. Shrimpton, 1843. Print.

“Methodist Church Architecture.” *The National Magazine* 7 (1855): 496-512. Print.

“Methodist Church Architecture. Third Article.” *The National Magazine* 8 (1856): 121-5. Print.

Mika, Nick and Helma. *Kingston: Splendid Heritage*. Kingston: Mika Publishing Company, 1989. Print.

---. *Niagara-on-the-Lake: The Old Historical Town*. Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1990. Print.

---. *Toronto: Magnificent City*. Bellville: Mika Silk Screening Limited, 1967. Print.

---. *Trenton Past and Present: An Illustrated Glimpse into History*. Belleville: Mika Silk Screening Limited, 1967. Print.

Minchin, Basil. *Outward and Visible*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961. Print.

Moir, John S., ed. *Church and Society: Documents on the Religious and Social History of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto*. Toronto: Archdiocese of Toronto, 1991. Print.

---. "Toronto's Protestants and Their Perceptions of Their Roman Catholic Neighbours." *Catholics at the "Gathering Place": Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto 1841-1991*. Ed. Mark George McGowan and Brian P. Clarke. Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993. 313-27. Print.

Morriss, Shirly G. “The Nine-Year Odyssey of a High Victorian Goth: Three Churches by Fred Cumberland.” *Journal of Canadian Art History* 2.1 (Summer 1975): 42-53. Print.

"Mr. Hope's Essay on the Present State of Ecclesiological Science in England." *The Ecclesiologist*. 7.57 (1847): 85-91. Print.

Mulvaney, C. Pelham. *Toronto: Past and Present. A Handbook of the City*. Toronto: W.E. Craiger, 1884. Print.

Neale, John Mason. "A Few Words to Church Builders." *'temples...worthy of His Presence': The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*. Ed. Christopher Webster. Reading: Spire, 2003. 133-88. Print.

---. “A Few Words to Church Wardens on Churches and Church Ornaments.” *‘temples...worthy of His Presence’: The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*. Ed. Christopher Webster. Reading: Spire, 2003. 193-208. Print.

“New Church at Swindon, on the Great Western Railway.” *Illustrated London News* 180 (1845): 229. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive 1842-2003*. Web. 12 May 2014.

“New Churches.” *The Ecclesiologist* 1 (1841): 19-21. Print.

"New Churches." *The New York Ecclesiologist* 1 (1848). Web. 14 Feb. 2012. <http://anglicanhistory.org/ecclesiologist/ny/1.html>.

“New Churches: S. James the Less, near Falls of Schuylkill, Philadelphia County.” *The New York Ecclesiologist* 1 (1848): n.pag.

Nobbs, Percy E. “Canadian Architecture.” *Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions* 12 (1914): 663-75. Print.

Nockles, Peter B. “Anglicanism ‘Represented’ or ‘Misrepresented”? The Oxford Movement, Evangelicalism, and History: The Controversial Use of the Caroline Divines in the Victorian Church of England.” *Victorian Churches and Churchmen: Essays Presented to Vincent Allen McClelland*. Ed. Sheridan Gilley. Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005. (308-69). Print.

Ollard, S.L. *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*. London: Faith Press Reprints, 1963. Print.

---. “The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and the Oxford Movement.” Oxford Architectural and Historical Society Centennial. Oxford. 31 May 1939. Lecture.

“On Simplicity of Composition, Especially in Churches of the Early-English Style.” *The Ecclesiologist* 2 (1843): 118-22. Print.

“On the Construction of Places of Worship.” *The Baptist Magazine* (Nov. 1840): 568. Print.

“On the Peculiarities of the Ecclesiology of Scotland.” *The Ecclesiologist* November (1846): 161-165. Print.

"Ontario Association of Architects Convention." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 5.2 (1892): 13-20. Print.

“Open Seats.” *The Ecclesiologist* 6 (1845): 270-2. Print.

“Our Holy and Our Beautiful House -.” *The Gospel Witness* (1938): n.p. Print.

Panayotidis, Euthalia Lisa. "Gothic and Romanesque: A Questions of Style and Arrangement of Protestant Churches and School Houses in 19th Century Ontario: The Work of Henry Langley." Thesis. York University, Toronto, 1991. Print.

Pantin, W.A. “The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1839-1939.” Oxford Architectural and Historical Society Centennial. Oxford. 17 May 1939. Lecture.

Pereiro, James. *Ethos and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008. *Scholars Portal Books*. University Press Scholarship Online, 11 Oct. 2012. Web. 9 July 2013. <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199230297.001.0001/acprof-9780199230297>.

Pierson, William Harvey. *American Buildings and their Architects Vol. 1: the Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970. Print.

Pocius, Gerald L. “A History of Architecture in Canada.” *Material Culture Review* 44 (Fall 1996): n.pag. Print.

Pocock, W. F. *Designs for Churches and Chapels, of Various Dimensions and Styles; Consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections, with Estimates: also Some Designs for Altars, Pulpits, and Steeples*. London: J. Taylor, 1819. Print.

Pope, Robert, ed. *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity*. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013. Print.

Port, M. H. *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*. Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2006. Print.

Power, Michael. "Building a Cathedral." *Church and Society: Documents on the Religious and Social History of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto*. Ed. John S. Moir. Toronto: Archdiocese of Toronto, 1991. 20-21. Print.

Practical Hints on Chapel-Building. London: John Snow, 1855. Print.

Preyde, James and Susan. *Steeple Chase: Ontario’s Historic Churches*. Erin, ON: The Boston Mills Press, 1990. Print.

"Proposed New General Hospital." *Anglo-American Magazine Anglo-American Magazine* 4 (1854): n.pag. Print.

“Pues.” *The Ecclesiologist* 2 (1843): 3-5. Print.

Pugin, AWN. "Contrasts: Or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste.

Accompanied by Appropriate Text." 1841. *Contrasts and the True Principles of Pointed Architecture*. Ed. Timothy Brittain- Catlin. Reading: Spire, 2003. n.pag. Print.

---. "How Shall We Build Our Churches?" *The Builder* 3.372 (1850): 134-5. Print.

---. "Letter on Spires." *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture* (1843): 18-27. *Oxford Architectural and Historical Society*. Web. 11 June 2015. <http://www.oahs.org.uk/publications/proc_os_1843.pdf>.

---. "On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, Art. II." *The Dublin Review* X (1841): 301-48. Print.

---. "On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, Art. III." *The Dublin Review* XIII (1843): 80-183. Print.

---. *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*. London: Charles Dolman, 1843. Print.

---. "The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture." 1841. *Contrasts and the True Principles of Pointed Architecture*. Ed. Timothy Brittain-Catlin. Reading: Spire, 2003. N. pag. Print.

Raikes, Robert. "An Account of the Sunday-Charity Schools, lately begun in various Parts of England." *The Arminian Magazine* 8 (1785): 41-3. *British Online Archives*. Web. 10 July 2015.

Ralko, Joe. *Building Our Future: A People's Architectural History of Saskatchewan*. Calgary: Red Deer Press, 2004. Print.

Reid, W. Stanford. *A Century and a half of Witness 1828-1978: The Story of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church Guelph, Ontario*. Mississauga: Moyers & Smart Limited, 1980. Print.

Reiff, Daniel D. "Viollet Le Duc And Historic Restoration: The West Protals of Notre-Dame." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 3.1 (1971): 17-30. Print.

Richardson, Douglas. "WILLS, FRANK." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. Web. 5 June 2013. < http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wills_frank_8E.html>.

Richardson, Douglas and Angela K. Carr. "Langley, Henry." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000. Web. 5 June 2012. <http://sextondigital.library.dal.ca/jssac/PDFs/Journal/Vol_33/vol33_no2_OCR_150dpi_PDFA1b.pdf>.

Richardson, F. “To the Congregation of St. Peter’s Church, Carleton Street.” 15 Dec. 1866. St Peter’s Anglican Church Archives, Toronto. Print.

Richardson, Peter and Douglas Richardson. *Canadian Churches: an architectural history*. Richmond Hill: 2007. Print.

Richmond, John and Bruce West. *Around Toronto*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1969. Print.

Ricketts, Shannon, Leslie Maitland, and Jacqueline Hucker. *A Gide to Canadian Architectural Styles*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004. Print.

Rickman, Thomas. *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation: With a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders*. Vol. 7. Oxford: Parker and, 1881. Print.

Ritchie, Thomas. *Canada Builds, 1867-1967*. Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1967. Print.

Robertson, John Ross. *Robertson’s Landmarks of Toronto: a collection of historical sketches of the old Town of York from 1792 until 1837 and of Toronto from 1834-1904, also nearly three hundred engravings of the churches of Toronto embracing the picture of every church obtainable from 1800-1904*. Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1902. Print. Ser. 4.

---. *Sketches in City Churches, reprinted from The Evening Telegram, with the original illustrations*. Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1886. Print.

Ross, Malcolm. “MEDLEY, JOHN.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. Web. 5 June 2013. < www.biographi.ca/en/bio/medley_john_12E.html >.

Rowe, John Mark Benbow. Acton: The History of Leathertown. Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 2002. Print.

Rozier, Revd Wm. Letter to Revd Ernest Hawkins. 26 Dec. 1855. MS. Lamaline, Newfoundland. Print.

Ruskin, John. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. 1849. New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1989. Print.

---. *The Stones of Venice*. 2nd ed. Vol. 2. London: Smith, Elder, 1867. Print.

Ryerson, Egerton. “A Review of a Sermon, Preached by the Hon. and Reverend John Strachan, D.D. at York, U.C. July 3, 1825, on the Death of the Late Lord Bishop of Quebec.” *The Colonial Advocate* (1826): n.pag. *Hathi Trust Digital Library*. Web. 10 Jan. 2015. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=aeu.ark:/13960/t12n61p97;view=1up;seq=9>.

Sambell, Philip. “On the Construction of Chapels.” *The Baptist Magazine* (July 1841): 355. Print.

"S. Charles Borromeo and Mr. Wigley." *The Ecclesiologist* 125 (1858): 97-102. Print.

Sénécal, Robert. "Carlo Borromeo's Instructioned Fabricae Et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae and Its Origins in the Rome of His Time." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 241-67. *JSTOR [JSTOR]*. Web. 16 July 2014. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/stable/i40012728>.

Scott, George Gilbert. *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of Our Ancient Churches*. London: John Henry Parker, 1850. *Open Library*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. <http://www.archive.org/stream/pleaforfaithfulr00scot#page/n3/mode/2up>.

---. *Personal and Professional Recollections*. Ed. George Gilbert Scott the younger. London: Sampsom Low, 1879. Print.

Scott, Rev. William. “On Wooden Churches.” *The Ecclesiologist* August (1848): 14-27. Print.

Simmins, Geoffrey. Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream. Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1997. Print.

---. *Ontario Association of Architects a Centennial History 1889-1989*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989. Print.

Smith, H.M. Scott. *The Historic Houses of Prince Edward Island*. Halifax: SSP Publications, 1990. Print.

Spiers, R. Phene. *Architectural Drawing*. New York: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1888. Print.

Spruell, S. *Toronto Academy*. Toronto: 1847. Microfiche. *Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions* (1986): CIHM NO. 59362.

Stamp, Gavin. “George Gilbert Scott and the Cambridge Camden Society.” *‘A Church As It Should Be’ The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*. Ed. Christopher Webster and John Elliott. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000. 173-89. Print.

---. *Gothic for the Steam Age: An Illustrated Biography of George Gilbert Scott*. London: Aurum Press, 2015. Print.

Stanton, Phoebe. *Pugin*. New York: The Viking Press, 1971. Print.

---. *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture, an episode in taste 1840-1856*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1968. Print.

Stell, Christopher. “Nonconformist Architecture and the Cambridge Camden Society.” *‘A Church as It Should Be’ The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*. Ed. Christopher Webster and John Elliott. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000. 317-30. Print.

Stelter, Gilbert A. “Henry Langley and the Making of Gothic Guelph.” *Historic Guelph* 28 (1989): n. pag. *University of Guelph*. Web. 11 June 2015. <Henry Langley and the Making of Gothic Guelph>.

St. John, Judith. *Firm Foundations: A Chronicle of Toronto's Metropolitan United Church and Her Methodist Origins*. Winfield, BC: Wood Lake Books Inc., 1988. Print.

Stokes, Peter John. *Old Niagara on the Lake*. Toronto. University of Toronto P, 1971. Print.

Strachan, Rev. John. *A Sermon Preached at York, Upper Canada, Third of July, 1825, on the Death of the Late Lord Bishop of Quebec*. Kingston: James MacFarlane, 1826. *Project Canterbury*. Web. 10 Jan. 2015. <http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/strachan/mountain_sermon1826.html>.

---. Letter to William Hay. 26 May 1846. MS. Canada, Toronto, Ontario.

Street, George Edmund. *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of Tours in the North of Italy*. London: John Murray, 1855. Print.

---. "On the Proper Characteristic of a Town Church." *The Ecclesiologist* December (1850): 227-33. Print.

---. “The True Principles of Architecture, and the Possibility of Development.” *The Ecclesiologist* 13 (1852): 247-62. Print.

Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. *Architectonisches Bedencken von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur und Einrichtung*. N.p.: n.p., 1712. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2015. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=vuRQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Summerson, John. *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*. 1953. New Haven: Yale UP, 1993. Print.

Tausky, Nancy Z. and Lynne D. DiStefano. *Victorian Architecture in London and Southwestern Ontario: Symbols of Aspiration*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986. Print.

Talman, James J. “Cronyn, Benjamin.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 10. University of Toronto/ Université Laval, 2013. Web. 20 Aug. 2013. <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cronyn_benjamin_10E.html>.

“The Akron School-Room.” *Sunday School Journal* 5.9 (1873): 201. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2015.

"The architects in Ontario..." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 2.3 (1889): 26. Print.

"The architects in Ontario..." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 2.4 (1889): 38. Print.

"The Arrangement of Chancels." *The Ecclesiologist* September (1844): 161-68. Print.

The Church Jan 11 (1849): 95. Print.

The Church Sept 5 (1850): 45. Print.

"The Congress of the Protestant..." *The American Architect and Building News* 2.98 (1877): 357. Print.

"The Late Mr. Henry Langley." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 20.1 (1907): 14. Print.

"The Late Mr. Wm. Hay, Architect." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 1.7 (1888): 11. Print.

"The New Trinity Church." *The American Architect and Building News* 2.2 (1877): 49. Print.

The Pictorial History of Ajax 1941/1972. Ajax: The Ajax Historical Board, 1972. Print.

"The Poetry of Architecture." *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*. New York: National Library Association. *Project Gutenburg*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. < http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17774/17774-h/17774-h.htm>

The Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. Oxford: 1839. Print.

Thurlby, Malcolm. "19th-Century Churches in Hamilton: Barton Stone United Church and St Paul's Anglican Church, Glanford." *Raise the Hammer* (2007): n.p. Web. 24 Aug. 2013. < http://raisethehammer.org/article/517/19th-century_churches_in_hamilton:_barton_stone_united_church_and_st_pauls_anglican_church_glanford>

---. "Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), Frank Wills (1822-1857), and the designs of Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, New Brunswick, with some elementary remarks on the impact of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills on the arrangements of Anglican churches in New Brunswick." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 40.1 (2015): 31-57. Print.

---. "Christ Church Maugerville, New Brunswick: Bishop John Medley, William Butterfield, Frank Wills, and the Transmission of Ecclesiological Principles in Anglican Churches in New Brunswick." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 38.1 (2013): 21-8. Print.

---. "Joseph Connolly in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston, Ontario." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 30 (2005): 25-38. Print.

---. “Joseph Connolly’s Masterpiece: The Basilica of Our Lady Immaculate, Guelph.” *Raise the Hammer* 25 October 2015. Web. <http://raisethehammer.org/article/2706>.

---. “Nineteenth-Century Churches in Ontario: A Study in the Meaning of Style.” *Historic Kingston* 35 (1987): 96-118. Print.

---. “Nineteenth-Century Churches in Prince Edward Island and their Place in the Gothic Revival.” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 31.2 (2006): 65-85. Print.

---. “Nonconformist Churches in Canada 1850-75.” *Ecclesiology Today* 34 (2005): 53-73. Web. 28 June 2015. <http://www.ecclsoc.org/ET.34.pdf>.

---. “Ottawa Gothic.” *Rotunda* (Summer 1988): 24-31. Print.

---. “Parisian Gothic: Interpretations of Gothic in Three Victorian Buildings in Paris, Ontario.” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 34.1 (2009): 19-32. Print.

---. "The Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception at Guelph: Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly." *The Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 15 (1990): 32-40.

---. "The Irish-Canadian Pugin: Joseph Connolly" *Irish Arts Review* 3.1 (1986): 16-21.

---. "The 'Roman Renaissance' Churches of Joseph Connolly and Arthur Holmes and their place in Roman Catholic Church Architecture." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 29 (2004): 27-40.

---. "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 32.1 (2007): 49-60. Print.

---. "Two Churches by Joseph Connolly in Hamilton." *Raise the Hammer* 21 April 2006.

---. "Two Late Nineteenth-Century Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto by Joseph Connolly: St Mary’s, Bathurst Street, and St Paul’s, Power Street." *Ecclesiology Today* 33 (May 2004): 30-48. Web. <http://www.ecclsoc.org/ET.33.pdf>.

Thurlby, Malcolm, and Candace Iron. “St John’s Anglican Church, Ancaster: An Architectural

History." *Raise the Hammer* (2007): n.p. *Raise the Hammer*. Web. <http://raisethehammer.org/article/672/st_johns_anglican_church_ancaster:_an_architectural_history>.

Timperlake, J. *Illustrated Toronto: Past and Present, being an Historical and Descriptive Guide-book comprising Its Architecture, Manufacture, Trade; its Social, Literary, Scientific, and Charitable Institutions; its Churches, Schools, and Colleges; and other Principle Points of interest to the Visitor and Resident*. Toronto: Peter A. Gross, 1877. Print.

Tomlinson, Glenn V., and Andrew M. Fountain, eds. *"From Strength to Strength" a Pictorial History of Jarvis Street Baptist Church 1818-1993*. Toronto: Gospel Witness Publications, 1993. Print.

Toronto Academy. Toronto: 1850.Microfiche. *Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions* (1982): CIHM NO. 38075.

Toronto Board of Trade. *A Souvenir*. Toronto: 1850. Print.

"Transitional Churches." *The Ecclesiologist* 4 (1845): 54-62. Print.

Trickett, E. "On Baptist Chapels." *The Baptist Magazine* (Aug. 1842): 411-17. Print.

"Truefitt's Designs for Country Churches." *The Ecclesiologist* 11 (1850): 47-49. Print.

Truefitt, George. *Designs for Country Churches*. London: Joseph Masters, 1850. Print.

Tuck, Robert. *Churches of Nova Scotia*. Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2004.

---. *Gothic Dreams: the life and times of a Canadian architect, William Critchlow Harris, 1854-1913*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1978. Print.

Ure, G.P. "*The Hand-book of Toronto; containing its climate, geology, natural history, educational institutions, courts of law, municipal arrangements*." Toronto: Lovell and Gibson, 1858. Print.

Vattay, Sharon. "Defining "Architect" in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: The Practices of John George Howard and Thomas Young." Diss. U of Toronto, 2001. Print.

Voelker, Evelyn Carole. "Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae Et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae, 1577. A Translation with Commentary and Analysis." Thesis. Syracuse University, 1977. Print.

Webb, Benjamin. *Sketches in Continental Ecclesiology, or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy*. London: Joseph Masters, 1848. *Google Books*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013.

<http://books.google.ca/books?id=0UBAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA525&lpg=PA525&dq=Ecclesiology%2Bsham&source=bl&ots=9x8H8jN_60&sig=E3O9C4QDnhtE0NPMlJcBUmaVa4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=pi0EUtKyK5La8wTUmoDwBA&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Ecclesiology%2Bsham&f=false>.

Webster, Christopher, ed. *Episodes in the Gothic Revival: six church architects*. Reading: Spire Books, 2011.

---. *'temples...worthy of His presence': the early publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*. Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2003. Print.

Wesley, John. *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford enlarged from original MSS., with notes from unpublished diaries, annotations, maps, and illustrations*. Ed. Nehemiah Curnock. Vol. 5. London: Charles H. Kelly, n.d. Print.

"Western Triplets." *The Ecclesiologist* 2 (1843): 65-8. Print.

"Western Triplets of Lancets." *The Ecclesiologist* 2 (1842): 37-8. Print.

Westfall, William. *Two Worlds: the Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1989. Print.

Westfall, William, and Malcolm Thurlby. Church Architecture and Urban Space: the Development Ecclesiastical Forms in Nineteenth-Century Ontario. Ed. Colin Read. *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.C. Careless*. Ed. David Keene. Toronto and London: Dundurn P, 1990. 118-47. Print.

---. "The Church in the Town: the adaptation of sacred architecture to urban settings in Ontario." *Canadian Studies* 20 (1886): 49-58). Print.

White, James F. *The Cambridge Movement: the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1962. Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2004. Print.

---. *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Consideration*. 1964. Eugene, Oregon: 2003. Print.

---. *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989. Print.

White, William. "Upon Some of the Causes and Points of Failure in Modern Design." *The Ecclesiologist* (1851): 305-13. Print.

Whyte, William. "Sacred Space as Sacred Text: Church and Chapel Architecture in Victorian Britain." Ed. Joseph Sterrett and Peter Thomas. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 247-67. Print.

---."Scott's Office and Its Influence." Ed. Geoffrey Tyack and William Whyte. *Sir George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878*. Ed. P.S. Barnwell. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014. 213-29. Print.

Wigley, George J. *St. Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building*. London: C. Dolman, 1857. Print.

William Hay. 1907. Edinburgh Architectural Association, Edinburgh, Scotland. *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*. Web. 12 Jan. 2012. <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=201139>.

Wills, Frank. *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*. New York: Stanford and Swords, 1850. Print.

---. "Reality in Architecture." *The New-York Ecclesiologist* 1 (1848): n.pag. Print.

Whytock, Jack C. " Scottish Liturgics and Church Architecture: A Study of a Transplanted Kirk on Prince Edward Island." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 39.2 (2014): 53-64. Print.

Wilson, Douglas J. *The Church Grows in Canada*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966. Print.

"Wooden Churches." *The Ecclesiologist* 4 (1845): 148-50. Print.

Wren, Christopher. *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens; viz. of Matthew Bishop of Ely, Christopher Dean of Windsor, etc. but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren, Late Surveyor-General of the Royal Buildings, President of the Royal Society, etc., etc. in which is contained, besides his Works, a great number of original papers and records; on Religion, Politics, Anatomy, Mathematics, Architecture, Antiquaries; and most Branches of Polite Literature*. London: T. Osborn and R. Dodsley, 1750. Print.

Yates, Nigel. *Buildings, Faith and Worship: the liturgical arrangement of Anglican churches 1600-1900*. Oxford: OUP, 2000. Print.

---. *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2008. Print.

---. *Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors 1560-1860*. London: T&T Clark, 2009. Print.

---. *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*. London: Chameleon Press Ltd., 1984. Print.

Appendix A: List of Langley's Apprentices and Their Works[1]

Charles Herbert Acton Bond (1860-1924)

Sample Works

1898	Toronto, ON	The Consumer Gas Company Retort House
1898	Toronto, ON	St Clement's Anglican Church
1898	Toronto, ON	Frederick J. Campbell House (Lowther Avenue)
1899	Toronto, ON	Terauley Street Turkish Baths
1899	Stouffville, ON	Stouffville Pork Packing Company Factory
1899	Toronto, ON	Arthur E. Hill House (Wilson Avenue)
1900	Sussex, NB	Bank of Nova Scotia
1901	Toronto, ON	Frank Fleming House (Bernard Avenue)
1901	North Sydney, NS	Bank of Nova Scotia
1902	Toronto, ON	T.N. Sampson Drugs
1903	Niagara Falls, ON	Toronto and Niagara Power Company Office Building
1907	St. Catharines, ON	Sovereign Bank
1907	Goderich, ON	Sterling Bank
1914	Niagara Falls, ON	Imperial Order of Foresters Lodge

For more information regarding the work of Charles Herbert Acton Bond, see:

Hill, Robert G. "Bond, Charles Herbert Acton." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n. pag. Aug. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1669>.

Edmund Burke (1850-1919)

Partnerships/Firms:

1873-84	Langley, Langley and Burke
1884-92	Langley and Burke
1892-94	Edmund Burke
1894-1909	Burke and Horwood
1909-19	Burke, Horwood and White

Sample Works:

1874	Toronto, ON	Jarvis Street Baptist Church
1889	Toronto, ON	Trinity Methodist Church (now Trinity-St Paul's United Church)

[1] These are sample lists and are not exhaustive. Included in this list of students are those that practised architecture after apprenticing in the Langley firm.

1892	Cheltenham, ON	Baptist Church
1892	Brantford, ON	Baptist Mission Chapel
1892	Toronto, ON	Mount Pleasant Cemetery Mortuary Chapel and Greenhouse
1892	Toronto, ON	Charles E. Good Cottage (Toronto Island)
1893	Toronto, ON	John Abell House (Madison Avenue)
1893	Toronto, ON	Charles H. Hubbard House (Grosvenor Street)
1893-94	Toronto, ON	Robert Simpson Company Department Store
1894	Sackville, NB	Mount Allison University, Owens Art Building
1895	Toronto, ON	Globe Printing Plant
1895	London, ON	Queen's Avenue Methodist Church
1896-97	Woodstock, ON	Knox Presbyterian Church
1897-98	Kenora, ON	First Baptist Church
1899	Toronto, ON	Bible Training College (dem.)
1899	Toronto, ON	Toronto Conservatory of Music (College St)
1908-99	Toronto, ON	University of Toronto, Royal College of Dental Surgeons (now the School of Architecture)
1911	Vancouver, BC	Hudson's Bay Department Store
1913	Toronto, ON	Methodist Book and Publishing House

For more information regarding the work of Edmund Burke, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003. 242-43.

Beszedits, Stephen. *Eminent Toronto Architects of the Past: Their Lives and Works*. Toronto: B & L Information Services, 1983. 72-76.

Carr, Angela K. "BURKE, EDMUND (1850-1919)." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 14 (1998): n.p. University of Toronto/Université Laval. Web. <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/burke_edmund_1850_1919_14E.html>.

Hill, Robert G. "Burke, Edmund." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Apr. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1678>.

Frank Darling (1850-1923)

Partnerships/Firms:

1873	Frank Darling
1874-75	Macdougall and Darling
1875-8	Frank Darling
1878-79	Darling and Edwards
1880-91	Darling and Curry

1892	Darling, Curry, Sproatt, snd Pearson
1893-96	Darling, Sproatt and Pearson
1897-1923	Darling and Pearson

Sample Works:

1874-75	Toronto, ON	St Thomas Anglican Church (Bathurst Street)
1876	Toronto, ON	Trinity College Convocation Hall
1876	Toronto, ON	James T. Boys House
1877	Brampton, ON	Brampton High School
1879-80	Toronto, ON	Home for the Incurables (dem.)
1881-82	Toronto, ON	St Luke's Anglican Church (dem.)
1882-83	Simcoe, ON	Trinity Anglican Church
1886	Toronto, ON	Bank of Montreal
1888	Toronto, ON	The Toronto Club
1888	Toronto, ON	St John's Hospital (dem.)
1892	Lindsay, ON	Dominion Bank
1897-98	Toronto, ON	Parkdale Curling Club
1901	Paris, ON	Bank of Commerce
1905	Toronto, ON	University of Toronto Convocation Hall
1906	Chatham, ON	Dominion Bank
1907	Truro, NS	Bank of Nova Scotia
1910-11	Toronto, ON	Royal Ontario Museum

For more information regarding the work of Frank Darling, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003 (244).

Beszedits, Stephen. *Eminent Toronto Architects of the Past: Their Lives and Works*. Toronto: B & L Information Services, 1983. 77-83.

Crossman, Kelly. "DARLING, FRANK." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 15 (2005): n.p. University of Toronto/Université Laval. Web. <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/darling_frank_15E.html>.

Hill, Robert G. "Darling, Frank." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Aug. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1638>.

Robert John Edwards (1853-1927)

Partnerships/Firms:

1883	Edwards and Peters
n.d.	R.J. Edwards

1886-96	Edwards and Webster
n.d.	Edwards and Wagner
n.d.	Edwards and Saunders
n.d.	Edwards and Edwards

Sample Works:

1883-84	Port Arthur, ON	St Paul's Presbyterian Church
1884	Port Arthur, ON	Ontario Bank
1884-85	Port Arthur, ON	Riverside Cemetery Chapel
1889	Halifax, NS	Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Clubhouse
1890	Toronto, ON	St George's Society Hall
1895	Barrie, ON	Allandale Methodist Church
1906	Toronto, ON	Albert Apartment (Broadway Place)
	Barrie, ON	South Ward School
1907	Toronto, ON	Shuttleworth Chemical Company Factory
1907-08	Barrie, ON	Central Methodist Church (dem.)
1910	Erindale, ON	St Peter's Anglican Church

For more information regarding the work of Robert John Edwards, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003 (245).

Hill, Robert G. "Edwards, Robert John." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Sept. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1550>.

Henry Bauld Gordon (1854-1951)

Partnerships/Firms:

1877	H.B. Gordon
1879-1931	Gordon and Helliwell

Sample Works:

1877-78	Toronto, ON	Leslieville Presbyterian Church (dem.)
1879	St. Mary's, ON	Widder Street Presbyterian Church
1879-80	Toronto, ON	West Presbyterian Church
1880	Toronto, ON	Deer Park Presbyterian Church
1880	Brampton, ON	St Andrew's Presbyterian Church
1881	Toronto, ON	Knox Presbyterian Church (Queen St W) (dem.)
1882	Newboro, ON	Presbyterian Church
1885-86	Peterborough, ON	St Andrew's Presbyterian Church
1885-86	Owen Sound, ON	Division Street Presbyterian Church
1886	Toronto, ON	Yonge Street YMCA

1886-88	Toronto, ON	Parkdale Presbyterian Church
1887	Toronto, ON	Bathurst Street Methodist (United) Church
1887	Ayr, ON	Knox Presbyterian Church
1888	Toronto, ON	Western Congregational Church (dem.)
1890	Toronto, ON	Church of the Messiah (Avenue Road)
1890	Toronto, ON	Elmwood YMCA
1898	Toronto, ON	Presbyterian Church of the Covenant
1908-09	Grafton, ON	St George's Anglican Church

For more information regarding the work of Henry Bauld Gordon, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003 (248).

Hill, Robert G. "Peters, Wesley A." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Aug. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1592>.

John Charles Batstone Horwood (1864-1938)

Partnerships/Firms:

1894-1909	Burke and Horwood
1909-19	Burke, Horwood, and White

Sample Works:

1920	Toronto, ON	Dr W.J. McCollum Residence
1920	Toronto, ON	Davenport Road Presbyterian Church
1920	Woodstock, ON	John White Co. Ltd. Department Store
1922	Toronto, ON	Mimico Methodist Church
1925-26	Toronto, ON	Silverthorn United Church
1926	Toronto, ON	Toronto Public Library, 11th Avenue Branch
1926	Toronto, ON	Woodbine Avenue United Church
1927	Stratford, ON	John Northway and Co. Department Store
1928	Drayton, ON	United Church
1929	Toronto, ON	Grand and Toy Ltd Warehouse

For more information regarding the work of Henry Bauld Gordon, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003 (250-51).

Hill, Robert G. "Horwood, John Charles Batstone." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Aug. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1530>.

William Ford Howland (1874-1948)

Partnerships/Firms:

1904-07	W.F. Howland
1907-41	Langley and Howland

Sample Works:

1905	Toronto, ON	Peleg Howland Residence
1905	Toronto, ON	R.T. Davey Store and Apartment
1907	Toronto, ON	Madison Apartments
1907	Toronto, ON	St Anne's Church (Gladstone Ave)
1908	Welland, ON	Country Hospital
1908	Toronto, ON	Davisville Public School
1908	Toronto, ON	Eglinton Public School
1908	Toronto, ON	Aged Men's Home
1910	Toronto, ON	Canada Linseed Oil Factory and Mill
1911	Meaford, ON	Molson's Bank
1912-13	Bronte, ON	Lakeview Farm
1913-14	Stratford, ON	Royal Bank
1917	Thornhill, ON	Sterling Bank
1918-19	Uxbridge, ON	Sterling Bank
1919	Sudbury, ON	Sterling Bank
1920	Rockwood, ON	Royal Bank
1921	Toronto, ON	Toronto Skating Club Clubhouse and Rink
1923-24	Toronto, ON	St George's United Church
1925	North Bay, ON	Imperial Bank

For more information regarding the work of Henry Bauld Gordon, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003 (252).

Hill, Robert G. "Howland, William Ford." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Aug. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/280>.

Charles Edward Langley (1870-1951)

Partnerships/Firms:

1907-41	Langley and Howland

Sample Works:

1907	Toronto, ON	Madison Apartments
1907	Toronto, ON	St Anne's Church (Gladstone Ave)
1908	Welland, ON	Country Hospital
1908	Toronto, ON	Davisville Public School
1908	Toronto, ON	Eglinton Public School
1908	Toronto, ON	Aged Men's Home
1910	Toronto, ON	Canada Linseed Oil Factory and Mill
1911	Meaford, ON	Molson's Bank
1912-13	Bronte, ON	Lakeview Farm
1913-14	Stratford, ON	Royal Bank
1917	Thornhill, ON	Sterling Bank
1918-19	Uxbridge, ON	Sterling Bank
1919	Sudbury, ON	Sterling Bank
1920	Rockwood, ON	Royal Bank
1921	Toronto, ON	Toronto Skating Club Clubhouse and Rink
1923-24	Toronto, ON	St George's United Church
1925	North Bay, ON	Imperial Bank

For more information regarding the work of Charles Edward Langley, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003 (254).

Hill, Robert G. "Langley, Charles Edward." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Aug. 2015. Web. < http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1432>.

James Herbert Marling (1857-95)

Partnerships/Firms:

1887-91	Marling and Burdett
1891-95	Marling and Johnson

Sample Works:

1889	Woodstock, ON	John D. Patterson Residence
1889	Woodstock, ON	Arthur S. Patterson Residence
1889	Woodstock, ON	John Arthur Residence

For more information regarding the work of Henry Bauld Gordon, see:

Hill, Robert G. "Marling, James Herbert." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Sept. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/655>.

Wesley Peters (c.1863-c.1929)

Partnerships/Firms:

1883	Edwards and Peters
1883-1902	Wesley Peters
1902-06	Peters and Peters

Sample Works:

1883	Winnipeg, MB	George Smart Dupexes
1883	Winnipeg, MB	H.W. Jameison Block
1910-11	Kelowna, BC	St Andrew's Anglican Church

For more information regarding the work of Wesley Peters, see:

Hill, Robert G. "Peters, Wesley A." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Oct. 2015. Web. <http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1686>.

Albert Asa Post (1850-1926)

Partnerships/Firms:

1891-96	Post and Holmes

Sample Works:

1881	Pickering, ON	Cuthbert House
1881-82	Toronto, ON	Deer Park Roman Catholic School
1883	Pickering, ON	Pickering Cheese and Butter Co. Factory
1886	Dunbarton, ON	Presbyterian Church
1886	Claremont, ON	Public School
1889	Bowmanville, ON	Central Public School
1890	Bowmanville, ON	High School
1891	Toronto, ON	St Helen's Roman Catholic School
1892	Dundalk, ON	St John's Roman Catholic Church
1892-3	St, Mary's ON	Holy Name Roman Catholic Church
1892-3	Markdale, ON	St Joseph's Roman Catholic Church
1894	Richmond Hill,ON	St Mary's Roman Catholic Church (dem.)
1895	Niagara Falls, ON	St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church
1909	Toronto, ON	St Anthony's Roman Catholic Church (Gladstone Ave)
1909	Toronto, ON	St Cecilia's Roman Catholic Church (Annette St)
1910-12	Toronto, ON	St Michael's Roman Catholic Hospital North Wing

For more information regarding the work of Albert Asa Post, see:

Arthur, Eric Ross., and Stephen A. Otto. *Toronto: No Mean City*. 3rd ed. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2003 (256).

Hill, Robert G. "Post, Albert Asa." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Oct. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1395>.

Murray White (1870-1935)

Partnerships/Firms:

1907-19	Burke, Horwood and White
1919-30	Horwood and While

Sample Works:

1908-12	Toronto, ON	John Northway and Sons Department Store
1909	Toronto, ON	Pilkington Brothers Ltd. Warehouse
1911-13	Calgary, AB	Hudson's Bay Company Department Store
1912	Edmonton, AB	Hudson's Bay Company Department Store
1913	Woodstock, ON	John White Co. Department Store
1913-14	Vancouver, BC	Hudson's Bay Company Department Store
1914-21	Victoria, BC	Hudson's Bay Company Department Store

For more information regarding the work of Murray White, see:

Hill, Robert G. "White, Murray Alexander." *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Oct. 2015. Web. <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/368>.

Ernest Wilby (1869-1957)

Sample Works:

1894	Weston, ON	St John's Anglican Church
1903	Walkerville, ON	St Mary's Anglican Church (while working with Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson)
1906	Halifax NS	Canadian Bank of Commerce (while working with Albert Khan)

For more information regarding the work of Ernest Wilby, see:

Hill, Robert G. “Wilby, Ernest.” *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada1800-1950* (n.d.): n.p. Oct. 2015. Web. < http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/381>.

Appendix B: List of William Hay's Church Commissions[1]

Date	Church	Location	Location of Drawings (if known)	Notes
1842	St James Episcopal Church	Cruden Bay, Scotland	n/a	1876 - Hay adds chancel
1847	St Anne's Episcopal Church	Coupar Angus, Scotland	n/a	
1847	St John the Baptist Cathedral	St John's, Newfoundland, Canada		Hay was the Clerk of Works for George Gilbert Scott. The nave was executed under Hay's supervision.
1848-49	Holy Trinity Cathedral	Hamilton, Bermuda	n/a	Designed in 1846 by James Cranston, plans adapted by Hay. 1884 - burned in a fire 1885-1905 - rebuilt by Hay & Henderson.
1848	St Thomas Church	Pouch Cove, Newfoundland	n/a	Demolished
1848	St Peter's Anglican Church	St George, Bermuda	n/a	Unfinished
1850	Anglican Church	Burin, Newfoundland	n/a	Demolished
1850	Mission Church	St Francis Harbour, Labrador	n/a	Demolished
1853	St John's Episcopal Church	Longside, Scotland	n/a	1875 - Hay adds new high altar, raredos, and piscina. Model held at the church.

[1] This list has been modeled after the format used by the Dictionary of Scottish Architects (DSA) and includes information gathered from the DSA, and the Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada (BDAC). Some of the dates have been modified to reflect my findings.

1854	Christ Church	Brampton, Ontario, Canada	n/a	Demolished
1854-55	St Mark's Anglican Church	Orangeville, Ontario, Canada	n/a	Demolished in 1868.
1855	St Paul's Anglican Church	Kingston, Ontario, Canada	n/a	Reconstruction of a church designed by Henry Bowyer Lane in 1846.
1855	St Andrew's Anglican Church	Wellington, Ontario, Canada	n/a	1870 - addition of new nave.
1855	Anglican Church	Lamaline, Newfoundland, Canada	n/a	Demolished
1855	Gould Street United Church	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	1887 - sold to the Catholic Apostolic Church 1955 - demolished
1855	St Basil's Catholic Church (Part of St Michael's Roman Catholic College)	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	1886-87 - addition of new entrance, vestibule, narthex, gallery, tower, and facade of A.A. Post
1856	All Saints Anglican Church	Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada	n/a	Currently vacant
1856	Grace Anglican Church	Brantford, Ontario, Canada	n/a	Supervising architect was John Turner (1807-87) 1881 - Sunday School enlarged c. 1914-18 - addition of memorial tower c. 1970-79 - interior refurbished
1856-57	St James' Anglican Church	Orillia, Ontario, Canada	n/a	1863 - tower completed 1869 - gallery added to interior 1890-91 demolished
1857	St George's Anglican Church	Newcastle, Ontario, Canada	St George Anglican Church, Newcastle	

1857-58	St John's Anglican Church (the Garrison Church)	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	n/a	1893 - demolished
1857-58	St Andrew's Presbyterian Church	Guelph, Ontario, Canada	n/a	1867 - gallery added to interior 1878 - transepts added
1858	St George's Anglican Church	Pickering Village, Ontario, Canada	n/a	
1860	St Paul's Anglican Church	Southampton, Ontario, Canada	n/a	1886 - destroyed by fire
1860	St Luke's Anglican Church	Vienna, Ontario, Canada	n/a	
1861	Trinity Anglican Church	East Zorrah, Ontario, Canada	n/a	
1861	St Peter's Anglican Church	New Boyne, Ontario, Canada	n/a	
1864	All Saints Episcopal Church	Edinburgh, Scotland	n/a	
1871	St Giles' Cathedral	Edinburgh, Scotland	n/a	1871-74 Restoration of Choir 1878 - Hay and George Henderson restore the south transept 1881 - Hay and George Henderson restore the nave and north transept 1883 - Hay and George Henderson complete the vestry, session house, west door, north door, and the screen in the north transept 1884 - Hay and George Henderson complete the Royal Pew
1878-79	Free South Church	Peterhead, Scotland	n/a	

1878-81	St Paul's Presbyterian Church	Galashiels, Scotland	n/a	Designed with George Henderson 1881 - opened 1886 - addition of spire by Hay and George Henderson
1879	St Mary's Episcopal Church	Hamilton, Scotland	n/a	1845 - built by John Henderson (1804-62) 1879 - Hay and George Henderson add new chancel
1881	St Peter's Episcopal Church	Galashiels, Scotland	n/a	1853 - built by John Henderson (1804-62) 1881 - Hay and George Henderson add chancel, south aisle, hall, and school.
1882-84	St Peter's Episcopal Church	Peebles, Scotland	n/a	Built in 1833-36 by William Burn (1789-1870) 1882-84 - Hay and George Henderson add chancel, organ loft, vestry, and porch
1883	St Andrew's Church	Peebles, Scotland	n/a	Hay and George Henderson restore the medieval tower
1883-86	Holy Spirit Anglican Church	Distington, England	n/a	

Appendix C: Archival Holdings of Langley's Church Drawings

The Langley Architectural Firms:

1862-69 Gundry and Langley
1869-73 Henry Langley
1873-84 Langley, Langley and Burke
1884-92 Langley and Burke
1892-1907 Langley and Langley

Date	Church	Location[1]	Location of Drawings (if know)	Notes
Catholic Churches				
1864-66	St Michael's Cathedral	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	Sacristy, tower, steeple
1867	St John the Evangelist Church	Whitby	Archives of Ontario	Demolished
1869-70	St Patrick's Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	
1870	St Francis de Sales Church	Pickering/ Duffin's Creek	Archives of Ontario	
c. 1872	Church of Guardian Angels	Orillia	Archives of Ontario	Demolished
1872	St Patrick's Church	Stayner	Archives of Ontario	
1872	Church of the Holy Angels	St. Thomas	Archives of Ontario	
1873	St John Chrysostom	Newmarket	Archives of Ontario	Demolished
1875	Precious Blood Cathedral	Sault Ste. Marie	Archives of Ontario	
1875	Paroisse Sainte-Croix	La Fontaine	n/a	

[1] All are located in Ontario, Canada, unless otherwise stated.

Anglican Churches				
1864-65	St Peter's Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	1872 – added transepts 1880 – added new west porch
1865	All Saints Church	Whitby	Archives of Ontario	1870 - added parish hall
1866	St Stephen-in-the-Fields	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	Reconstruction after fire
1866	St John the Evangelist	Port Hope	The Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto; Archives of Ontario	1875 – added Sunday School (separate building)
1868	St John's Church	Ancaster	St John's Church, Ancaster	
1868-69	St John's Church	Port Dalhousie	n/a	
1869	St Thomas Church	Brooklin	Archives of Ontario	
1869	St George's Church	Guelph	Archives of Ontario	
1870	St James	Stratford	Archives of Ontario	
1870	St John's Church	Sydenham / Dixie	Archives of Ontario	Demolished (1924 fire)
1870	Church of the Good Shepherd	Stayner	Archives of Ontario	
1871	St George's Church	Galt (Cambridge)	St George's Church; Archives of Ontario	Additions: transepts, spire, tower – not executed; the work was done by Richard Windeyer
1872	St John the Evangelist Church	Elora	Archives of Ontario	

1873	St James Cathedral	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	Additions: spire, pinnacles, side porches
1873	Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church	London	Archives of Ontario	
1873	St Thomas Church	Hamilton	n/a	Addition: Sunday School
1873-76	Christ Church Cathedral	Hamilton	Christ Church Cathedral, Archives of Ontario	Additions: new tower, vestibule and nave extension to William Thomas Church
1881	Anglican Church	Oshawa	Archives of Ontario	Never built
1885	St Mark's Church	Sandhill	Archives of Ontario	
Nonconformist Churches				
1860	Albert Street Baptist Church	Toronto	n/a	
1866	Alexander Street Baptist Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	Demolished
1867	Simcoe Street Wesleyan Methodist Church	Oshawa	Archives of Ontario	
1869	Chalmers Presbyterian Church	Guelph	Archives of Ontario	
1869	Port Hope	Baptist Church	Archives of Ontario	
1869	Georgetown Baptist Church	Georgetown	Archives of Ontario	
1870	Metropolitan Methodist Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	
1870-71	Aylmer Baptist Church	Aylmer	Archives of Ontario	1950 - Destroyed by fire; reconstructed

1870-72	First Baptist Church	Oshawa	Archives of Ontario	
1870-73	Elizabeth Street Primitive Methodist Church	Barrie	Archives of Ontario	Demolished
1871	First Baptist Church	Guelph	Archives of Ontario	1964 – Destroyed by fire
1871	Parliament Street Primitive Methodist	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	1884 – added school rooms and enlarged auditorium
1871	Sherbourne Street Methodist Church	Toronto	n/a	Demolished (replaced with 1886-87 church by Langley, Langley, and Burke)
1871	Cambridge Street Methodist Church	Lindsey	Archives of Ontario	1903 – added new entry
1872	Yonge Street Methodist Chapel	Toronto (Yorkville)	Archives of Ontario	
1872	College Street Baptist Church	Toronto	n/a	Restored by Langley and Howland (drawings held by the Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room)
1872	Knox Presbyterian Church	Ottawa	Archives of Ontario	Demolished
1872-73	Ottawa Wesleyan Methodist Church	Ottawa	n/a	
1872-73	Bible Christian Methodist Church	Toronto	n/a	Demolished

1873	Peterborough (Second) Wesleyan Methodist Church	Peterborough	Archives of Ontario	Renamed George Street United
1873-74	Baptist Church	Belleville	n/a	Demolished
1874	Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist Church	Aylmer	Archives of Ontario	Demolished
1874	St Peter's Presbyterian Church	Madoc	St Peter's Presbyterian Church; Archives of Ontario	
1874-75	Jarvis Street Baptist Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	
1875	Woodville Presbyterian Church	Woodville	Archives of Ontario	
1875	Milton Wesleyan Methodist Church	Milton	Archives of Ontario	
1875	Tara Wesleyan Methodist Church	Tara	Archives of Ontario	
1875	Central Methodist Church	Woodstock	Archives of Ontario	
1875-76	First Baptist Church	Brampton	n/a	Demolished
1876	Kincardine Methodist Church	Kincardine	Archives of Ontario	
1876	St Paul Street Methodist	St. Catharines	Archives of Ontario	Restoration of interior
1876	Knox Presbyterian Church	Beaverton	Archives of Ontario	
1876	Bloor Street Central Methodist Church	Toronto	Archives of Ontario	Enlargement

1876-77	Trenton Methodist Church	Trenton	Archives of Ontario	
1877	Erie Street Methodist Church	Ridgetown	Archives of Ontario	
1877	Milliken Primitive Methodist Church	Milliken (Markham)	Archives of Ontario	
1877	St James Methodist	Perry Sound	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	1966 - Demolished
1877	Seaforth Methodist Church	Seaforth	Archives of Ontario	
1877	Orillia Baptist Church	Orillia	Archives of Ontario	
1877	Old St Andrew's Presbyterian Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	1882 – Added tower, spire, and Sunday School
1877	Newmarket (Third) Methodist Church	Newmarket	Archives of Ontario	
1878	Aurora Methodist Church	Aurora	n/a	
1878	Cookstown Methodist Church	Cookstown	Archives of Ontario	
1878	St Andrew's Presbyterian	St John, NB	Archives of Ontario	
1878	Little Trinity Church	Toronto	n/	Toronto
1879	Central Primitive Methodist Church	Unionville	Archives of Ontario	
1880	Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church	Richmond Hill	Archives of Ontario	
1880	York Street Baptist Church	London	n/a	Proposed Enlargement; never executed

1880-91	Parliament Street Baptist Church	Toronto	n/a	
1884	Trinity Lutheran Church	Tavistock	n/a	
1884-86	Renfrew Baptist Church	Renfrew	Archives of Ontario	Demolished
1886	Beverly Street Baptist Church	Toronto	n/a	
1886	Islington Methodist Church	Toronto	Archives of Ontario	
1886	Ossington Avenue Baptist Church	Toronto	n/a	1925 – Demolished
1886	First Baptist Church	Brantford	Archives of Ontario	Addition of tower, porches, vestry
1886-87	Sherbourne Street Methodist Church	Toronto	Archives of Ontario	
1887	Belfountain Baptist Church	Belfountain	Archives of Ontario	
1888	Dovercourt Baptist Church	Toronto	Archives of Ontario	
1888	Columbus Wesleyan Methodist Church	Columbus	Archives of Ontario	Never Executed
1888 – 89	College Street Baptist Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	Restoration
1888-89	Uxbridge Methodist Church	Uxbridge	Archives of Ontario	
1889	Trinity Methodist (Trinity-St Paul's) Church	Toronto	Archives of Ontario	
1889	Baptist Church	Perth	Archives of Ontario	
1883	Baptist Church	Walkerton	Archives of Ontario	

1889-90	Parkdale Methodist Church	Toronto	n/a	Demolished
1890	First Baptist Church	Ingersoll	Archives of Ontario	Enlargement; never executed
1892	Walmer Road Baptist Church	Toronto	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	
1892	Second Baptist Church	Guelph	Archives of Ontario	
1892	Winnipeg, Manitoba	First Baptist	n/a	
1903	Trinity United Church	Beeton	Archives of Ontario	Addition
1904	Port Arthur Methodist Church	Port Arthur	Archives of Ontario	
n.d.	Western Methodist Church	Toronto	Archives of Ontario	
n.d.	Alexander Street Methodist Church	Toronto	Archives of Ontario	
n.d.	Baptist Church	Woodstock	Toronto Public Library - Baldwin Room	Never executed
n.d	Cheltenham	Baptist Church	Archives of Ontario	

Fig. 2.1. Henry Langley (1836-1907), printed in The Canadian Architect and Builder, 1907.

"The Late Mr. Henry Langley." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 20.1 (1907): 14.

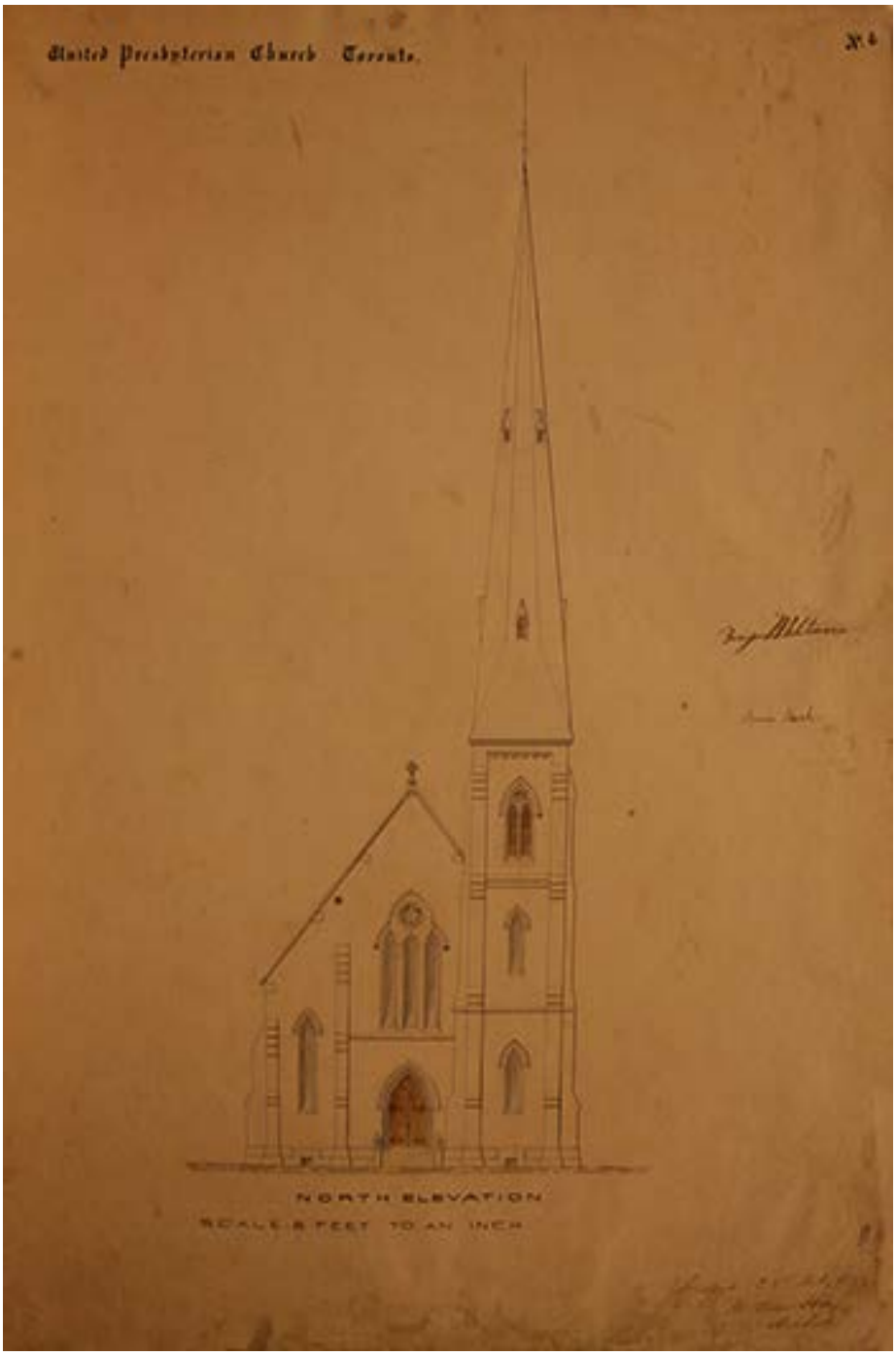


Fig. 2.2. Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of façade. William Hay, architect

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

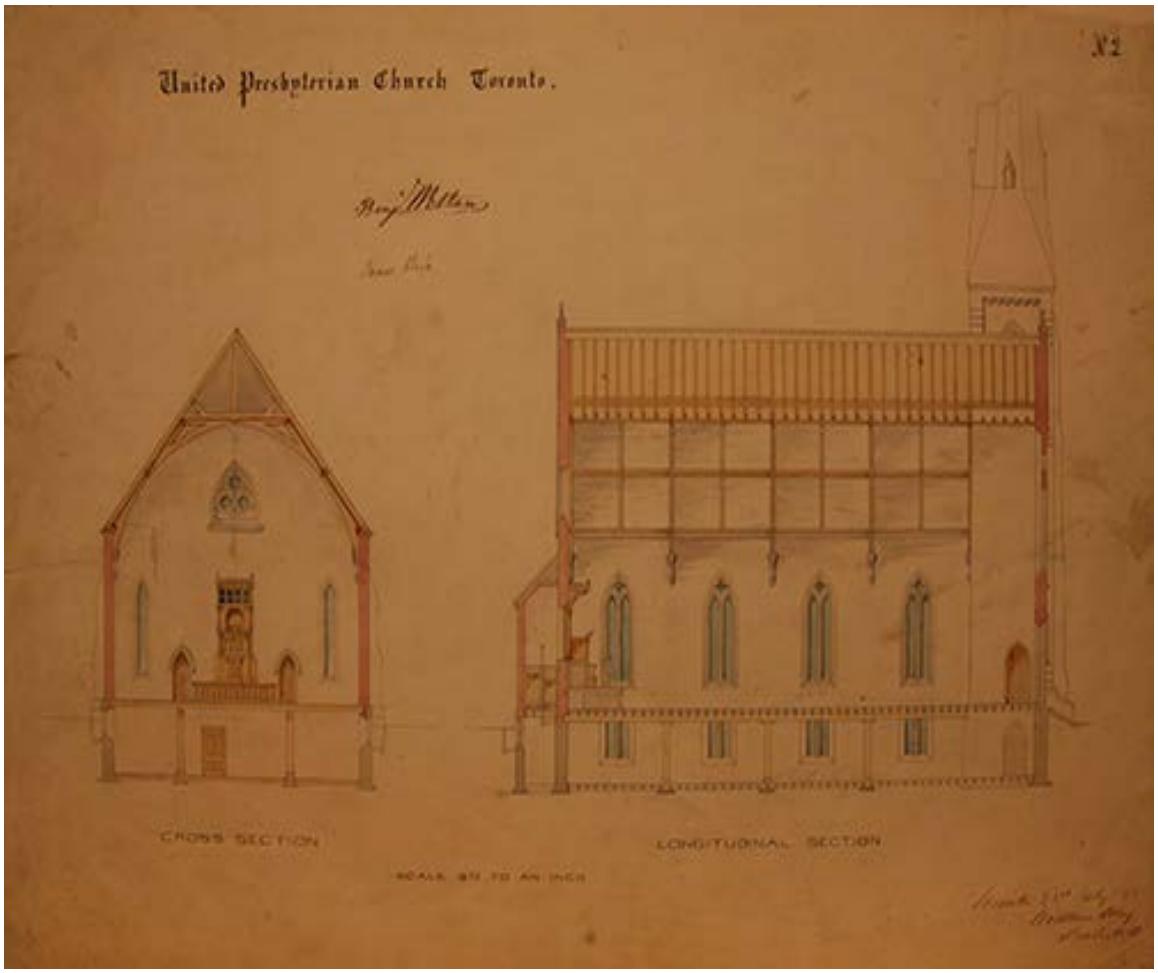


Fig. 2.3. Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of cross section and longitudinal section.
William Hay, architect

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

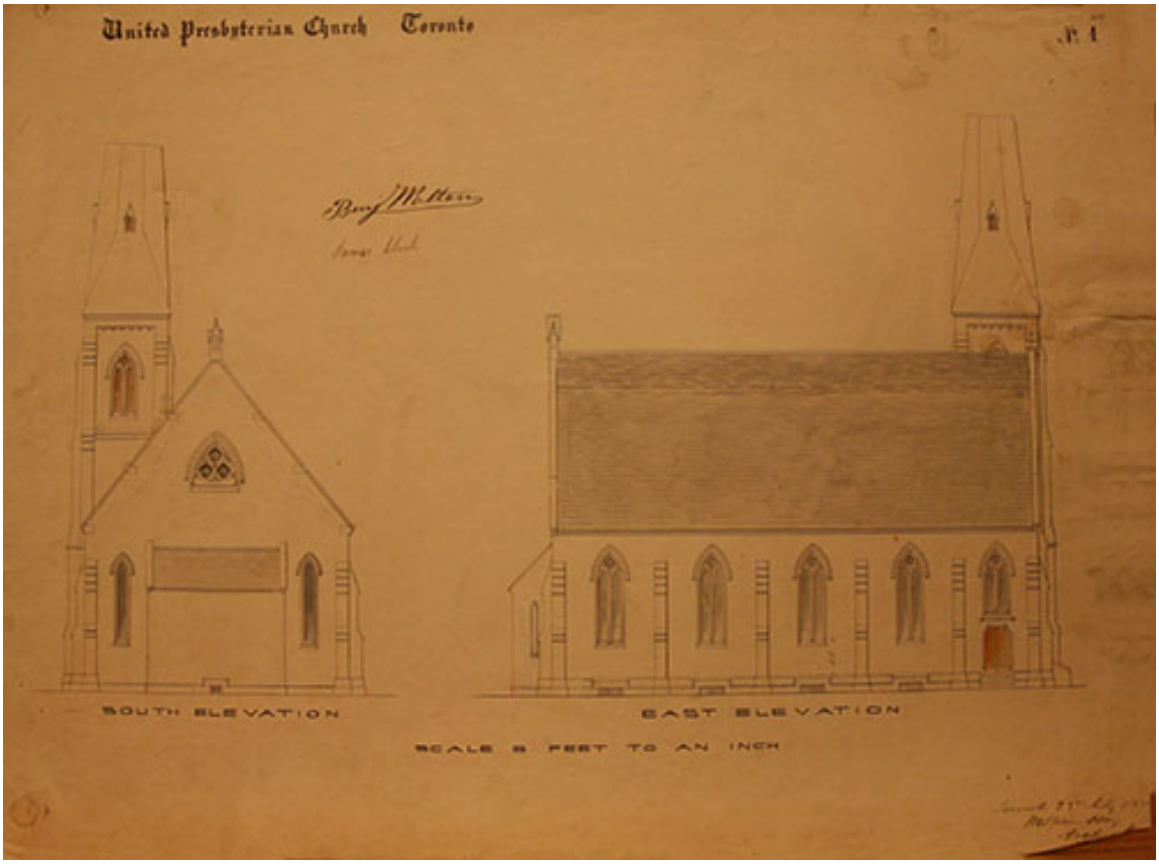


Fig. 2.4. Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of south and east elevations.
William Hay, architect

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

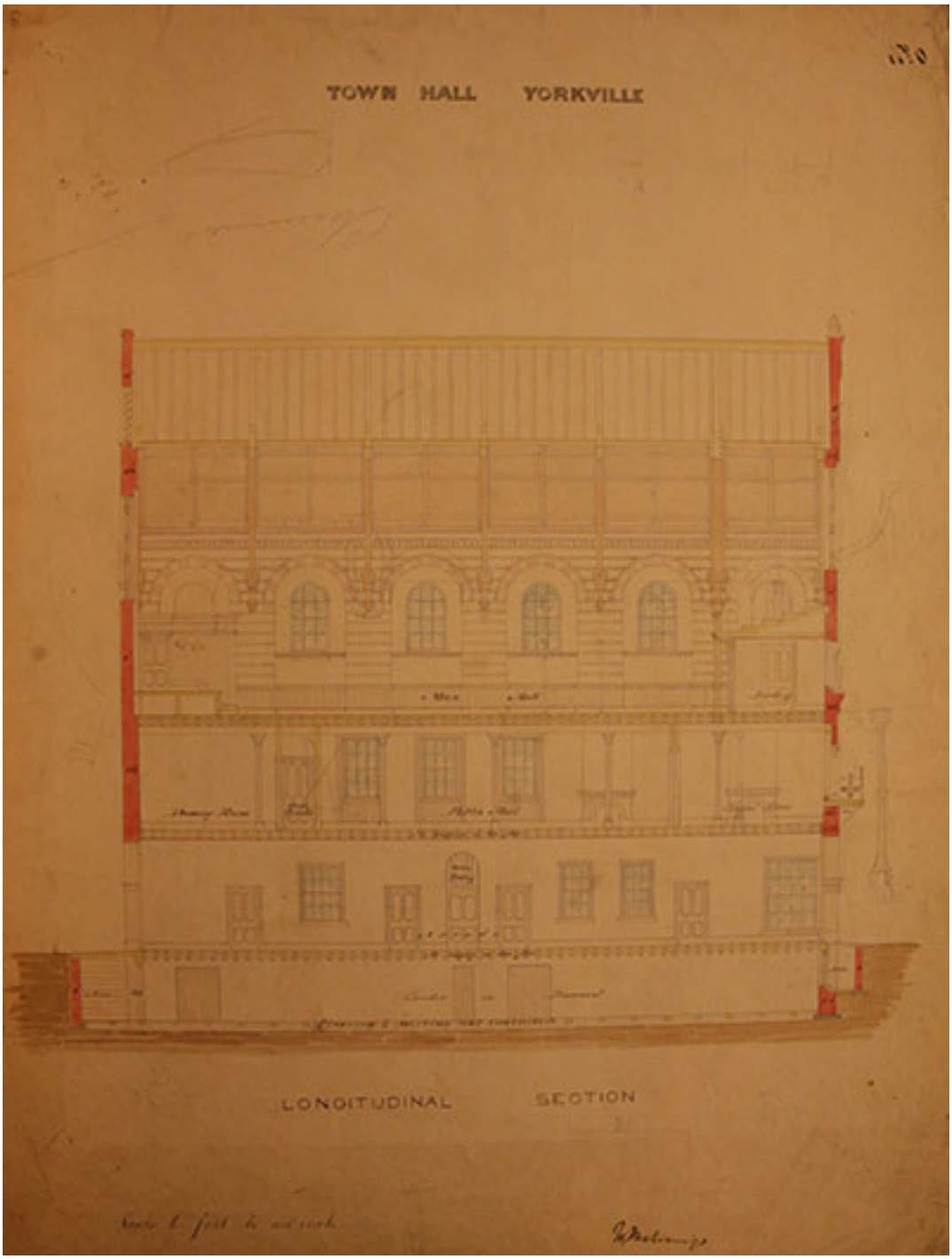


Fig. 2.5. Town Hall, Yorkville, Ontario, drawing of longitudinal section.
William Hay, architect

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *Town Hall Yorkville*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

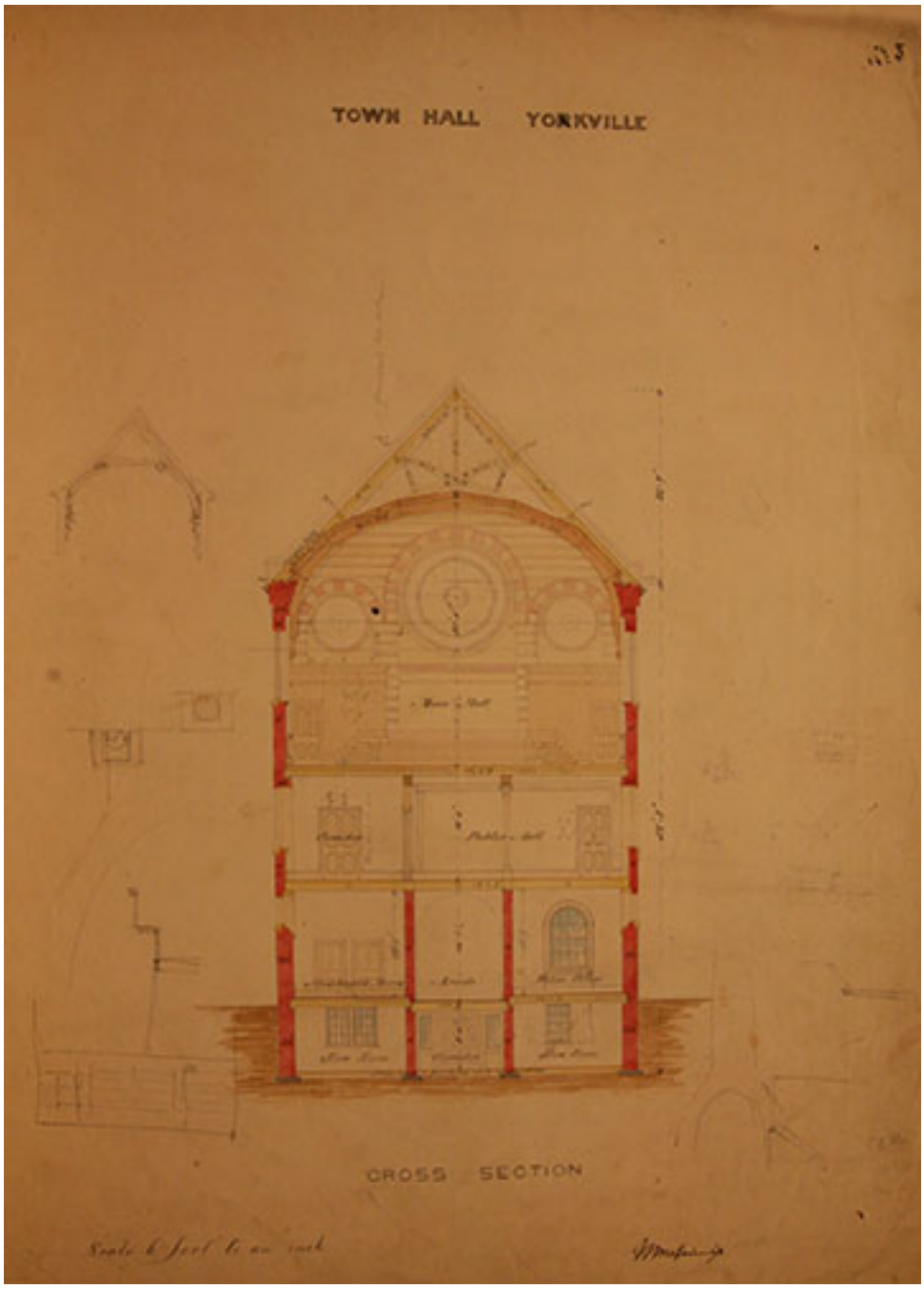


Fig. 2.6. Town Hall, Yorkville, Ontario, drawing of cross section.
William Hay, architect

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *Town Hall Yorkville*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

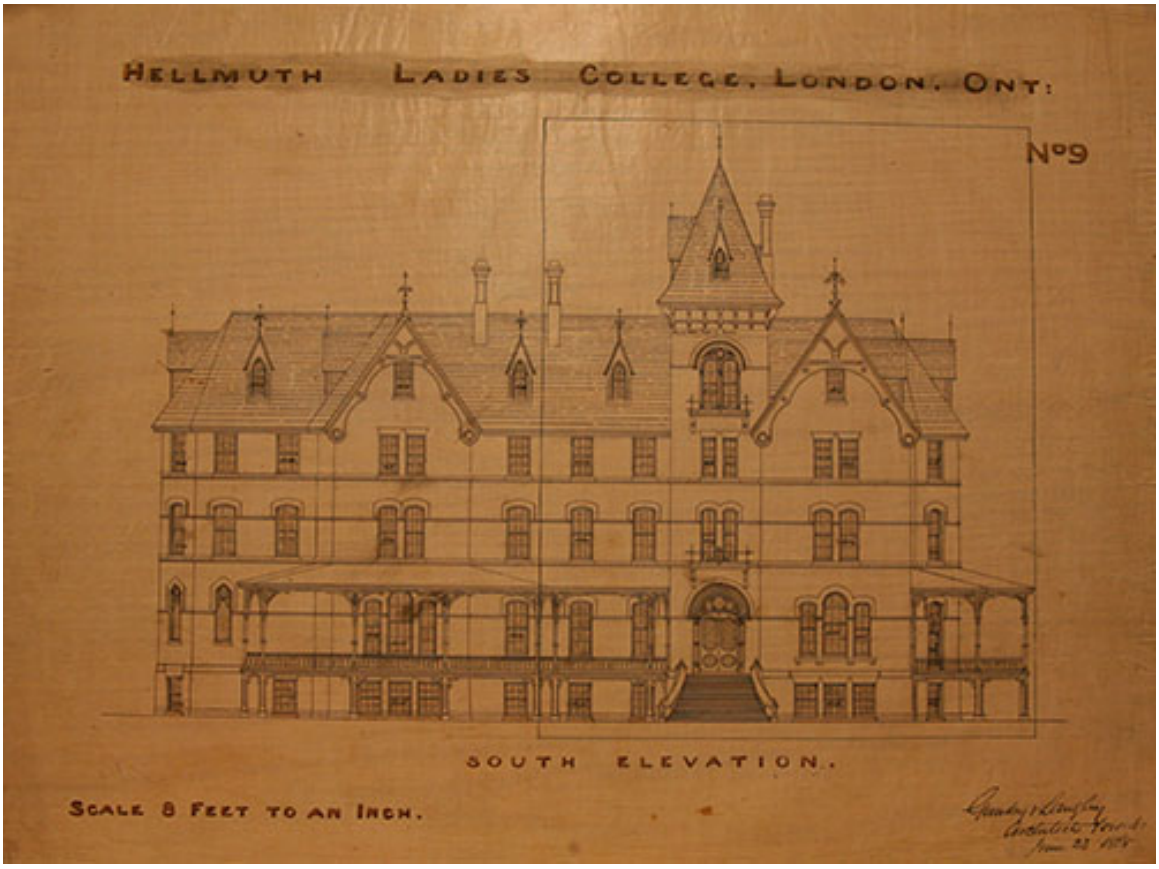


Fig. 2.7. Hellmuth Ladies College, London, Ontario, drawing of south elevation. Gundry and Langley, architects

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Hellmuth Ladies College, London, Ont*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

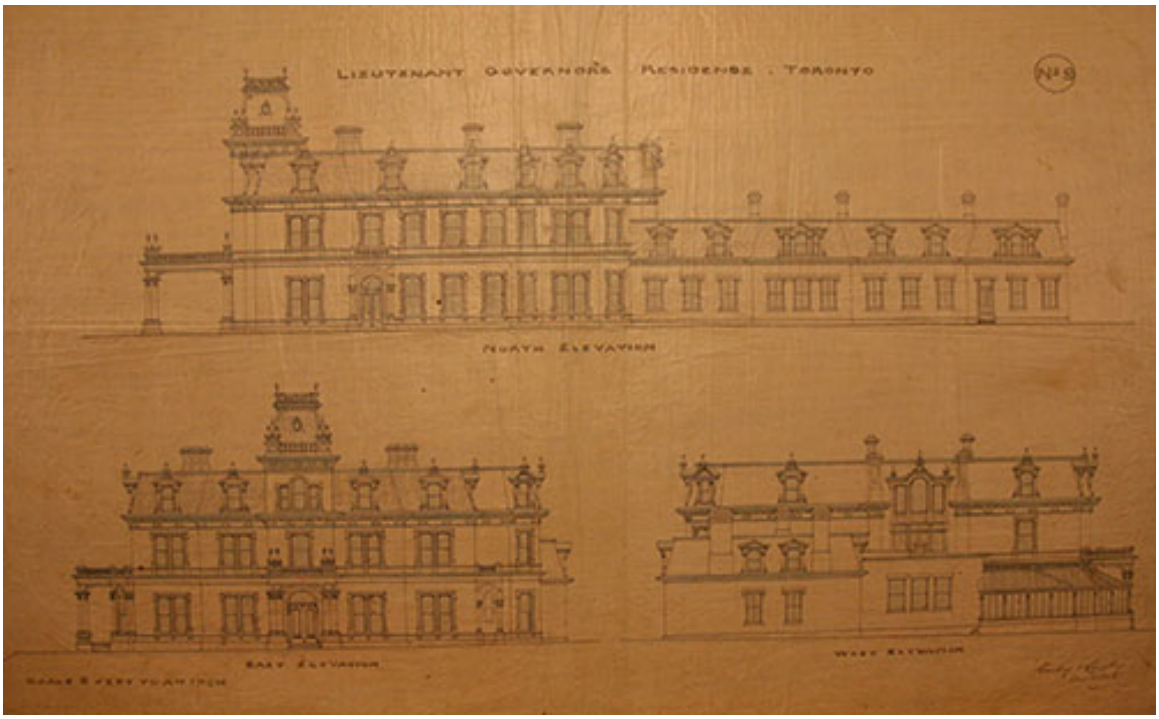


Fig. 2.8. Government House, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of north, east, and west elevations.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Lieutenant Governor's Residence, Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 2.9. Eight Post Office, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of south elevation.
Henry Langley, architect

Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Post Office, Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

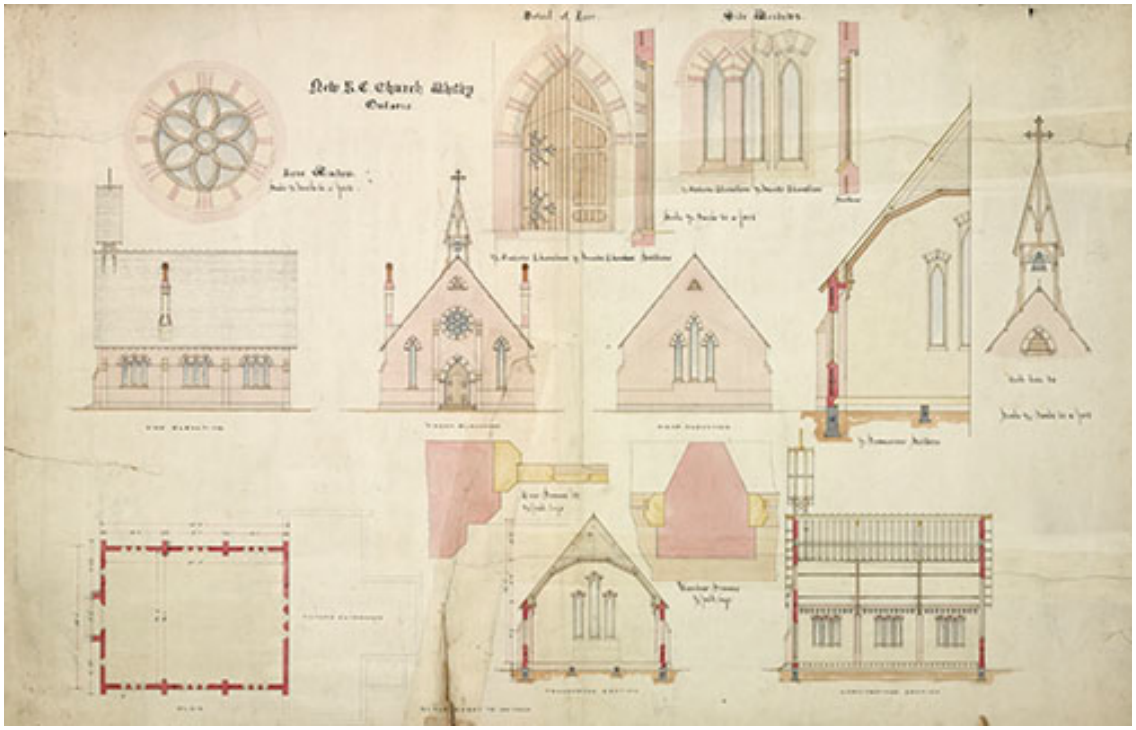


Fig. 2.10. St John the Evangelist Church, Whitby, Ontario, drawing.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario. F4359-7. Langley and Howland fonds.

Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

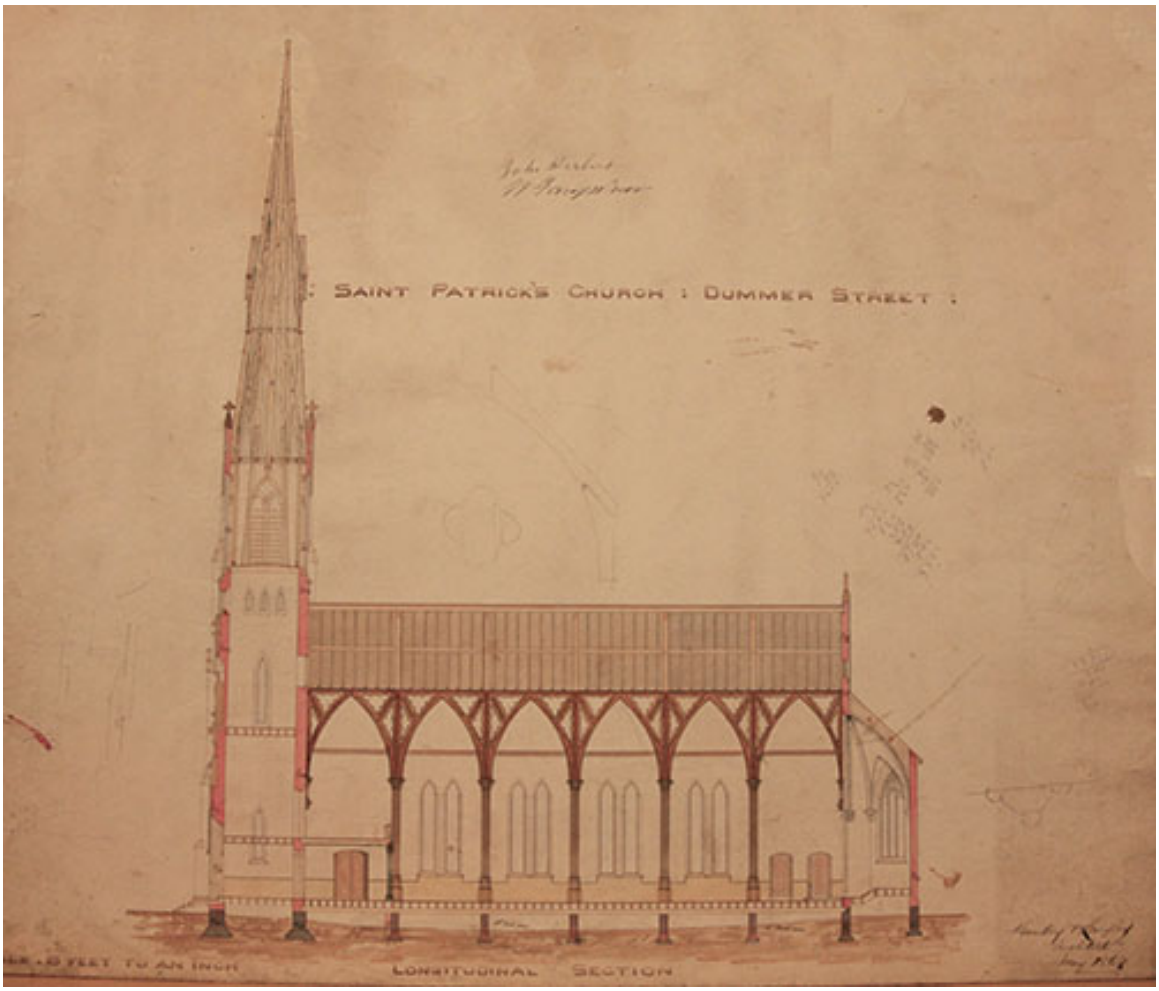


Fig. 2.11. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of longitudinal section.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church: Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

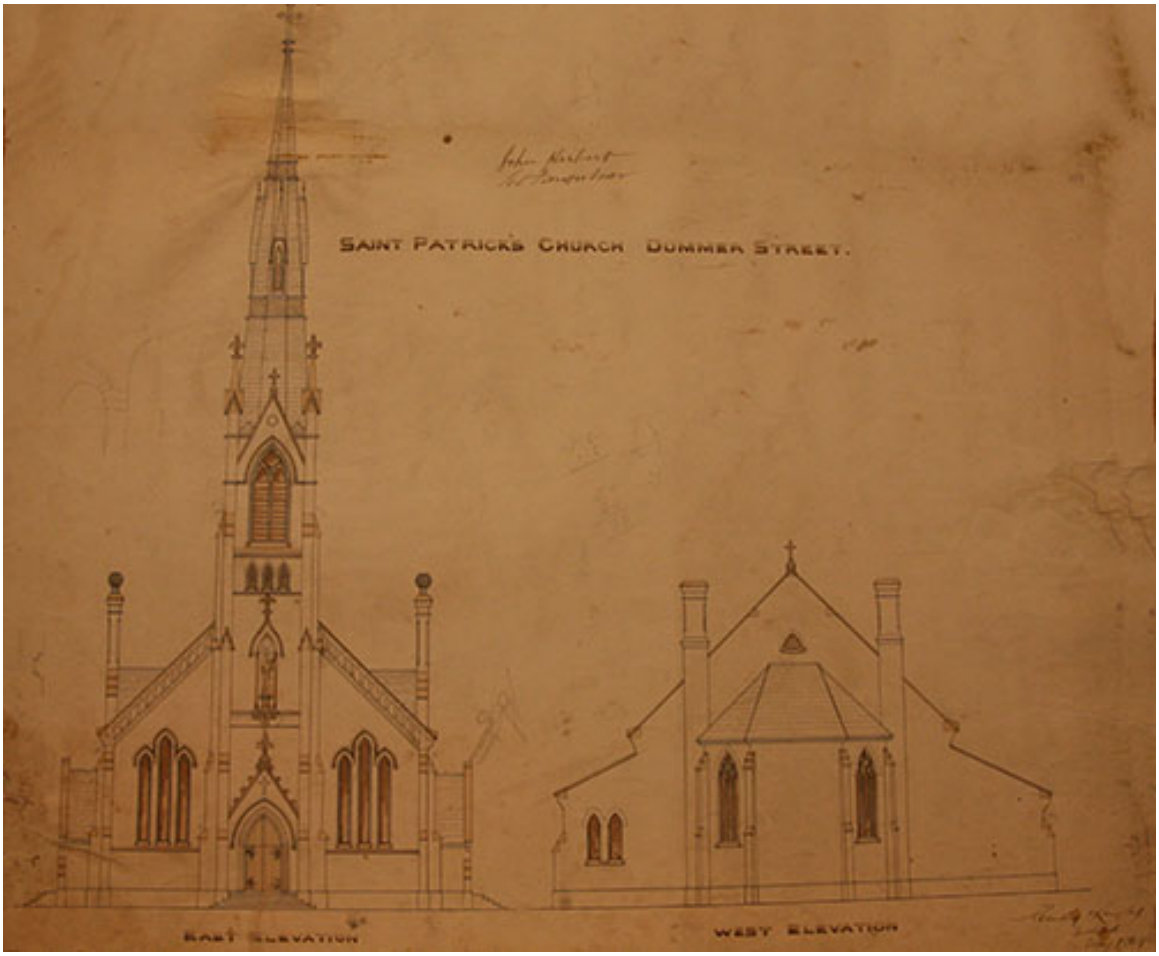


Fig. 2.12. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of east and west elevations.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church: Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

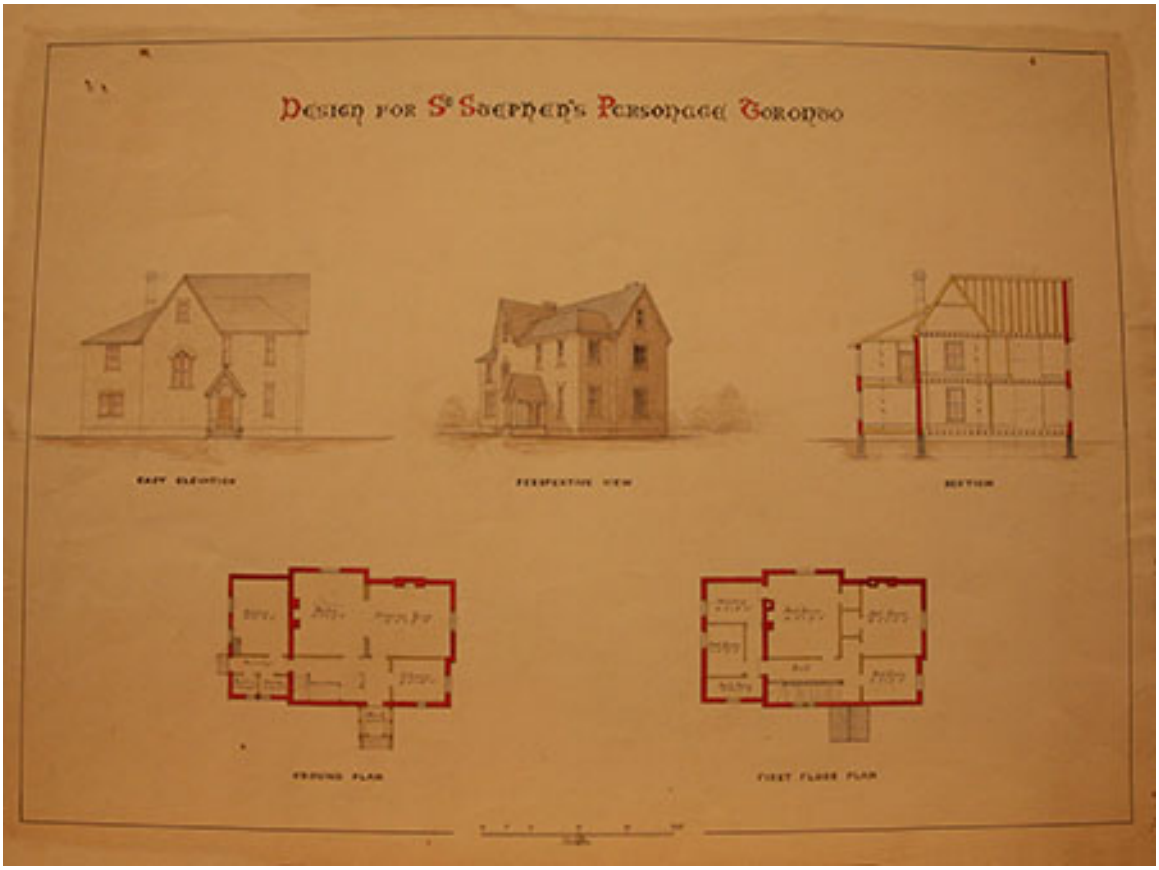


Fig. 2.13. St Stephen-in-the-Fields Parsonage, Toronto, Ontario (1865).
Gundry and Langley, architects

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Design for St Stephen's Parsonage Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

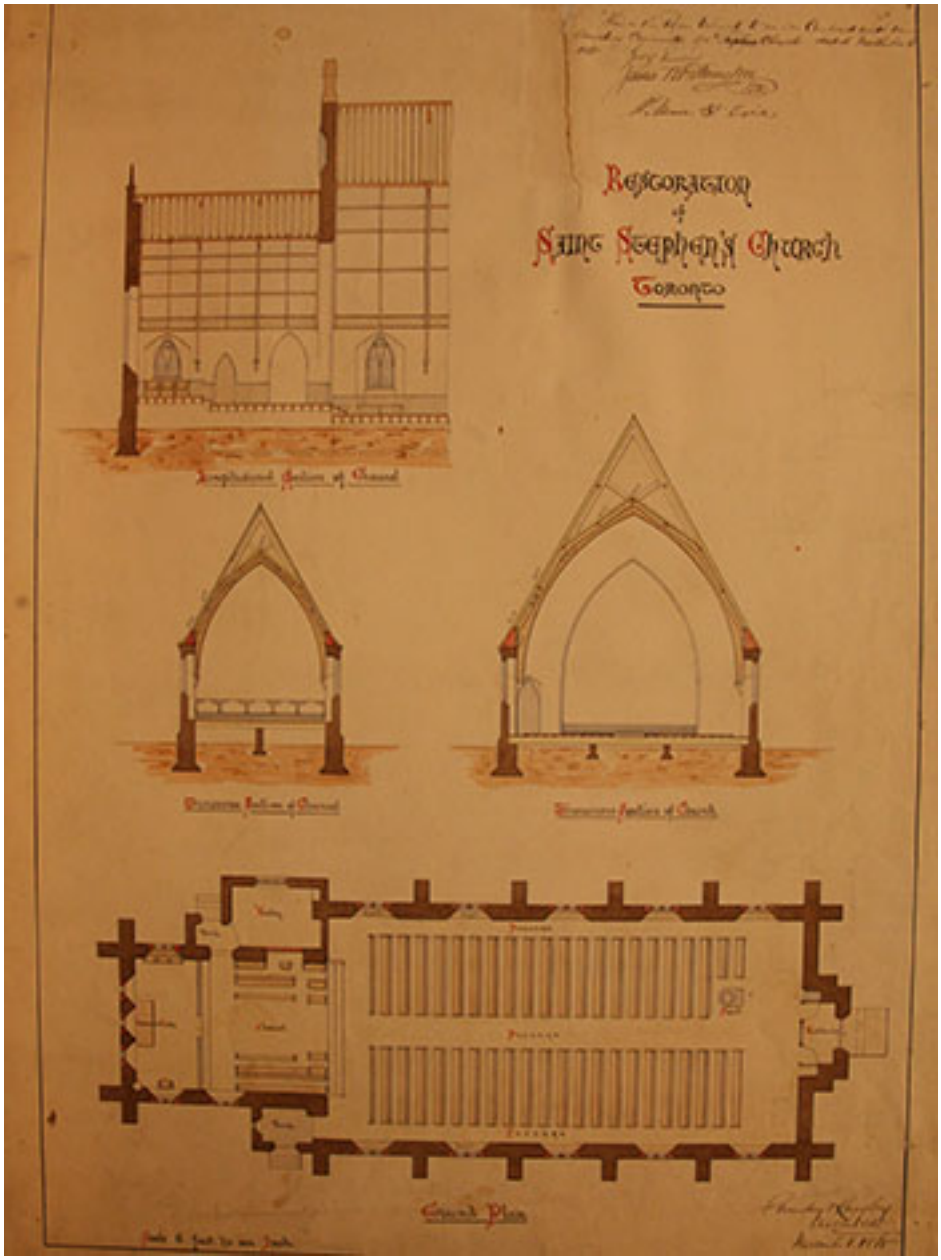


Fig. 2.14. St Stephen-in-the-Fields Church, Toronto, Ontario, reconstruction (1865). Gundry and Langley, architects

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Restoration of Saint Stephen's Church Toronto*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 2.15. Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario, parsonage.
William Hay, architect

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Williams, Charles A. *Holy Trinity Anglican Church, parsonage, Trinity Square*. 1930. Silver gelatin glass transparency. Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ontario.

Fig. 2.16. Toronto General Hospital published in the *Anglo-American Magazine*, 1854 vol. IV.
William Hay, architect

"The Proposed New General Hospital." *Anglo-American Magazine* 4 (1854): n.pag.

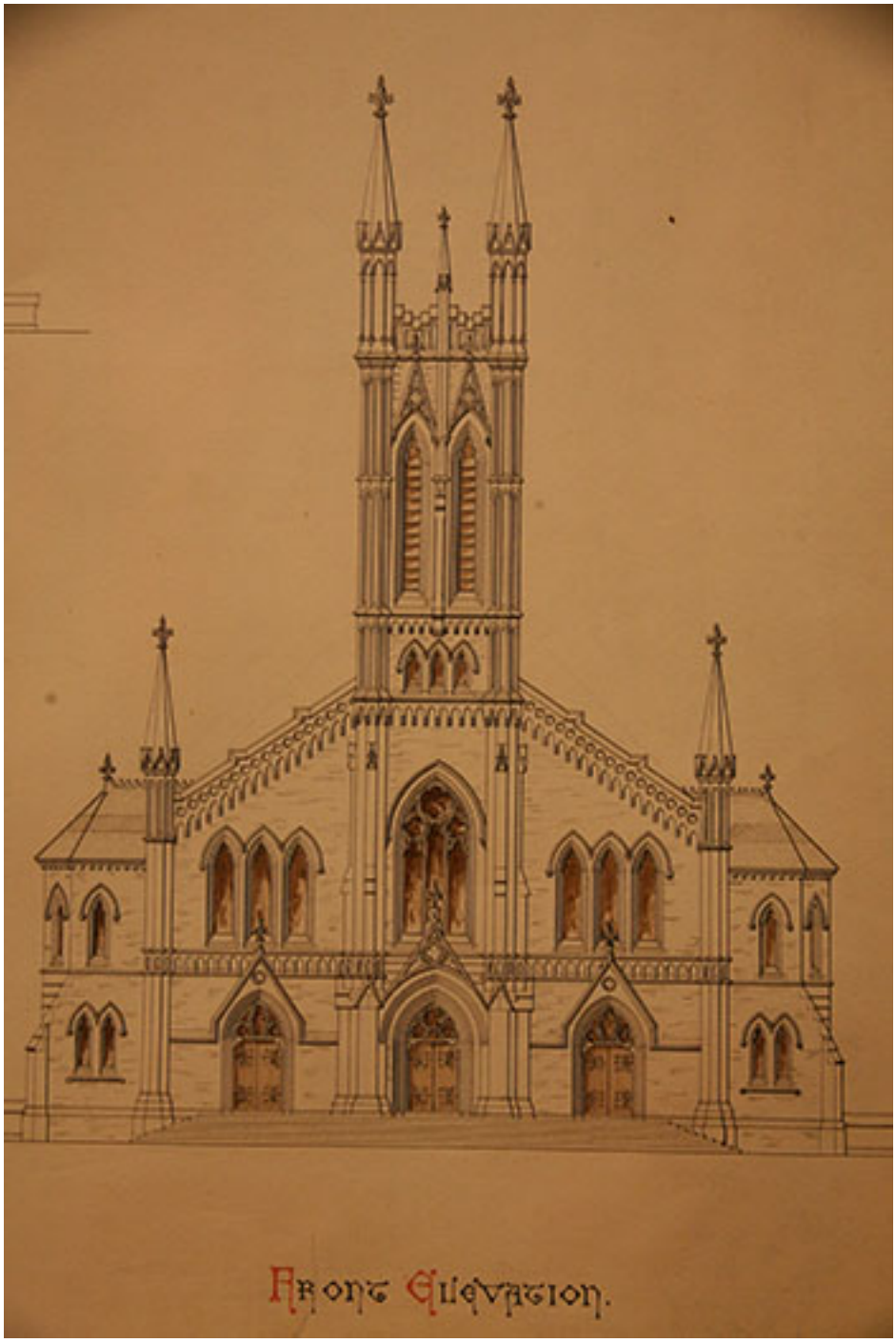


Fig. 2.17. Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto, Ontario, front elevation. Henry Langley, architect

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

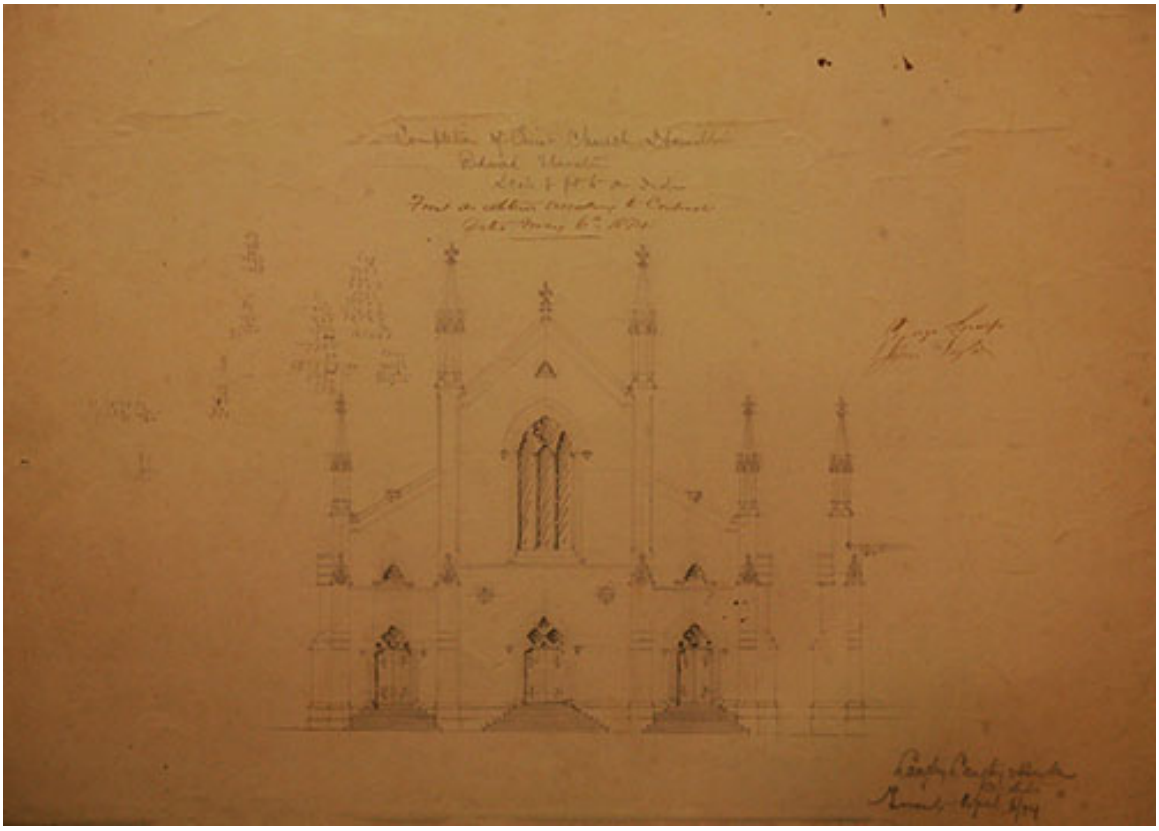


Fig. 2.18. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario, drawing of façade.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects
(likely executed by Edmund Burke)

Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario. F4359-31. Langley and Howland fonds.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Completion of Christ Church Hamilton*. 1874. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

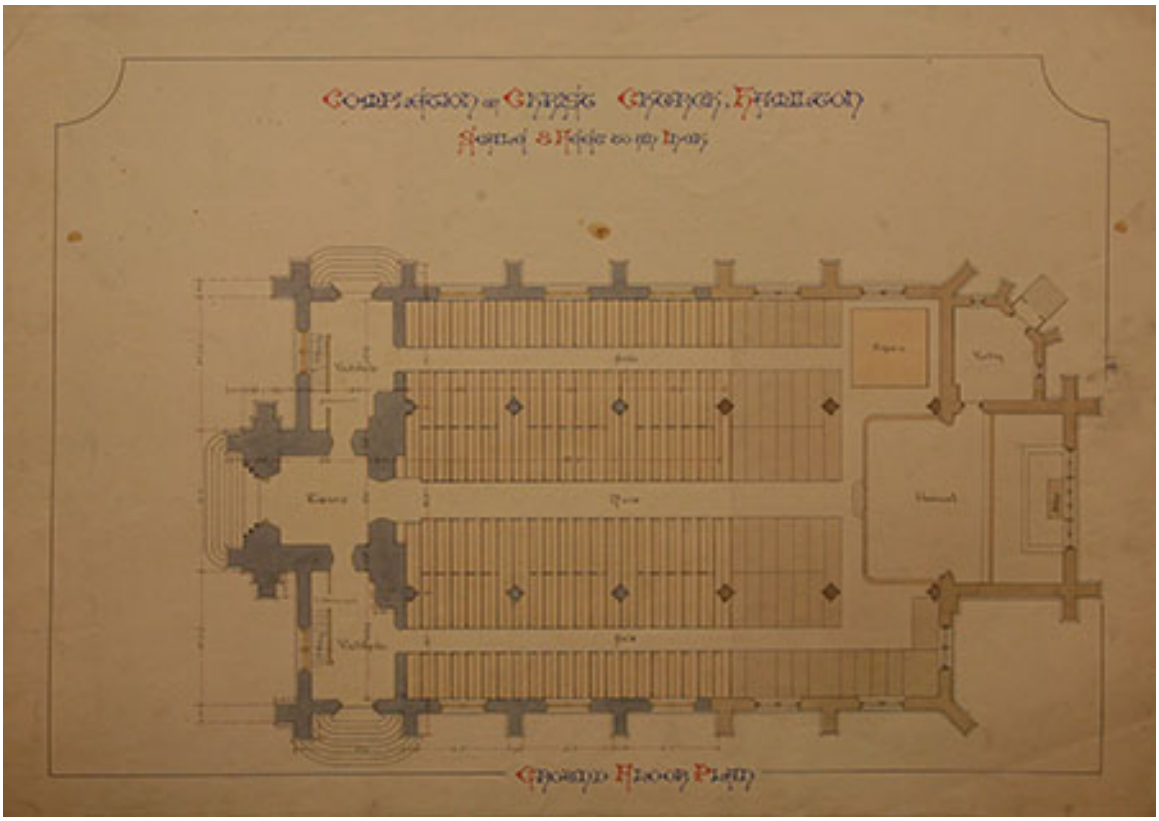


Fig. 2.19. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario, plan. The difference in detail and shading indicates the division between the work in the west end by Langley, Langley and Burke, and William Thomas' east end.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects
(likely drawn by Edmund Burke)

Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario. F4359-31. Langley and Howland fonds.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Completion of Christ Church, Hamilton*. 1874. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

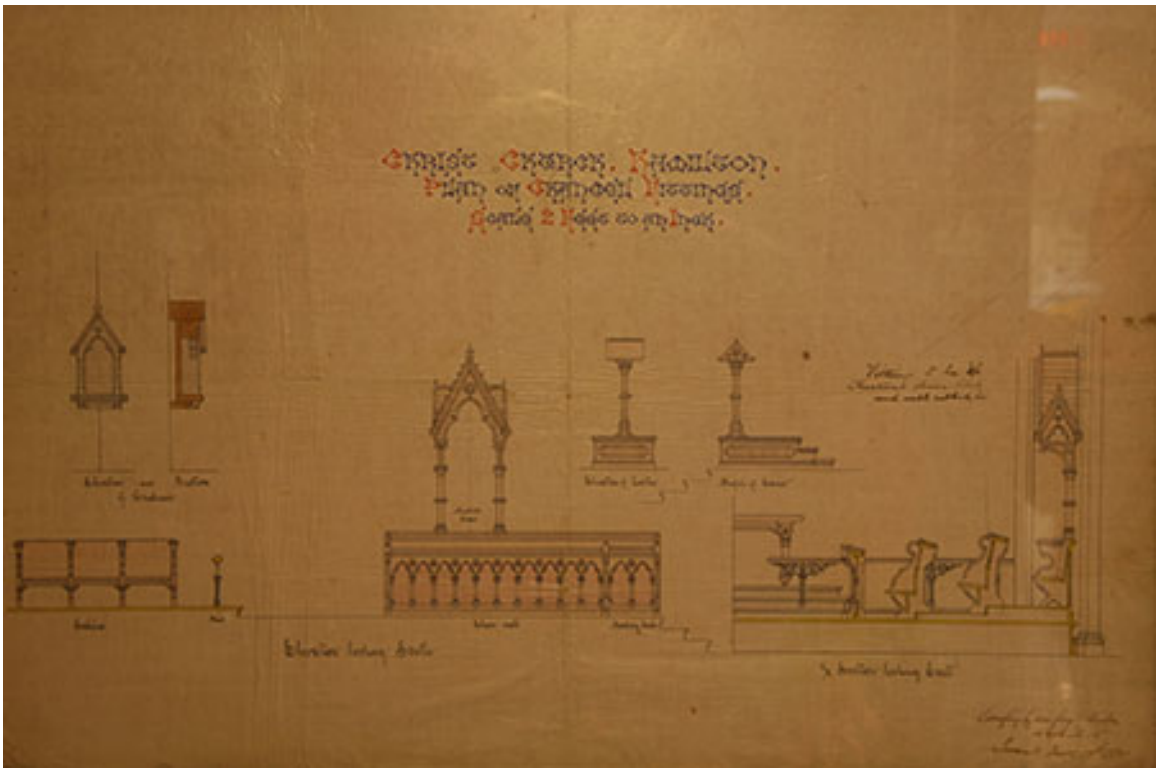


Fig. 2.20. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario, drawing of liturgical furnishings.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects
(likely drawn by Edmund Burke)

Courtesy of Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Christ Church, Hamilton*. 1874. Architectural Drawing. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario.

Fig. 2.21. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario, drawing of exterior and tower. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church Jarvis Street Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

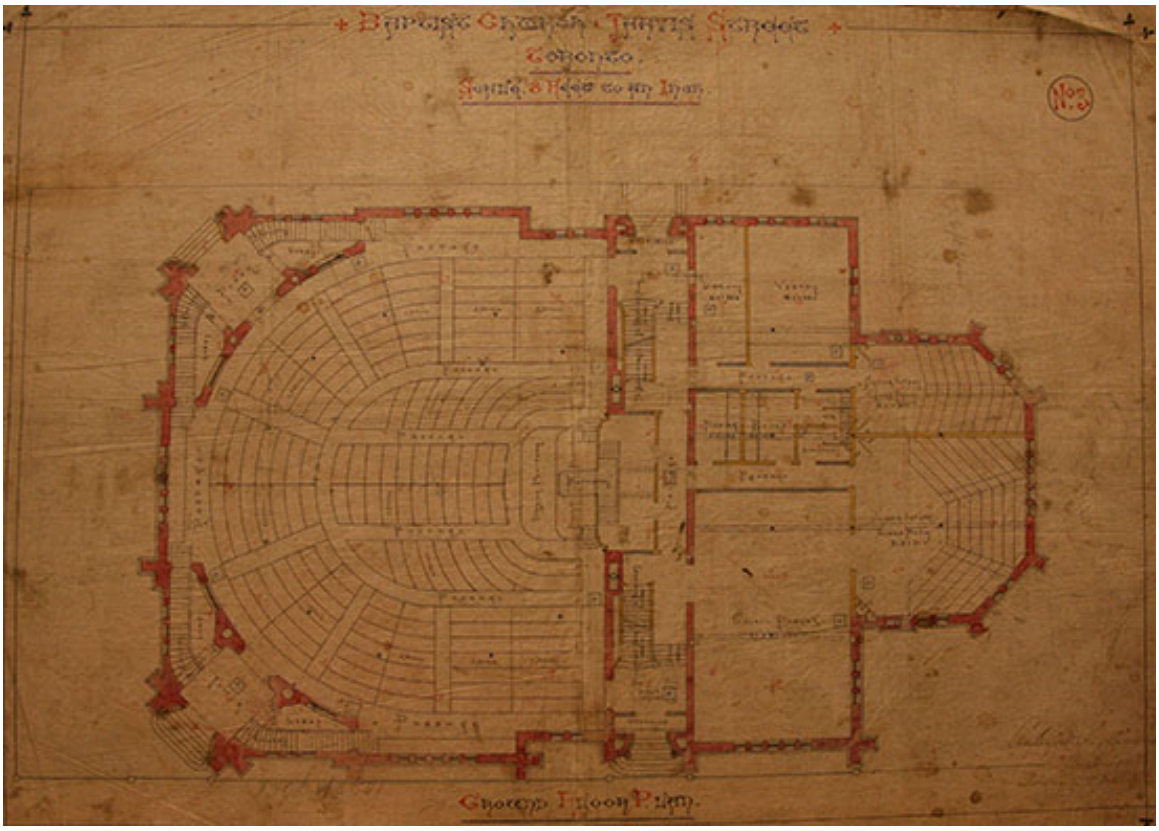


Fig. 2.22. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario, plan.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church Jarvis Street Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 2.23. Allan Gardens and Horticultural Pavilion, Toronto, Ontario.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Allen Gardens. 1890. Copy Negative. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 2.24. Thomas May and Company Importers Building, printed in Timperlake's, *Illustrated Toronto: Past and Present.*

Timperlake, J. "Thos May & Co. Importers." *Illustrated Toronto: Past and Present, being an Historical and Descriptive Guide-Book: comprising Its Architecture, Manufacture, Trade; its Social, Literary, Scientific, and Charitable Institutions; its Churches, Schools, and Colleges; and other Principal Points of Interest to the Visitor and Resident, together with A Key to the Publisher's Bird's-Eye View of the City*. Toronto: Peter A. Gross, 1877, n.pag.

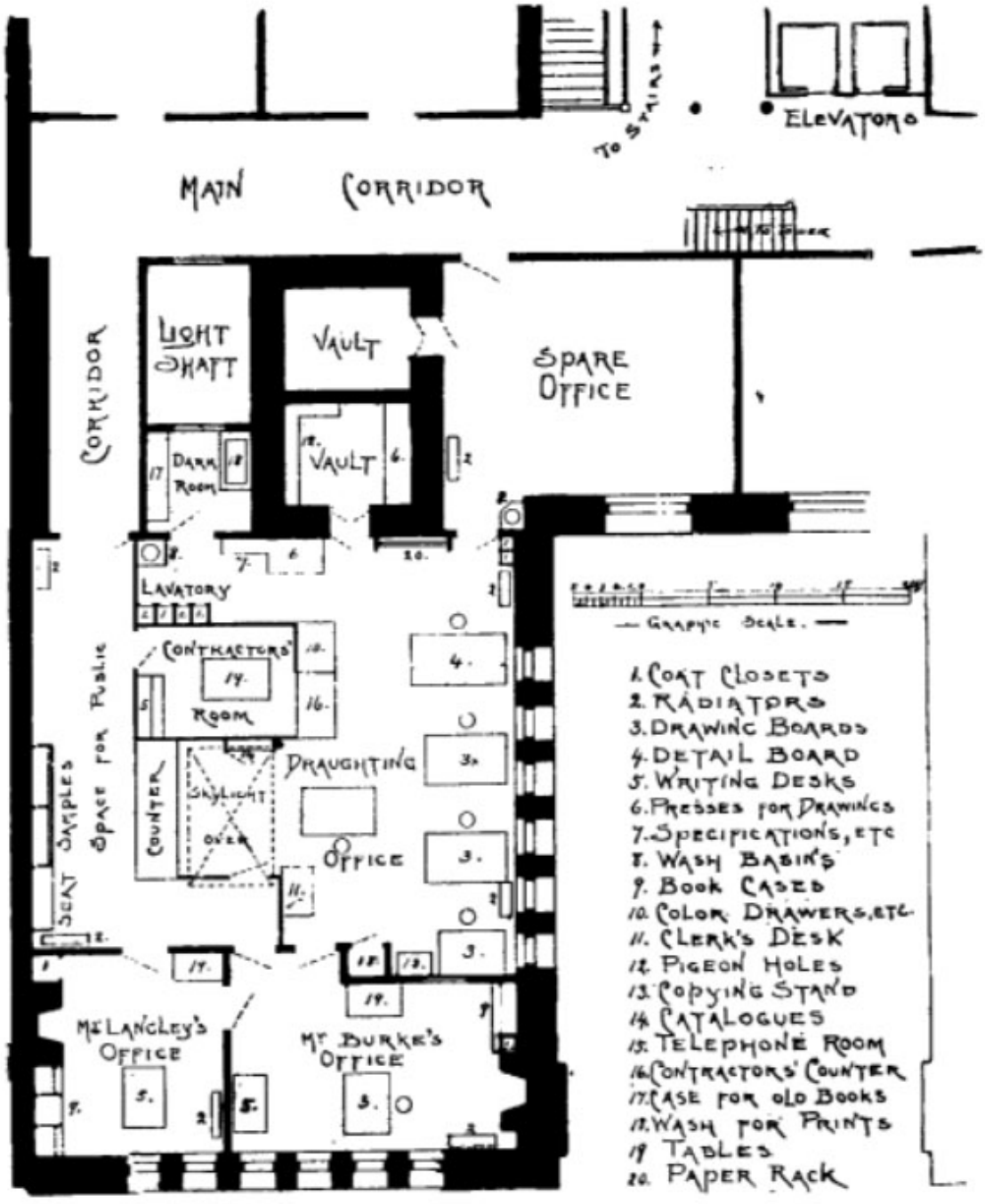


Fig. 2.25. The offices of Messrs. Langley & Burke in the Canada Life Association Building, Toronto, Ontario, printed in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* 1890.

"Architectural Offices." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 3.11 (1890): 123.

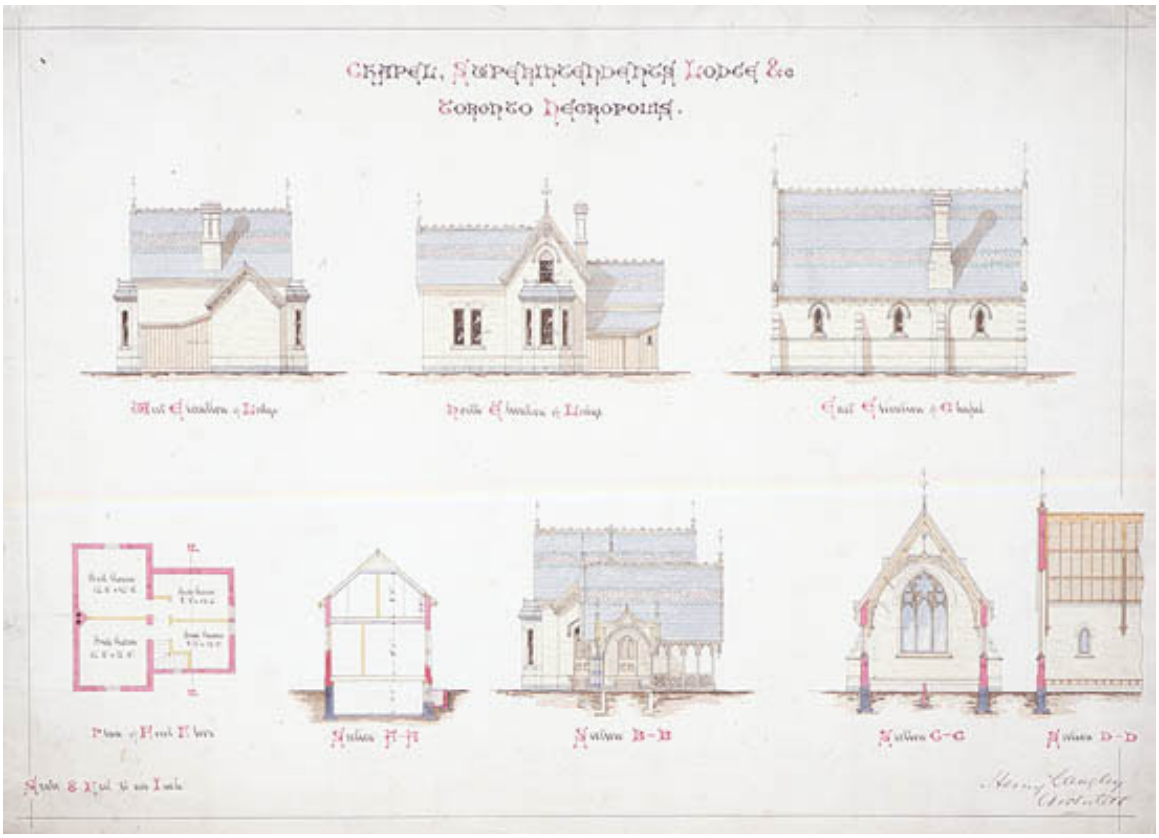


Fig. 2.26. Toronto Necropolis Superintendants Lodge and Chapel, drawing. Henry Langley, architect

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Henry. *Chapel, Superintendent Lodge Toronto Necropolis*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 2.27. The Architectural Guild of Toronto at Long Branch in August 1888.
Back Row (left to right): Robert J. Edwards, William R. Gregg, John Gemmell, Henry J. Webster.
Middle Row: Edmund Burke, William A. Langton, Henry Langley, Henry B. Gordon.
Front Row: William George Storm, S. George Curry, Norman B. Dick, James Smith.

Courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gregg, William R. *Toronto Architectural Guild, at Long Branch (Toronto, Ontario).* 1888. Albumen Print. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 3.1. William Hay (1818-88) printed in the Edinburgh Architectural Association exhibition catalogue, 1907.

Courtesy of the Edinburgh Architectural Association

"254: William Hay." Edinburgh Architectural Association Exhibition Catalogue. Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Architectural Association, 1907.

Fig. 3.2. St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland (1842); SW elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St James Church, Cruden Bay*. 2012. Cruden Bay, Scotland.

Fig. 3.3. St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland (1842); SE elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St James Church, Cruden Bay; southeast elevation*. 2012. Cruden Bay, Scotland.

Fig. 3.4. St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland (1842); chancel. William Hay, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. St James Church, Cruden Bay. n.d. Cruden Bay, Scotland.

Fig. 3.5. St Anne’s Episcopal Church, Coupar Angus, Perthshire (1847).
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Church, Coupar Angus, exterior*. 2012. Coupar Angus.

Fig. 3.6. St Lawrence, Tubney (Berkshire) (1845); SE elevation.
AWN Pugin, architect

Photo Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Lawrence, Tubney; exterior*. 2013. Tubney, England.

Fig. 3.7. St Anne’s Episcopal Church, Coupar Angus, Perthshire (1847); interior. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Church, Coupar Angus, interior*. 2012. Coupar Angus.

Fig. 3.8. Church of England Cathedral, St. Johns N.F.

Image courtesy of: *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. III, No. 13, Page 204.

Reproduced from Library and Archives Canada's website Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News.

"Church of England Cathedral, St. Johns N.F." *Canadian Illustrated News* 3.13 (n.d.): 204. *Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News*. Web. 30 July 2012.

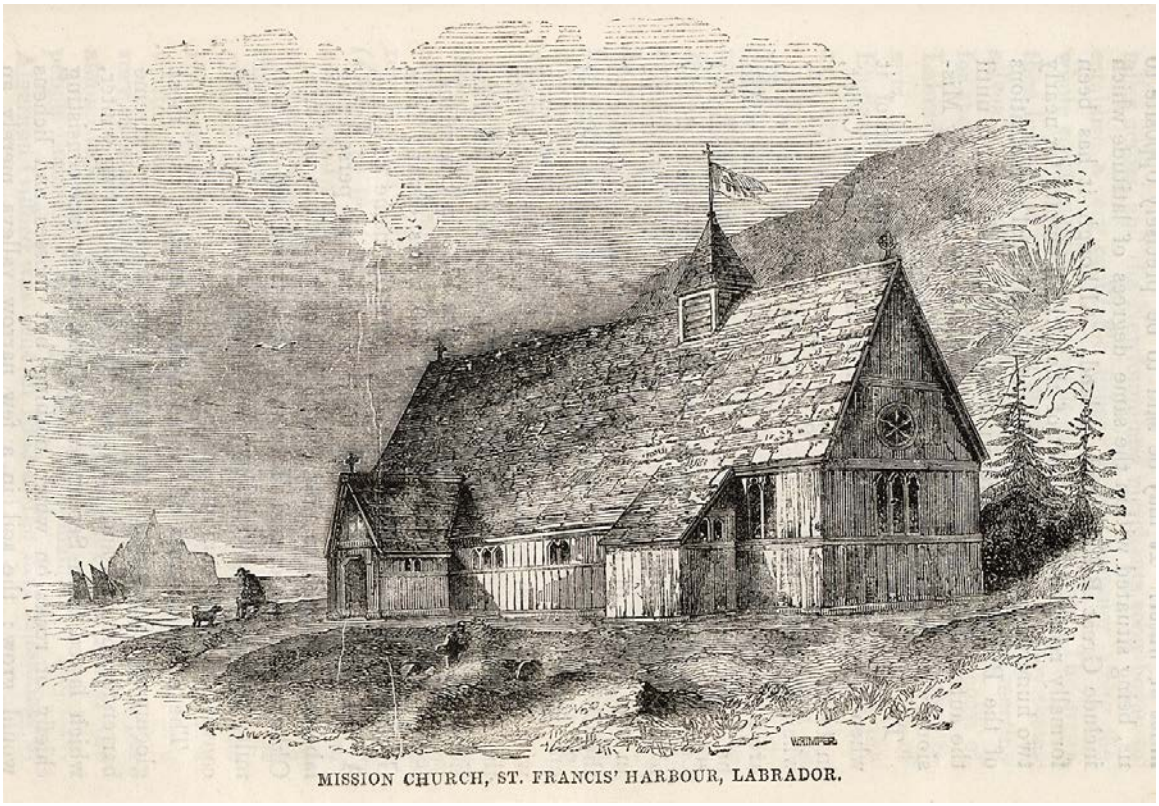


Fig. 3.9. Mission Church, St. Francis Harbour, Labrador (1850); lithograph sketch.

Image courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (Baldwin Room)

Mission Church, St. Francis Harbour, Labrador. n.d. Lithograph. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 3.10. New Church of Lammuline (1855).
William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House

New Church of Lammuline. n.d. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House.

Fig. 3.11. St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village, Ontario (1858).
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

Fig. 3.12. St. John's Episcopal Church, Longside (1850); southwest exterior.
William Hay, architect

Photo Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St. John's Episcopal Church, Longside*. 2012. Longside, Scotland.

Fig. 3.13. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856); east elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Fig. 3.14. “Log Hut” depicted in "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada."

Hay, William. "Log Hut." "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada." *Anglo-American Magazine* 2 (1853): 253-55.

Fig. 3.15. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856); window detail.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls; detail*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Fig. 3.16. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856); NE elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls; NE*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Fig. 3.17. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856); interior looking east. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls; interior*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Fig. 3.18. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856); open timber roof. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls; timber roof*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

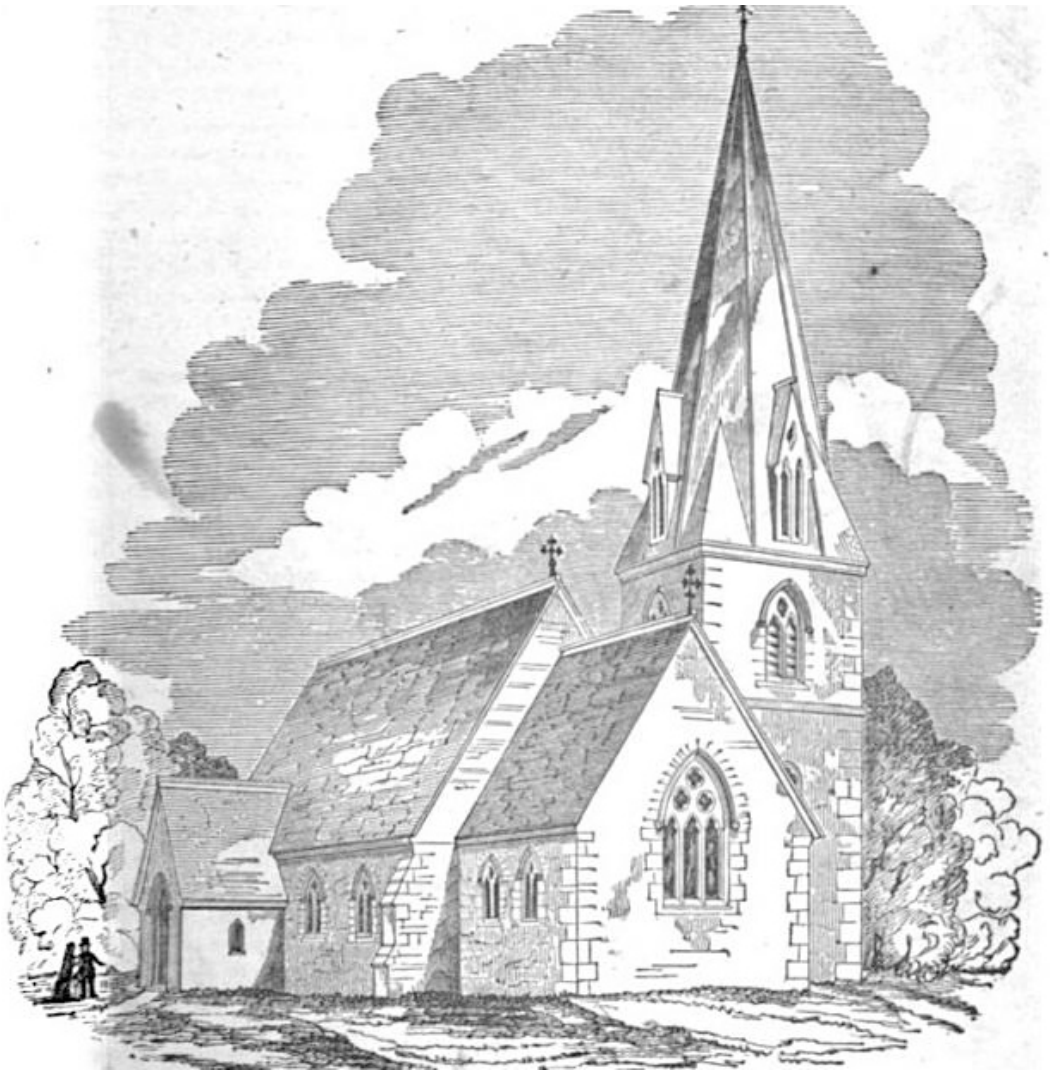


Fig. 3.19. "New Church at Brampton" published in the *Anglo-American Magazine*, 1854 vol. IV.

Hay, William. "New Church at Brampton." *Anglo-American Magazine* 4 (1854): n.pag.

Fig. 3.20. St. John's Episcopal Church, Longside (1850); tower.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St. John's Episcopal Church, Longside; detail*. 2012. Longside, Scotland.

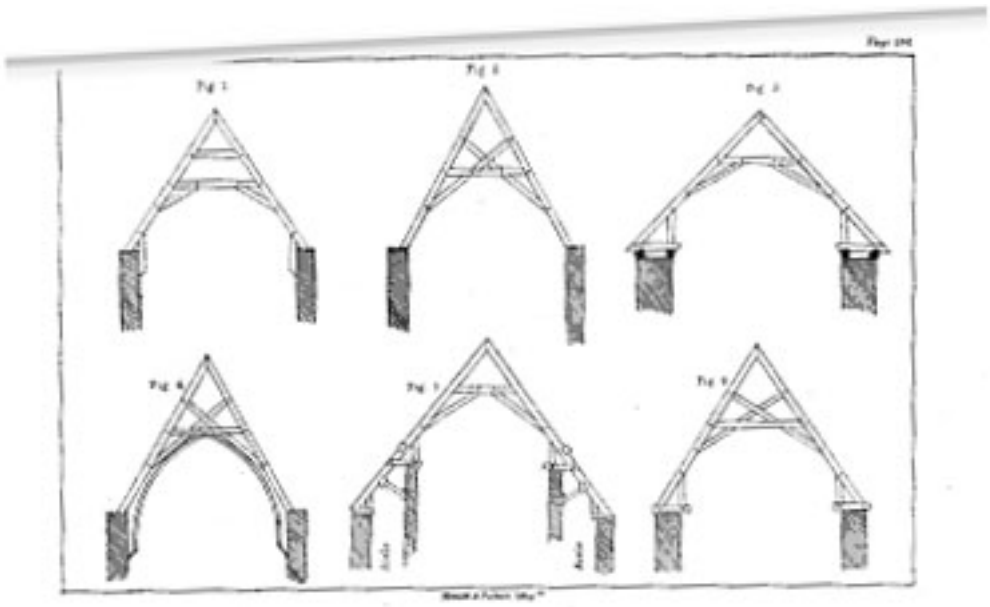


Fig. 3.21. "Church Roofing" published in *The Ecclesiologist*, vol.4, 1844.

"Church Roofing." *The Ecclesiologist* 4 (1844): 104.

Fig. 3.22. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856); interior.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls; interior*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

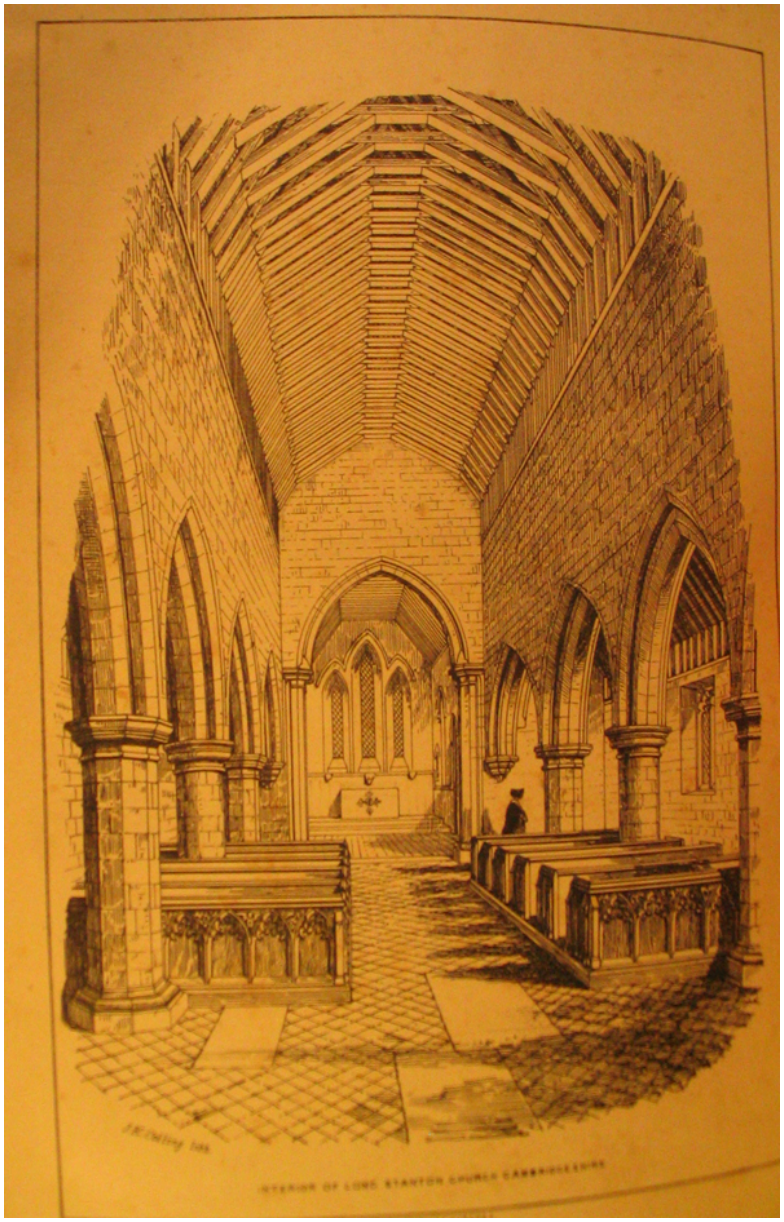


Fig. 3.23. "Interior of Long Stanton Church Cambridgeshire" published in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's, *Parish Churches: being perspective views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions* (1851).

Brandon, J. Arthur, and Raphael Brandon. "Interior of Long Stanton Church." *Parish Churches: Being Perspective Views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions*. London: W. Kent &, 1851.

Fig. 3.24. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856); SE elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls; SE*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Fig. 3.25. Our Lady and St Wilfred, Warwick Bridge, Cumbria (1841); interior looking east.
A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Warwick Bridge; interior*. n.d. Warwick Bridge, England.

Fig. 3.26. St Barnabas Cathedral, Nottingham (1841-44); general exterior.
AWN Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Barnabas Cathedral, Nottingham*. 2013. Nottingham, England.

Fig. 3.27. St Andrew’s Anglican Church, Wellington, Ontario (1855); original chancel, now part of the south transept.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; original chancel*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

Fig. 3.28. St Andrew’s Anglican Church, Wellington, Ontario (1855); façade.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

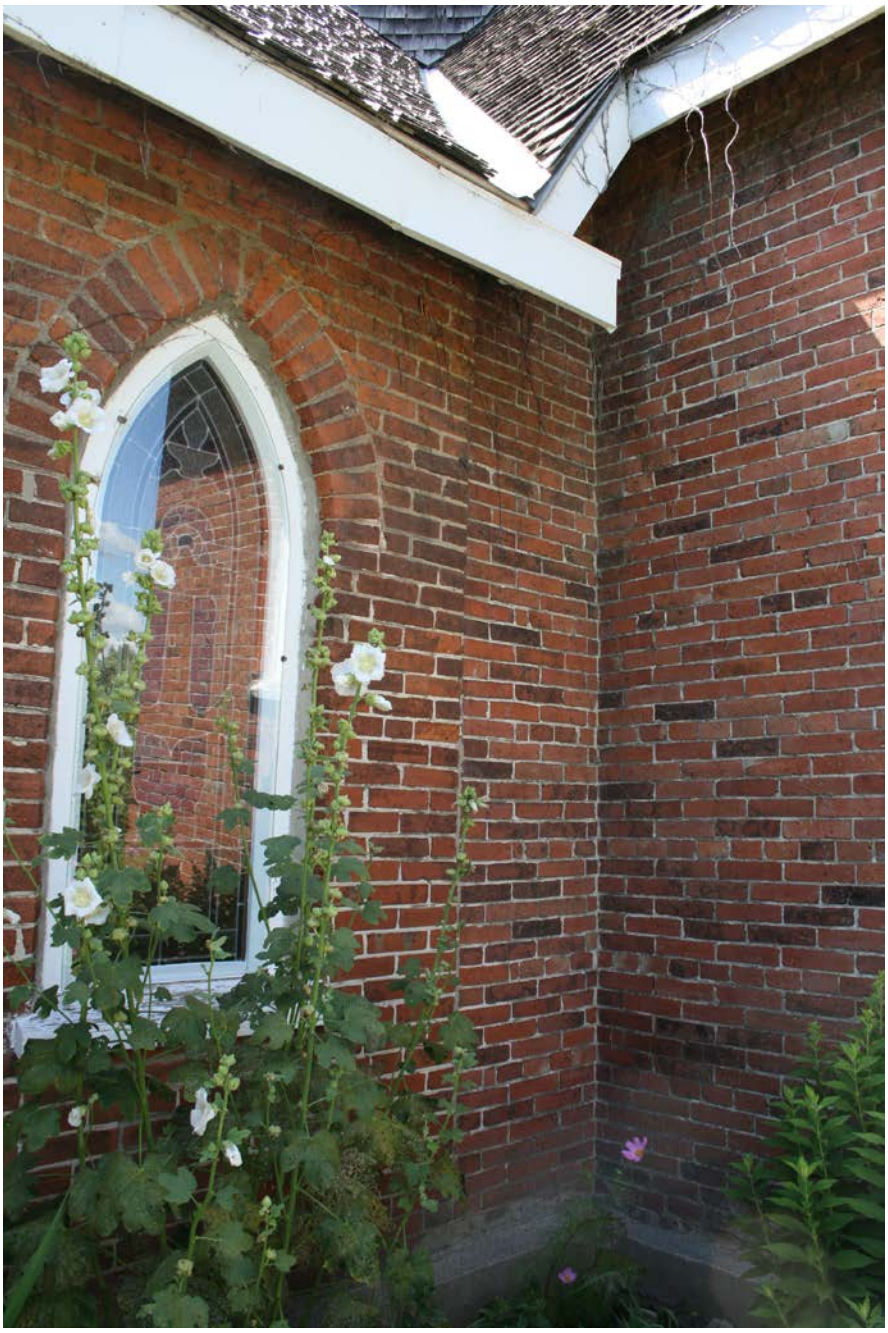


Fig. 3.29. St Andrew’s Anglican Church, Wellington, Ontario (1855); detail of south wall where the original 1855 fabric meets the 1870 nave.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; detail*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

Fig. 3.30. St Andrew’s Anglican Church, Wellington, Ontario (1855); interior of the original nave looking to what was the liturgical west.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; interior*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

Fig. 3.31. St Andrew’s Anglican Church, Wellington, Ontario (1855); Memorial Chapel (original chancel).

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; interior*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

Fig. 3.32. St James Anglican Church, Orillia (1857) (dem.).
William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of St Andrew's - St James Cemetery, Orillia, Ontario.

St James Church - Erected 1857. Digital image. *St Andrew's - St James Cemetery*. N.p., n.d. Web. 31 May 2012. <http://www.stastjcemetery.com/history.html>.

Fig. 3.33. St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village, Ontario (1858); NE elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering, NE exterior*. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

Fig. 3.34. St. George Anglican Church, Pickering Village, Ontario (1858); NE elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering, north exterior*. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

Fig. 3.35. St Mary's Church, Brewood, Staffordshire; southeast exterior.
A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Mary's Church, Brewood*. 2013. Brewood, Staffordshire.

Fig. 3.36. St Marie's Church, Rugby, Warwickshire (1837-39); southeast elevation. A.W.N. Pugin

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Marie's, Rugby*. 2013. Derby, England.

Fig. 3.37. St Giles, Cheadle, Straffordshire (1841-46); southeast exterior.
AWN Pugin, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *St Giles, Cheadle*. n.d. Cheadle, England.

Fig. 3.38. St John the Evangelist Church (The Garrison Church), Toronto, Ontario.

Image courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (Baldwin Room)

Fuller and Bencke. *Church of St, John the Evangelist, Toronto*. 1859. Lithograph. 942-3 Cab II. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 3.39. St Paul's Church, Chudleigh, Knighton (1841-42); northeast exterior.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e4/St_Paul%27s_Church%2C_Chudleigh_Knighton_-_geograph.org.uk_-_930908.jpg

Steel, Trish. *St Paul's Church, Chudleigh Knighton*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 17 Aug 2008. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e4/St_Paul%27s_Church%2C_Chudleigh_Knighton_-_geograph.org.uk_-_930908.jpg

Fig. 3.40. St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village (1858); interior looking east. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering Village, interior*. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

Fig. 3.41. St Luke’s Anglican Church, Vienna, Ontario; NW elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Luke's, Vienna, exterior*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

Fig. 3.42. St Peter’s Anglican Church, Newboyne, Ontario (c. 1861).
William Hay, architect

Photo: Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. St Peter's, Newboyne. n.d. Newboyne, Ontario.

Fig. 3.43. Trinity Church, East Zorrah, Ontario (1861); NE elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

Fig. 3.44. St Luke’s Anglican Church, Vienna, Ontario; tower.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Luke's, Vienna, tower*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

Fig. 3.45. St Luke’s Anglican Church, Vienna, Ontario; exterior.
William Hay, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby.

Thurlby, Malcolm. *St Luke's, Vienna*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

Fig. 3.46. St Luke’s Anglican Church, Vienna, Ontario; renovated interior looking east.

Photo: Candace Iron.

Iron, Candace. *St Luke's, Vienna; interior*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

Fig. 3.47. St Peter’s Anglican Church, Newboyne, Ontario (c. 1861); southwest exterior. William Hay, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. St Peter's, Newboyne. n.d. Newboyne, Ontario.

Fig. 3.48. Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (1861); NW elevation.
William Hay architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, exterior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

Fig. 3.49. St Basil Roman Catholic Church, Toronto (1855); SW elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Basil Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

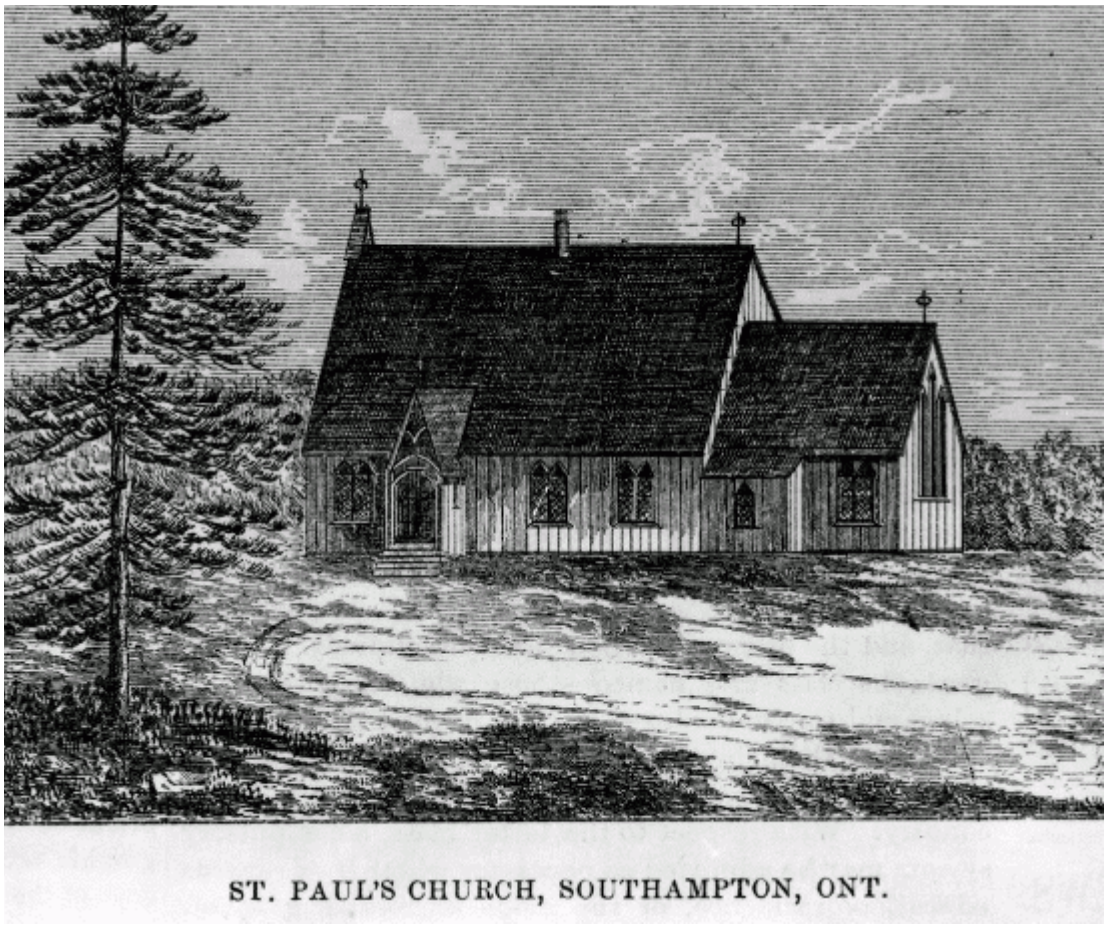


Fig. 3.50. St Paul's Anglican Church, Southampton, Ontario (1861).
William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of: *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. V, No. 14, Page 213.

Reproduced from Library and Archives Canada's website Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News.

"St. Paul's Church, Southampton, Ont." *Canadian Illustrated News* 5.14 (n.d.): 213. *Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News*. Web. 30 July 2012.

Fig. 3.51. Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (1861); west elevation.
William Hay architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, west exterior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

Fig. 3.52. Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah (1861); interior looking east. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah; interior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

Fig. 3.53. St Basil's Catholic Church, Toronto (1855).
William Hay, architect

P, Simon. *St. Basil's Church*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 19 Sept 2009. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1e/St._Basil%27s_Church.JPG>.

Fig. 3.54. Original concept for St Basil’s Church and St Michael’s College, 1852 sketch. William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of Image courtesy of the Toronto Public Library (Baldwin Room).

Hay, William. S Michael's College. 1855. E 8-130 Small. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library, Toronto, ON.

Fig. 3.55. St Basil’s Catholic Church, Toronto, original interior.

Image courtesy of St. Michael’s College Archives, Toronto

St. Basil's Church. n.d. St Michael's University Archives. University of Toronto, Toronto, ON.

Fig. 3.56. St Basil’s Catholic Church, interior sketch from John Ross Robertson’s, *Sketches in City Churches* (1886).

Robertson, John Ross. "St Basil's Church." *Sketches in City Churches, reprinted from The Evening Telegram, with the original illustrations*. Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1883.

Fig. 3.57. Proposition drawing for Balliol College Chapel, Oxford.
AWN Pugin, architect

Image courtesy of Balliol College Archives, Oxford

Drawing of interior of chapel towards the altar. n.d. Balloil College Archives.
University of Oxford, Oxford, England.

Fig. 3.58. Grace Anglican Church, Brantford, Ontario; SW exterior.
William Hay, architect
John Turner, executant architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Grace Anglican Church, Brantford; exterior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

Fig. 3.59. Grace Anglican Church, Brantford before renovations.

Image courtesy of Grace Anglican Church, Brantford, Ontario.

Grace Anglican Church. n.d. Photograph. Grace Anglican Church, Brantford, Ontario.

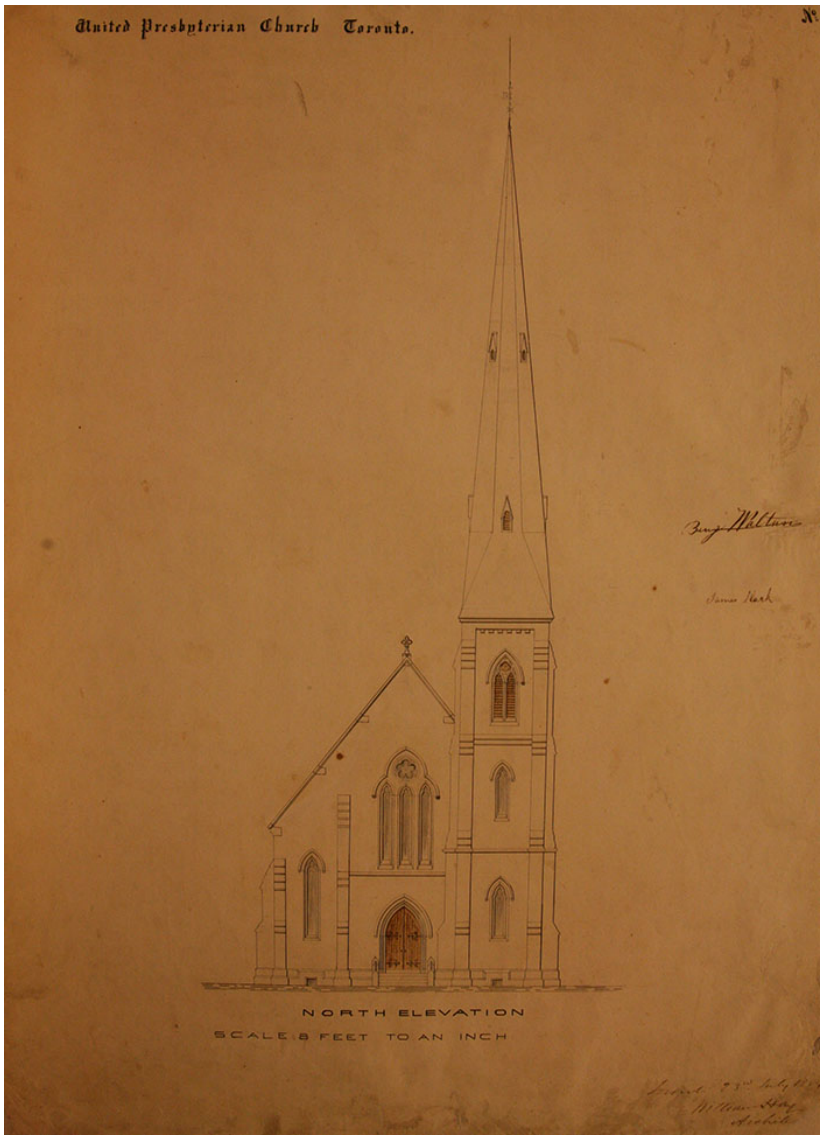


Fig. 3.60 Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Ontario; drawing of front elevation.
William Hay, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 3.61. Grace Anglican Church, Brantford, Ontario; interior looking east.
William Hay, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby.

Thurbly, Malcolm. *Grace Anglican Church; interior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

Fig. 3.62. St George Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario; NW exterior.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Newcastle*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

Fig. 3.63. St George Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario; north elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Newcastle, north*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

Fig. 3.64. St George Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario; southeast elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Newcastle, southeast*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

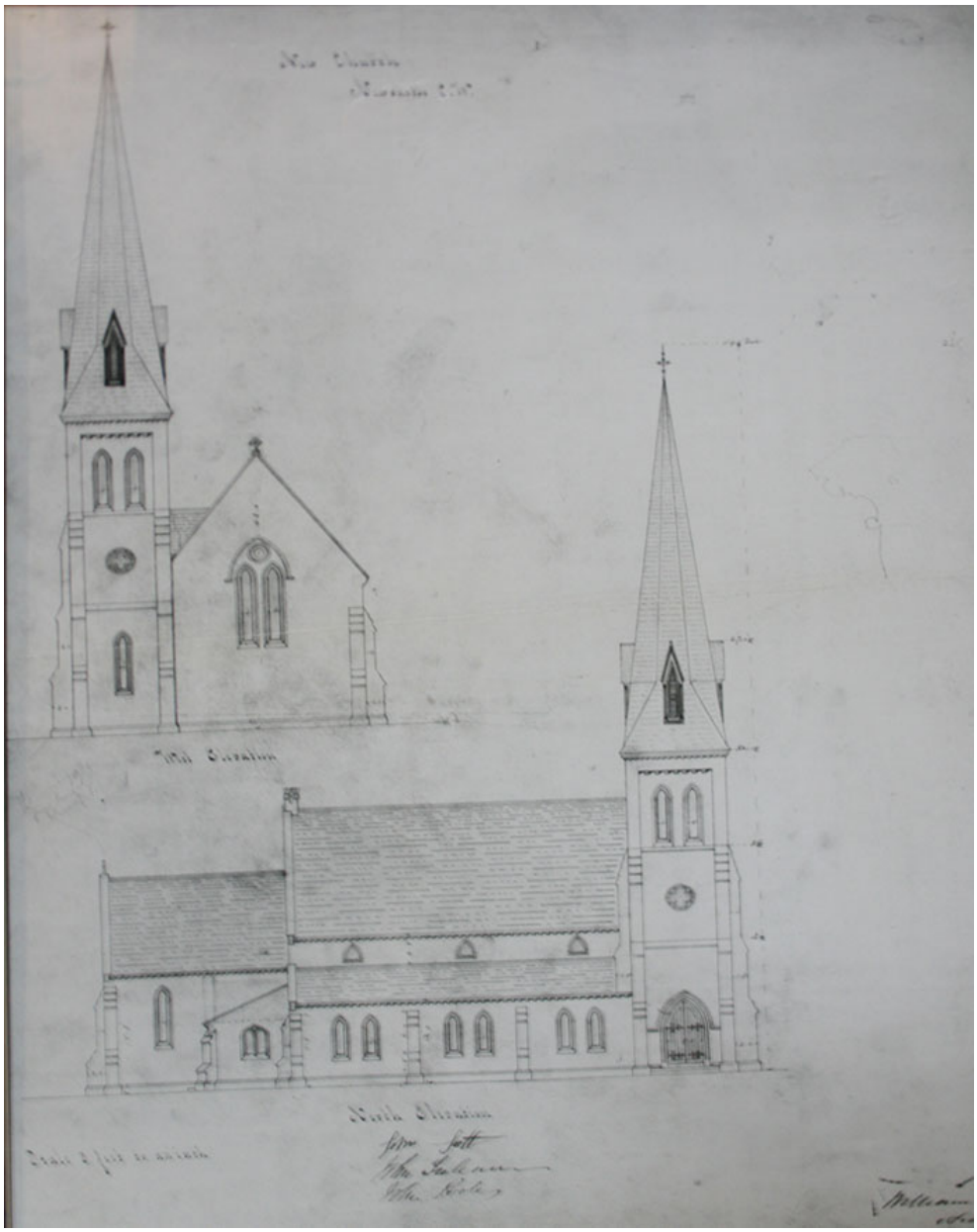


Fig. 3.65. St George Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario; drawing.
William Hay, architect

Drawing courtesy of St. George Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario.

Hay, William. *New Church Newcastle*.1855. Architectural Drawing. St George Church Newcastle.

Fig. 3.66. All Saints, Margaret Street, London.
William Butterfield, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints, Margaret Street*. 2012. London, England.

Fig. 3.67. St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (1857-58). William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Guelph; façade*. 2014. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 3.68. St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario; interior looking east. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Guelph; interior*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 3.69. St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario; interior looking west. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Guelph; interior*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 3.70. St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario; view from balcony. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Guelph; interior*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

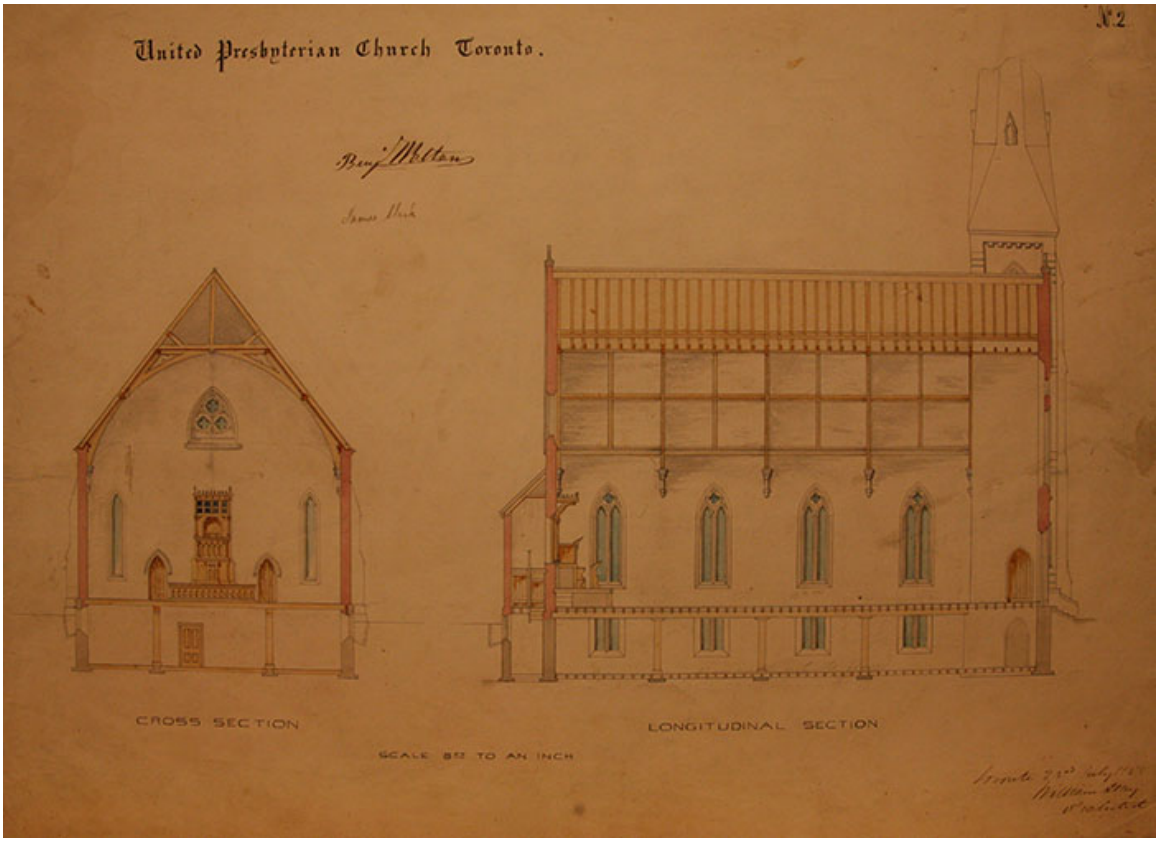


Fig. 3.71. Gould Street Presbyterian Church, Toronto; drawing.
William Hay, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 4.1. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome; interior.

Photo: Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Santa Maria Sopra Minerva*. n.d. Rome.

Fig. 4.2. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; façade.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

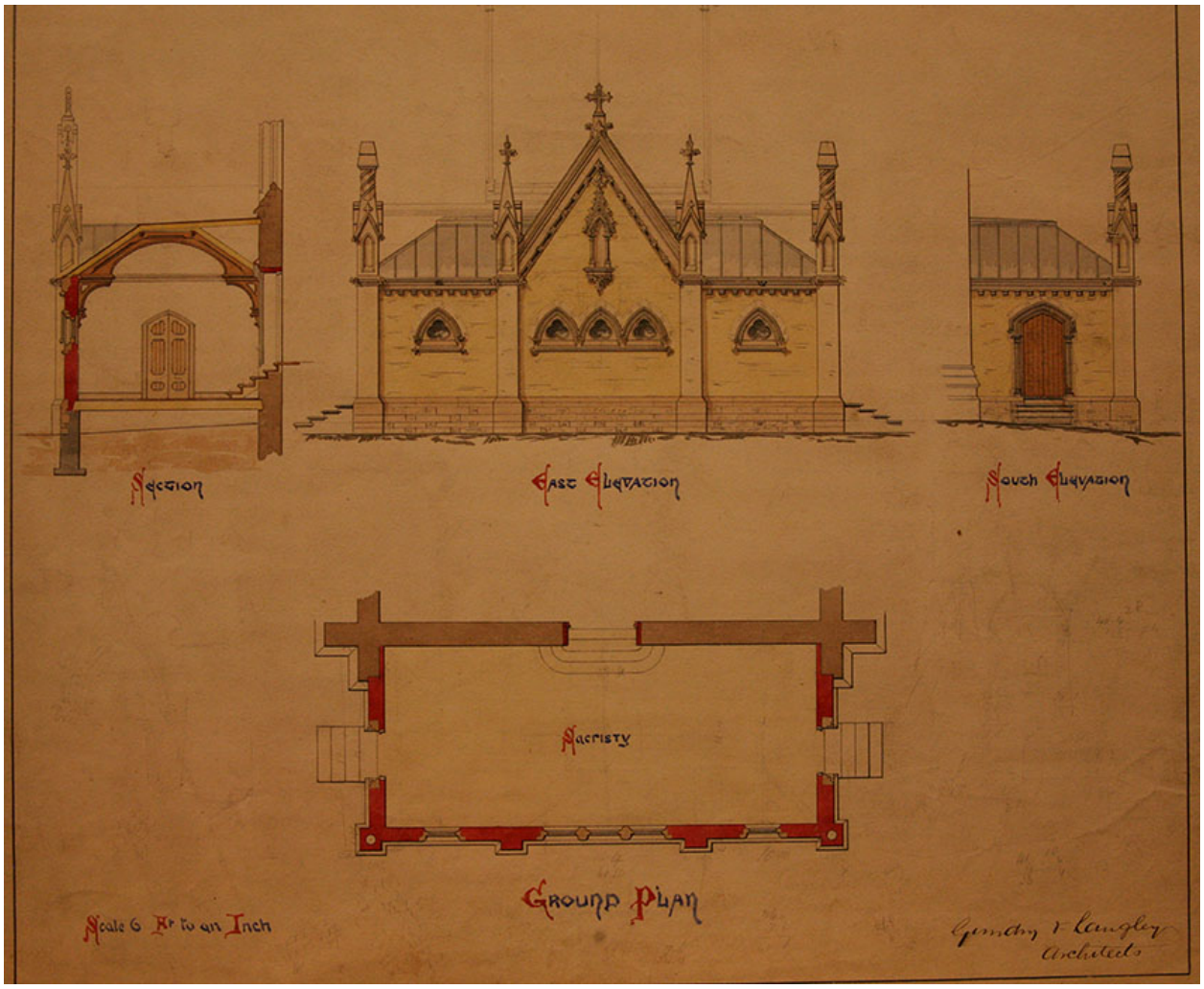


Fig. 4.3. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; drawing of sacristy addition. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *New Sacristy Saint Michaels Cathedral Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 4.4. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; sacristy addition.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto; sacristy*. n.d. Toronto.

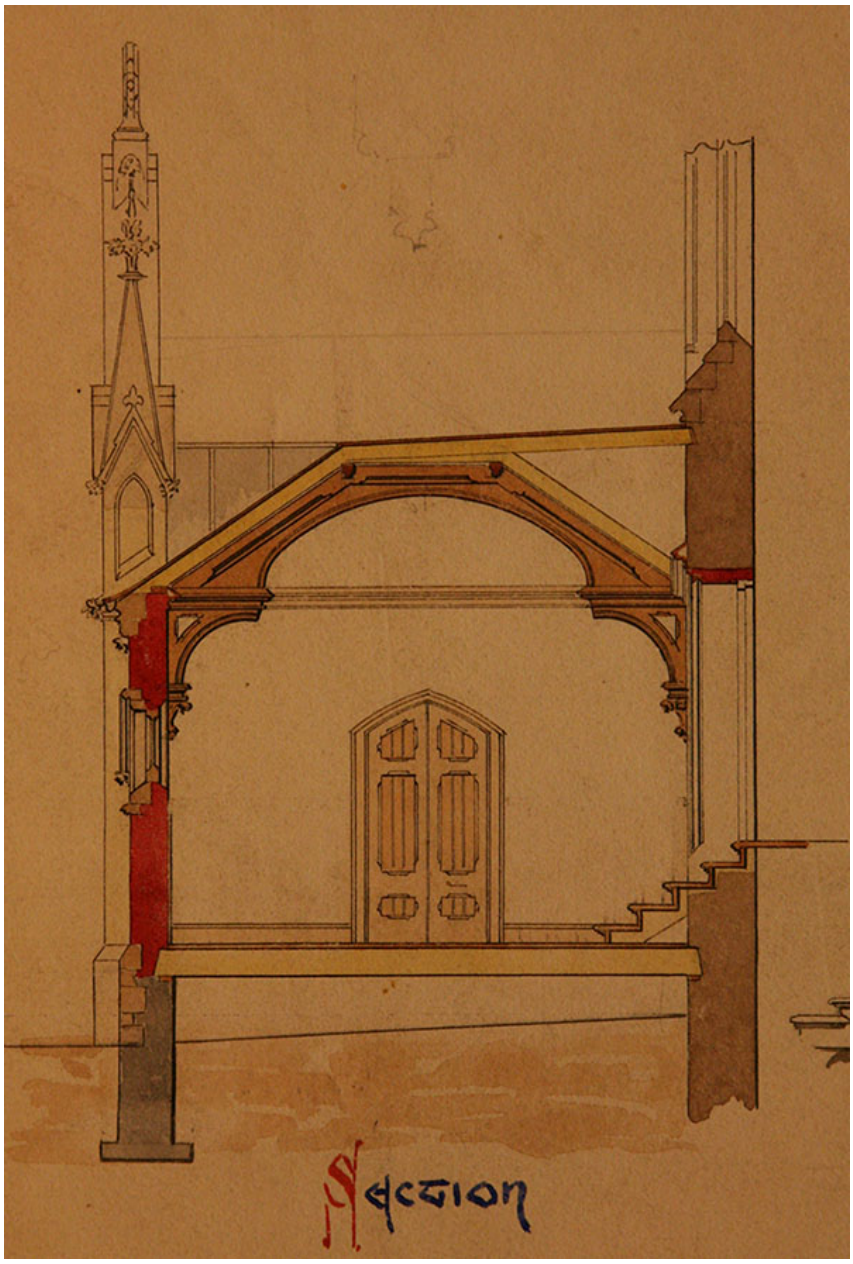


Fig. 4.5. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; section drawing of sacristy addition. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *New Sacristy Saint Michaels Cathedral Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 4.6. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; interior.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto; sacristy interior*. n.d. Toronto.

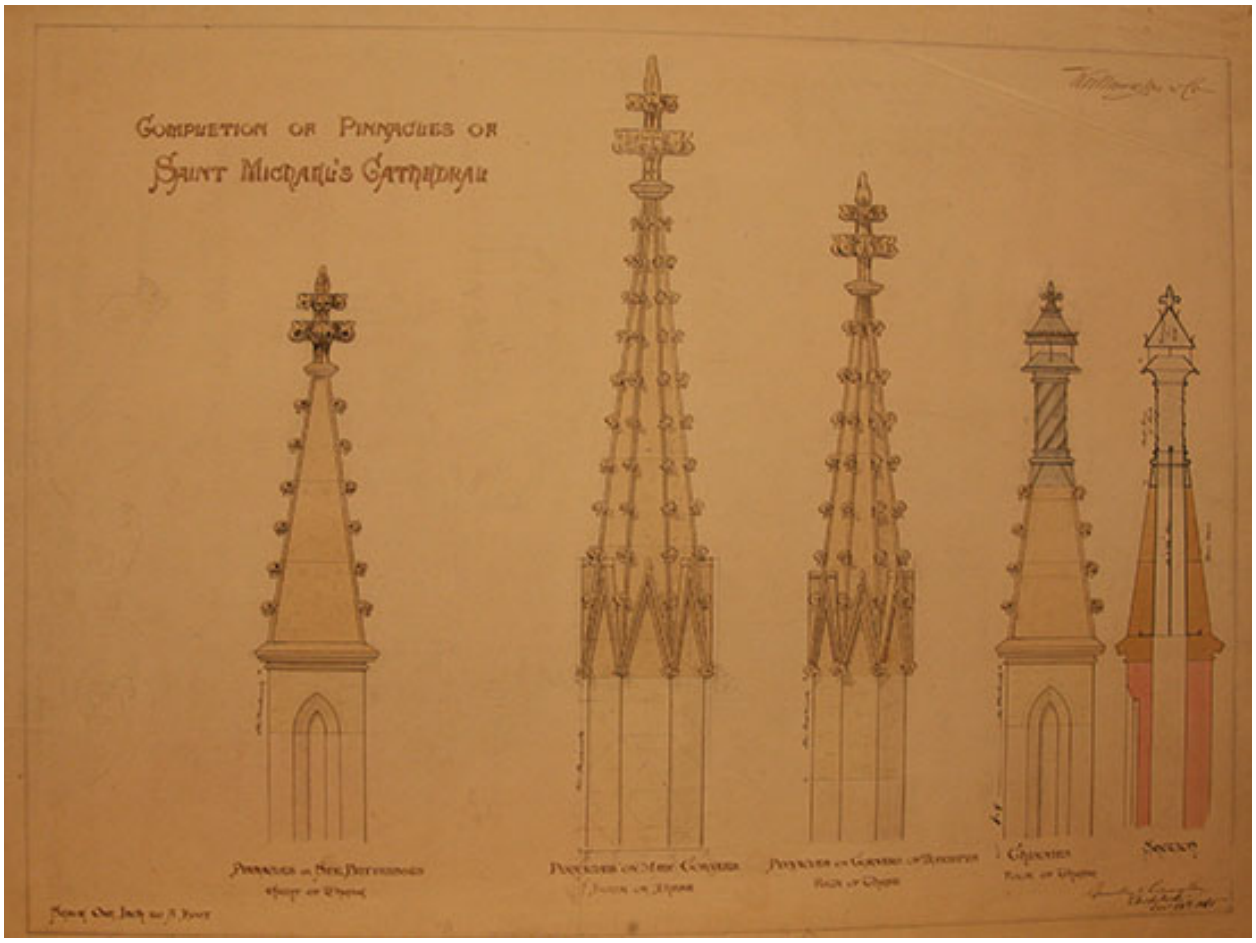


Fig. 4.7. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; drawing of pinnacles.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Completion of Pinnacles on Saint Michael's Cathedral*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

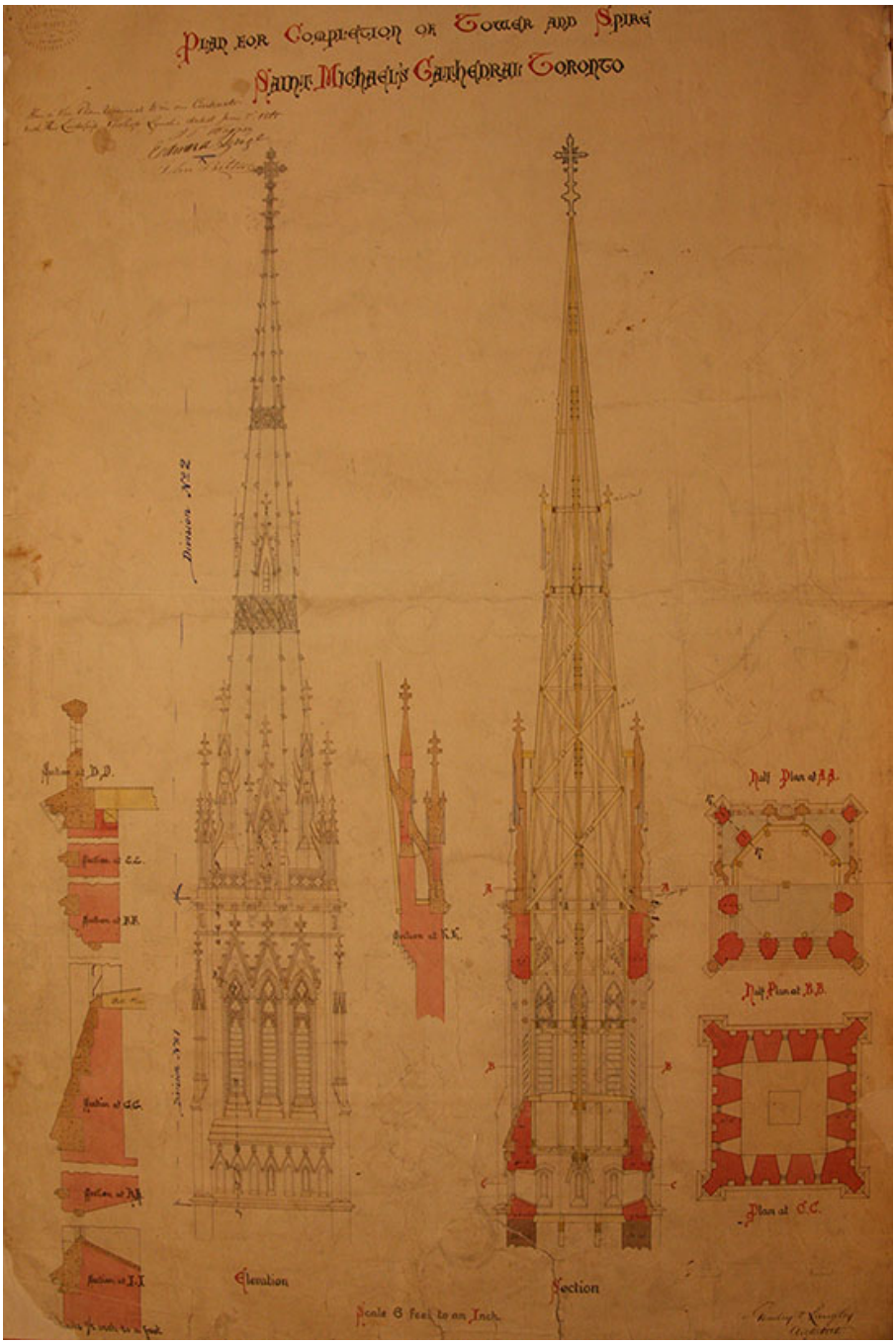


Fig. 4.8. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; drawing of tower and spire. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Plan for Completion of Tower and Spire Saint Michael's Cathedral, Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

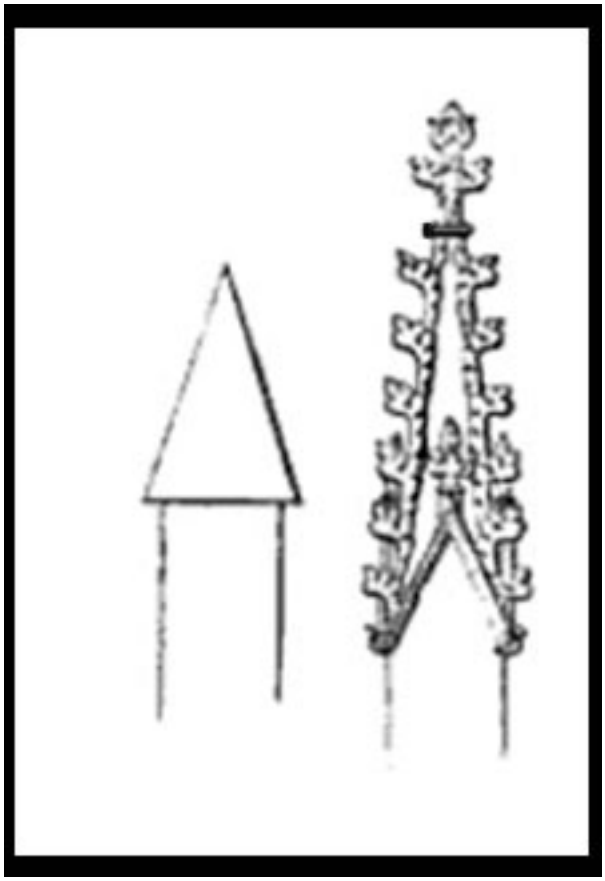


Fig. 4.9. Pinnacles illustrated in *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.

Pinnacles. 1841. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. London: John Weale, 1841. 9. Print.

Fig. 4.10. St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, Ontario; southeast elevation.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

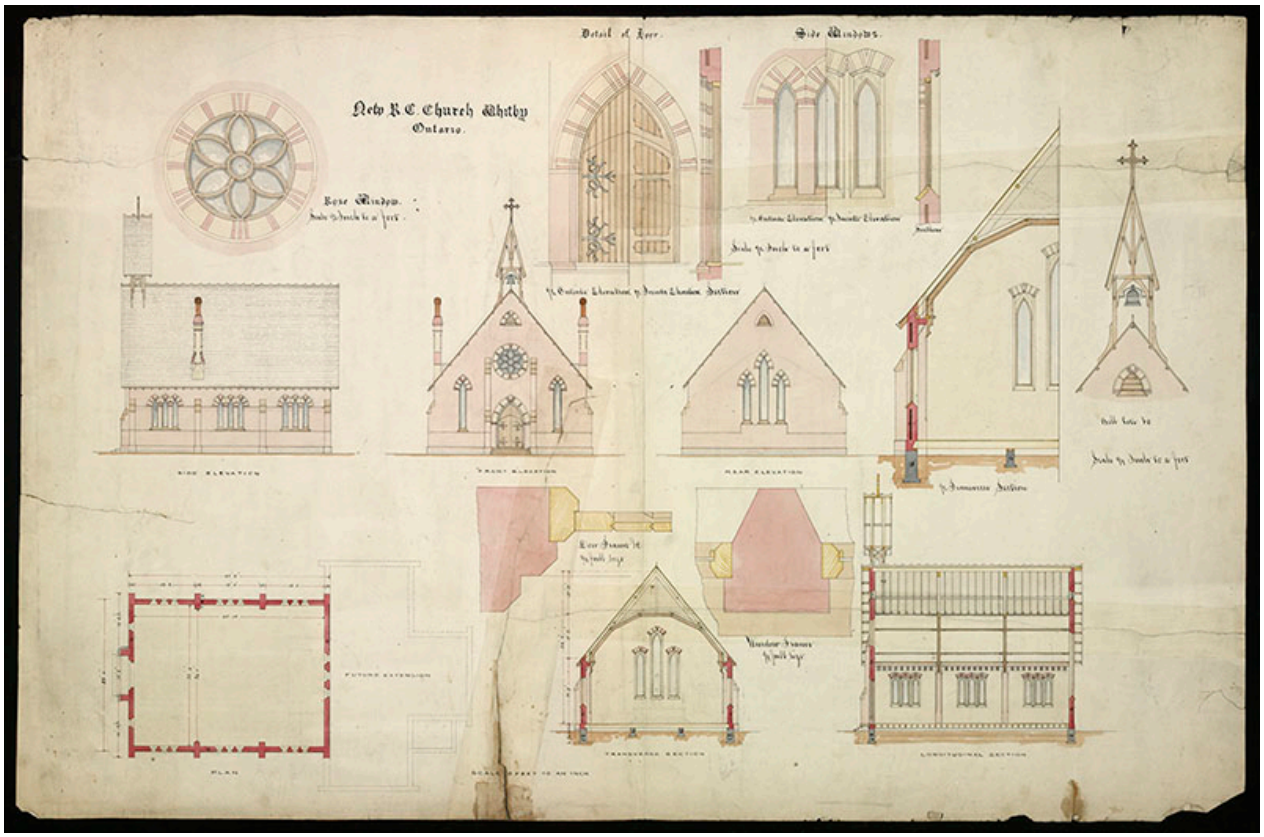


Fig. 4.11. St John the Evangelist Church, Whitby, Ontario (dem.); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.12. All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, Ontario; façade.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

Fig. 4.13. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario, northwest elevation.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

Fig. 4.14. St Michael’s, Longstanton, Cambridgeshire, England; southwest elevation.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Michael’s, Longstanton*. n.d. Whitby. Longstanton, Cambridgeshire.

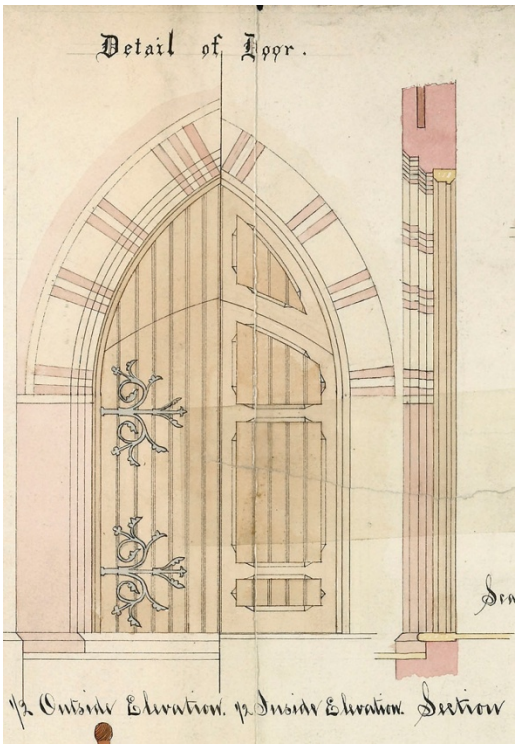


Fig. 4.15. St John the Evangelist Church, Whitby, Ontario (dem.); detail from drawing. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario; Detail of Door*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

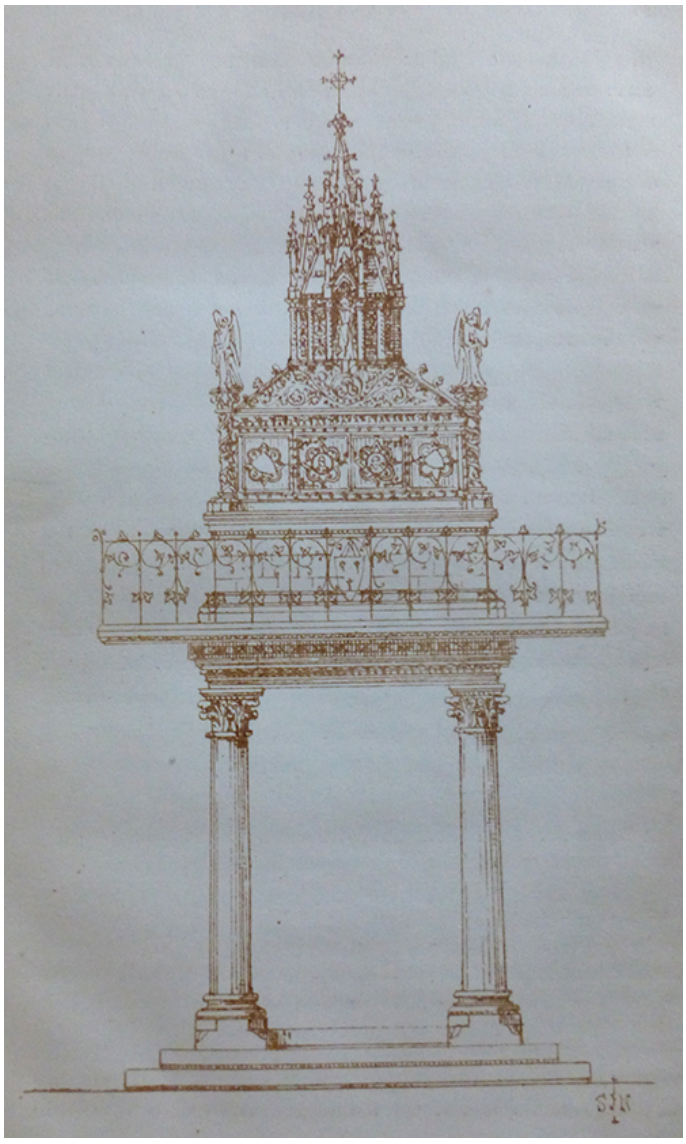


Fig. 4.16. Western Porches as described by St Charles from Wigley's *St. Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building*.

Fig 11. 1857. *St. Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building*. By George J. Wigley. London: C. Dolman, 1857. N. pag. Print.

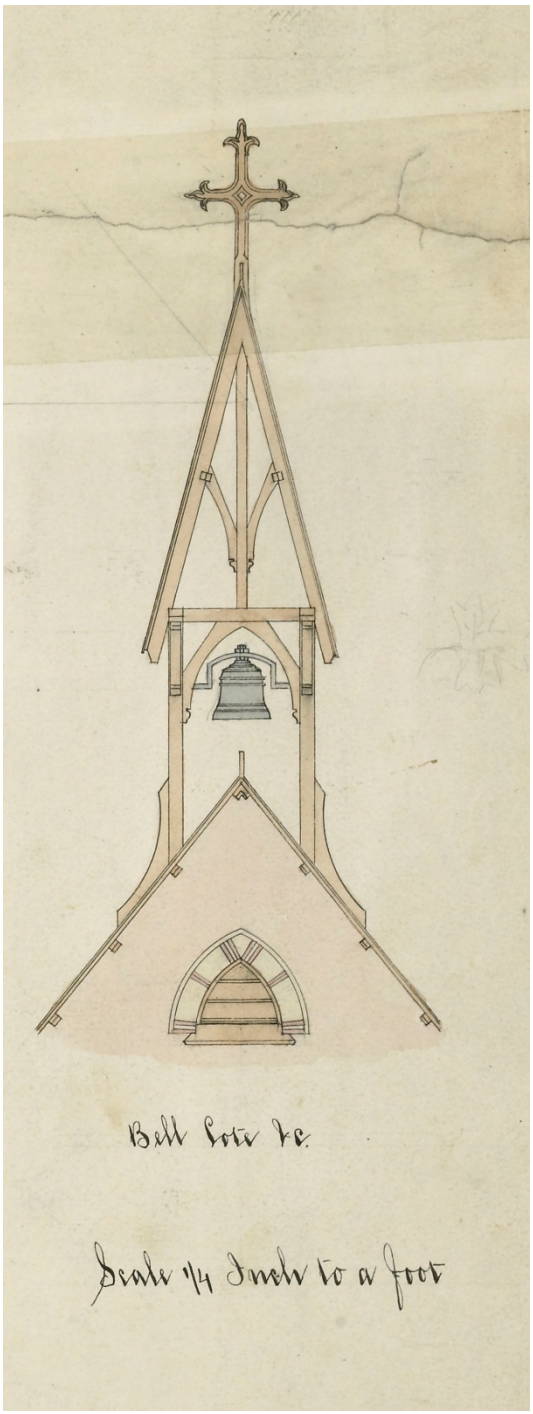


Fig. 4.17. St John the Evangelist Church, Whitby, Ontario (dem.); detail from drawing. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario; Bell Cote*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.18. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto; drawing. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 4.19. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto; façade. Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

Fig. 4.20. St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, England; southwest elevation.
A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham*. 2014. Birmingham.

Fig. 4.21. St Wilfrid's Church, Hulme, Manchester; illustrated in, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*.

St. Wilfrid's, Manchester. 1844. *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.* By Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. London: Charles Dolman, 1844. Pl. VII.

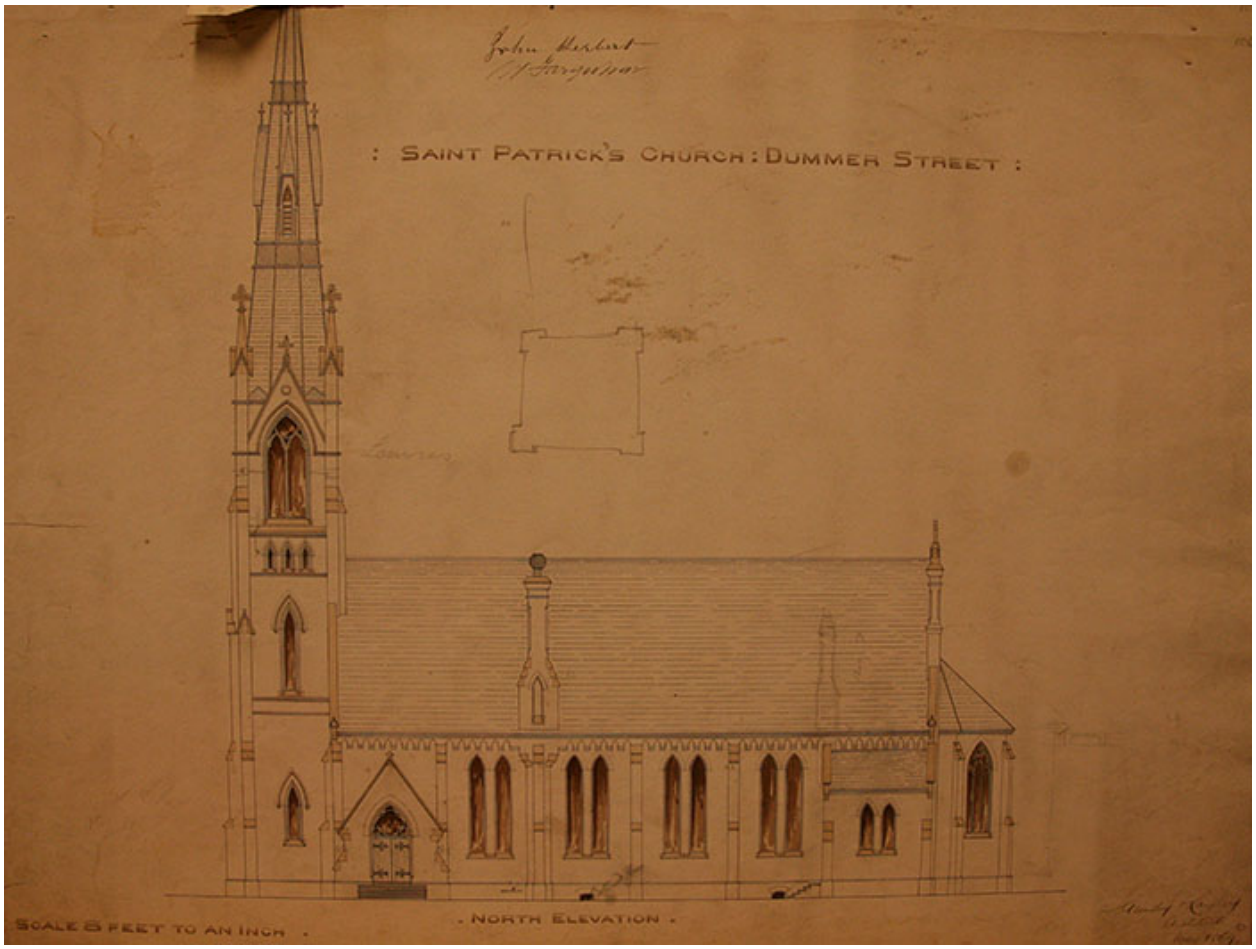


Fig. 4.22. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto; drawing. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street, North Elevation*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 4.23. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (1857-8). William Hay, architect.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's, Guelph*. 2014. Guelph.

Fig. 4.24. St James Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland (1842).
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St James Church, Cruden Bay*. 2012. Cruden Bay.

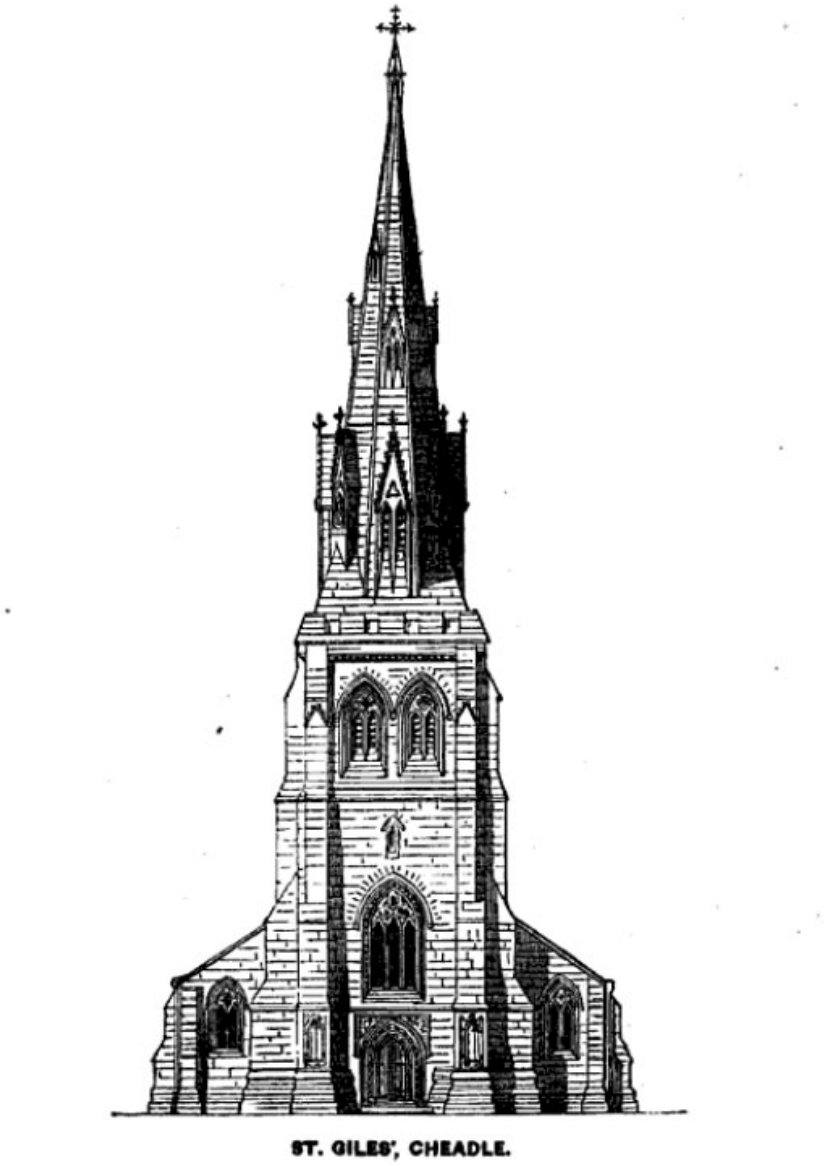


Fig. 4.25. St Giles, Cheadle; illustrated in, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*.

St. Giles', Cheadle. 1844. *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.* By Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. London: Charles Dolman, 1844. Pl. IV.

Fig. 4.26. St Giles, Cheadle; northwest exterior.
A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Giles, Cheadle*. 2014. Cheadle, Stoke-on-Trent.

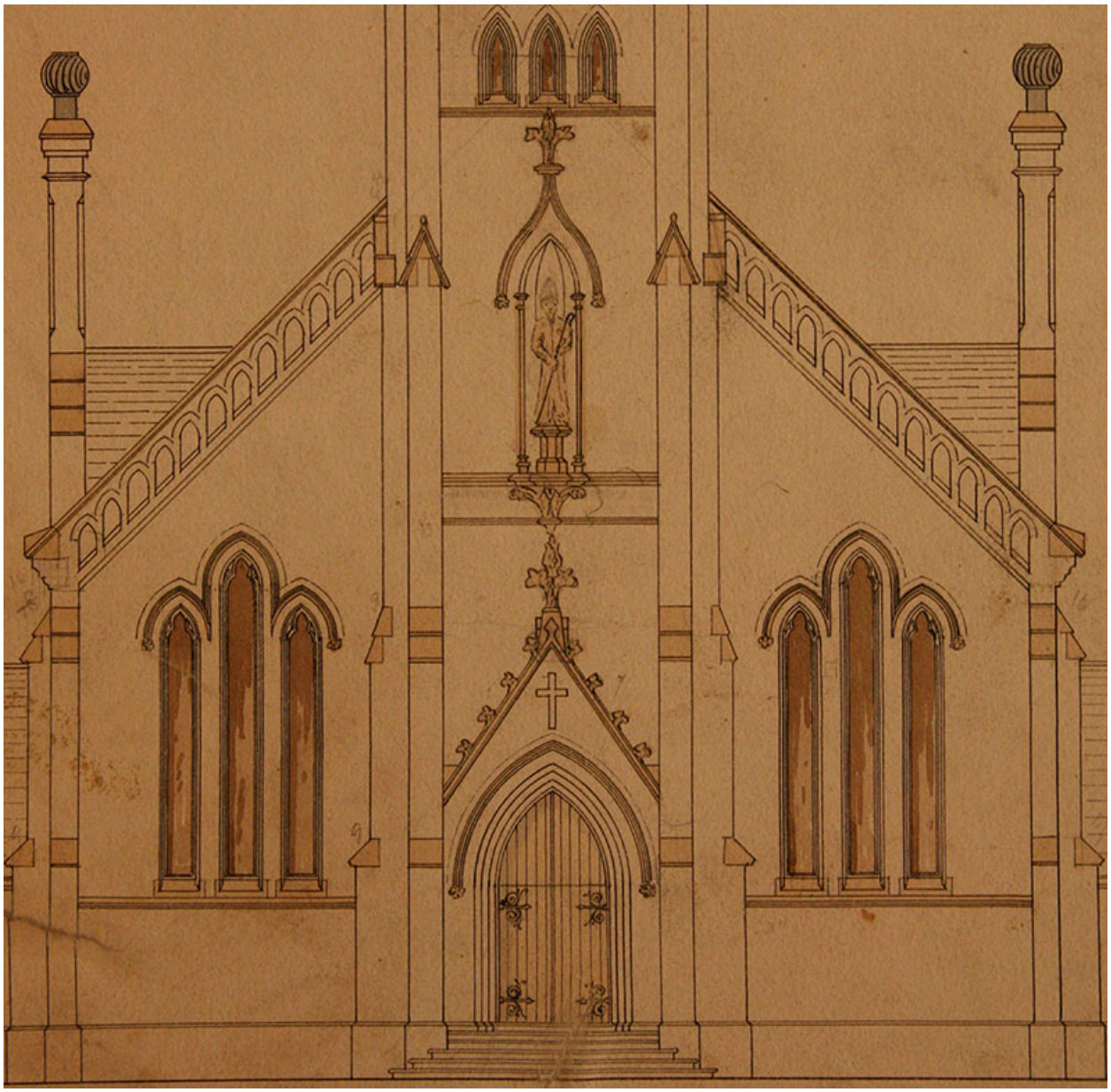


Fig. 4.27. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto; drawing detail. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

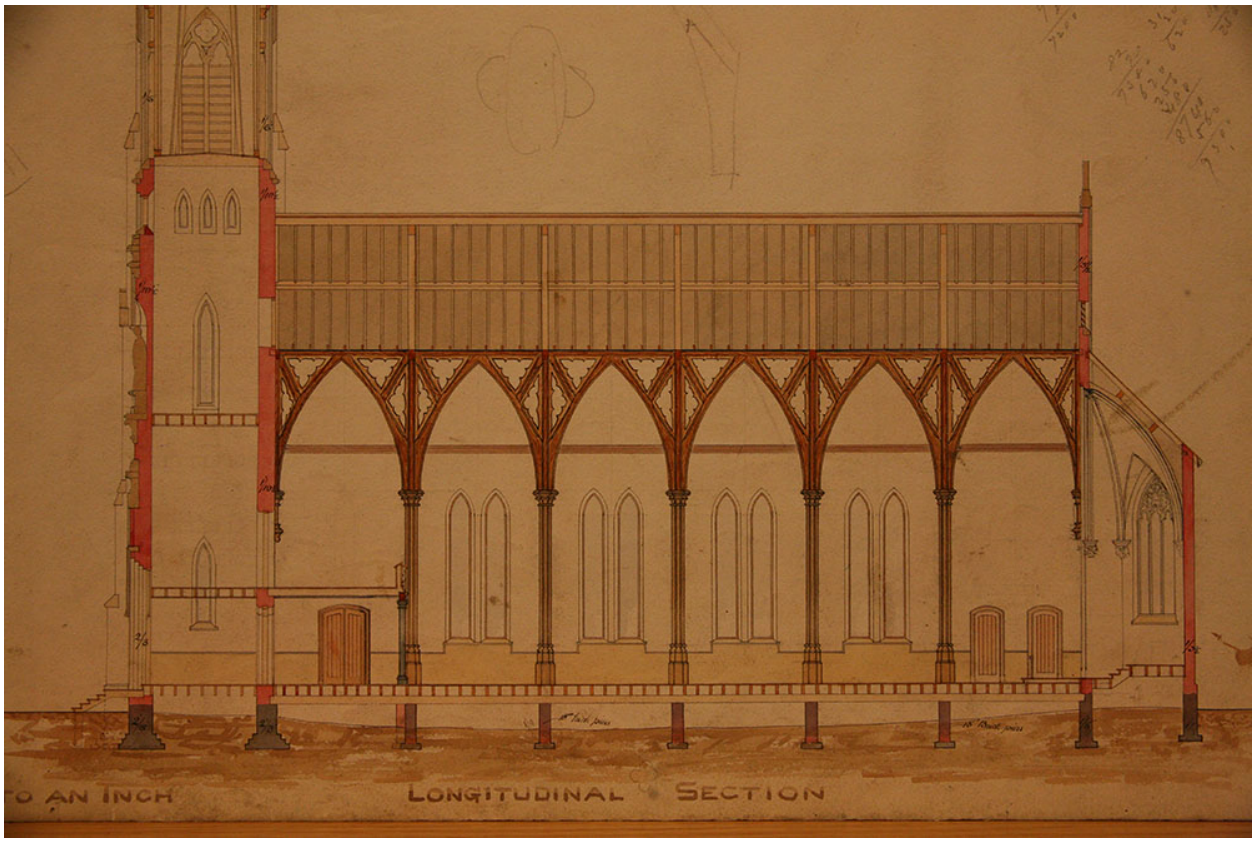


Fig. 4.28. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto; longitudinal section.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street, Longitudinal Section*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

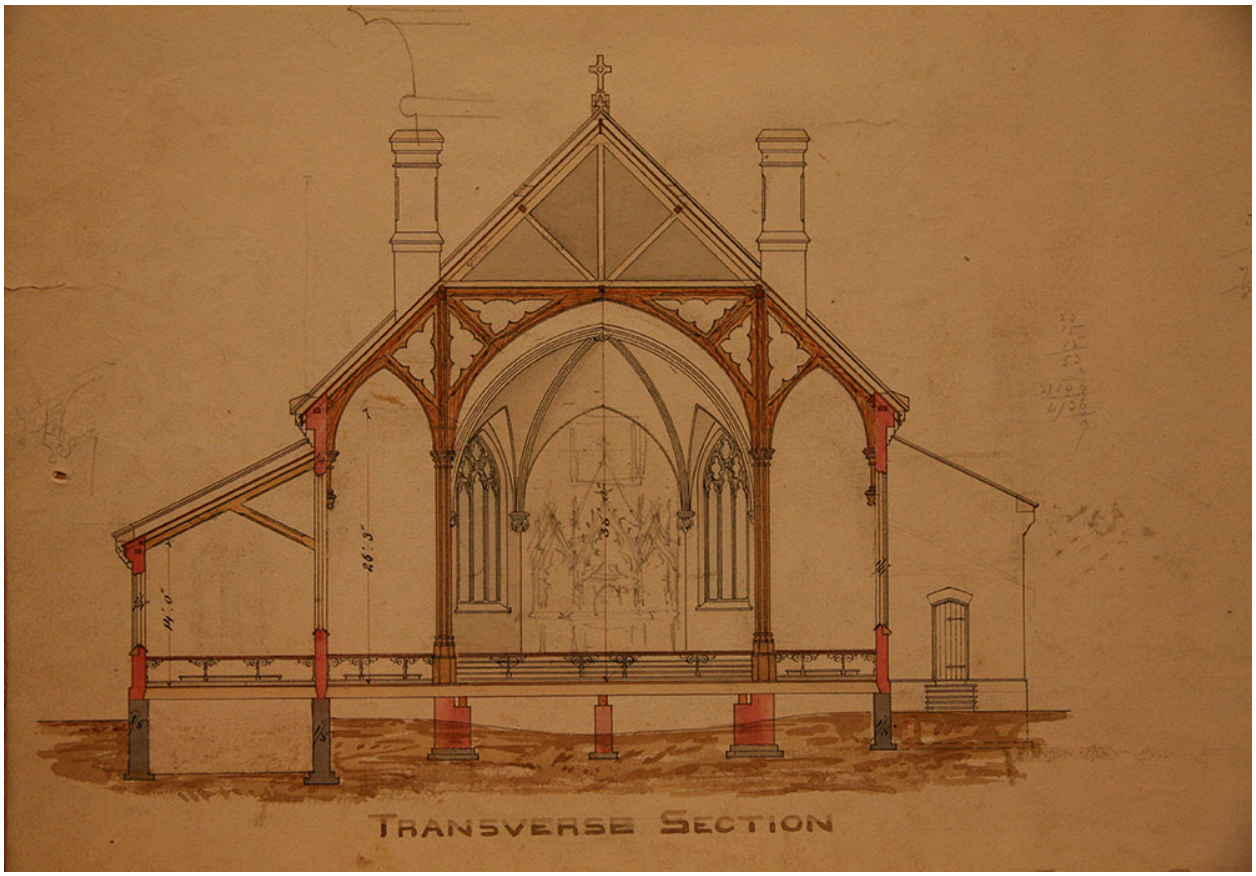


Fig. 4.29. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto; transverse section.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street, Transverse Section*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 4.30. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto; interior. Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, interior*, Toronto. 2000. Toronto.

Fig. 4.31. St Basil's Catholic Church and St Michael's College, Toronto; engraving from architect's drawing.
William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. S Michael's College. 1855. E 8-130 Small. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library, Toronto, ON.

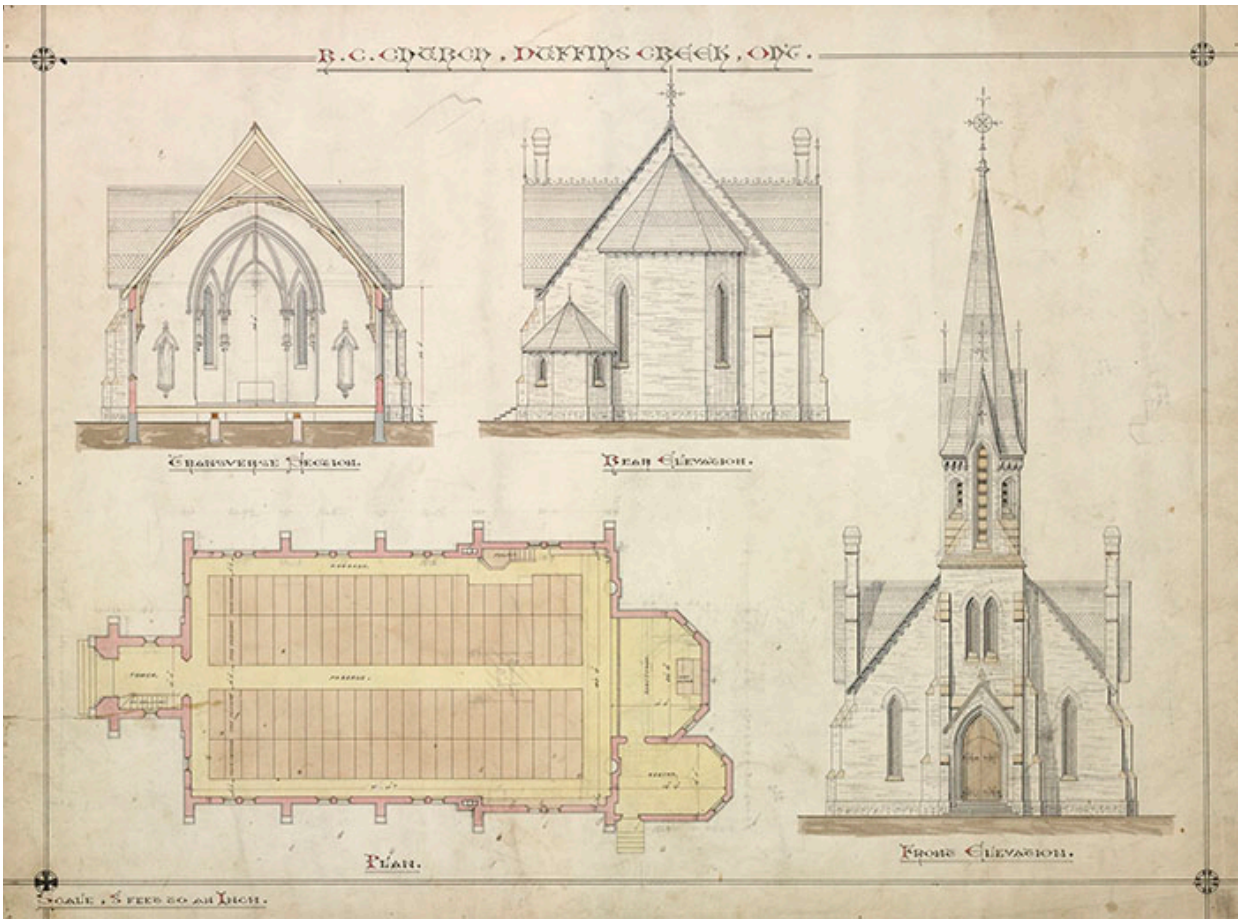


Fig. 4.32. St Frances de Sales Catholic Church, Pickering (Duffin's Creek), Ontario (1870); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Duffin's Creek, Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

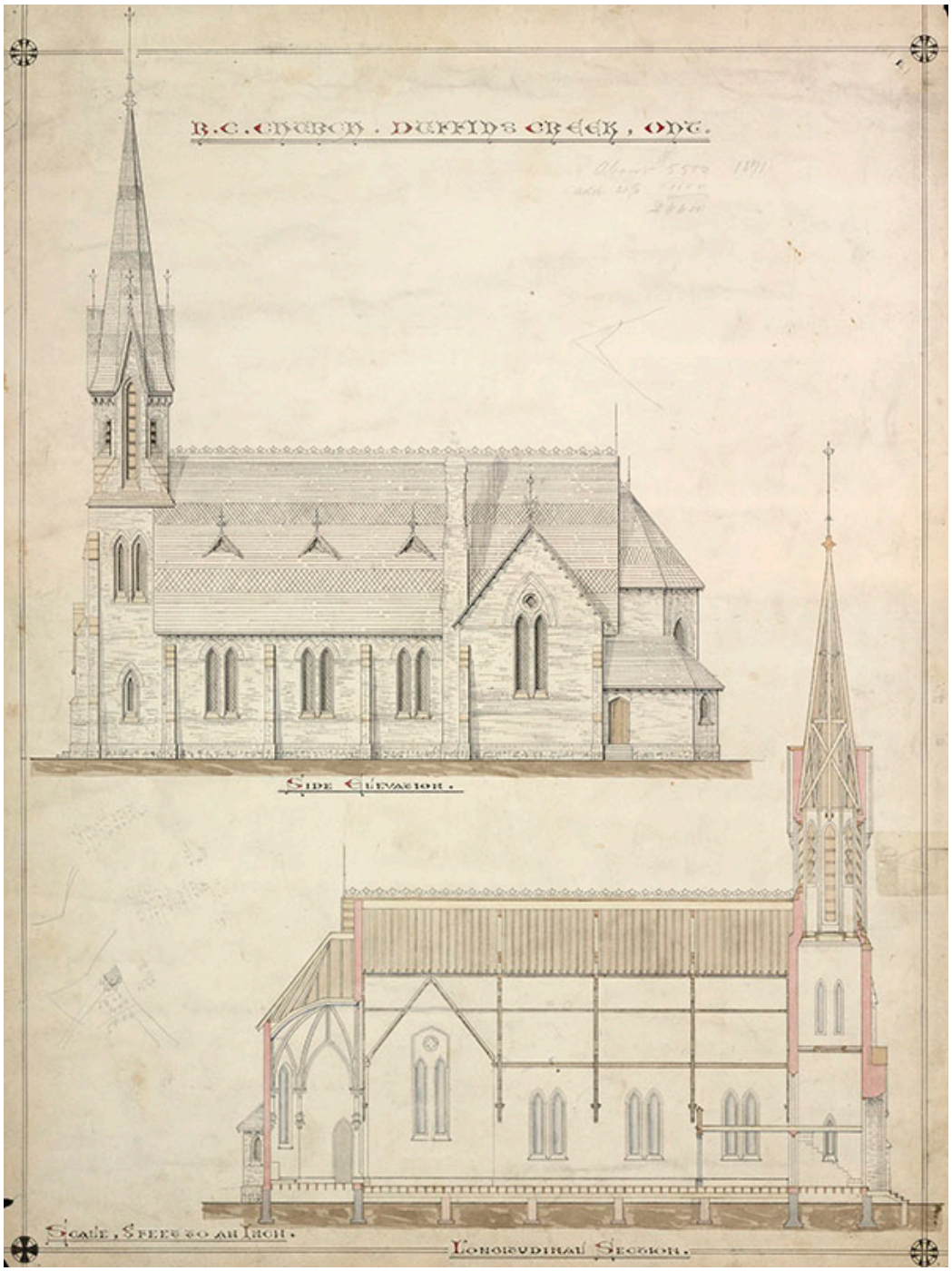


Fig. 4.33. St Frances de Sales Catholic Church, Pickering (Duffin's Creek), Ontario (1870); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Duffin's Creek, Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.34. St Frances de Sales Catholic Church, Pickering (Duffin's Creek), Ontario; exterior. Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Frances de Sales Church, Pickering*. n.d. Pickering, Ontario.

Fig. 4.35. St Frances de Sales Catholic Church, Pickering (Duffin's Creek), Ontario; interior. Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Frances de Sales Church, Pickering, interior*. n.d. Pickering, Ontario.

Fig. 4.36. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Stayner, Ontario (1872); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Stayner*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

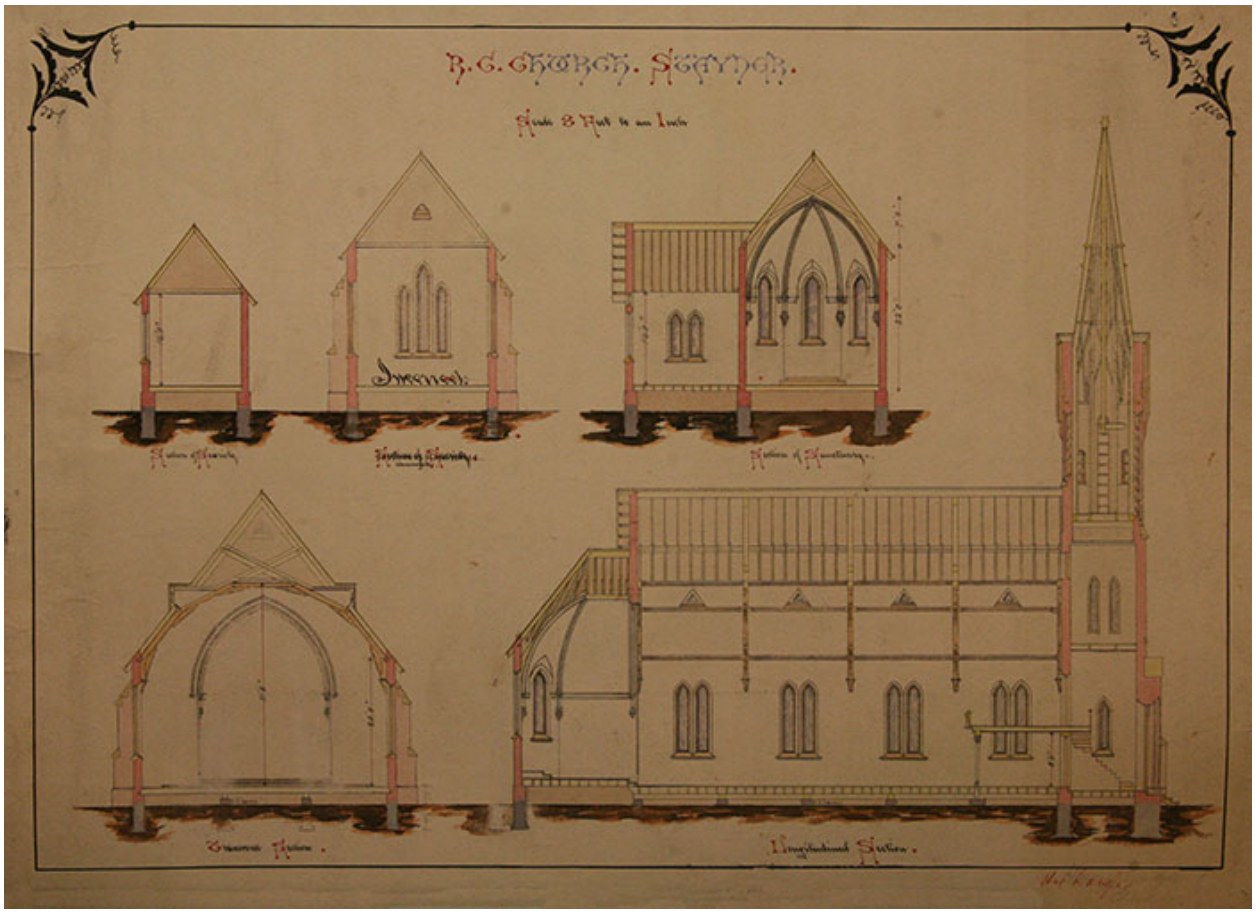


Fig. 4.37. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Stayner, Ontario (1872); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Stayner*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.38. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Stayner, Ontario; southwest exterior.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Stayner*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

Fig. 4.39. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Stayner, Ontario (1872); drawing detail. Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Stayner, Front Eleveation*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.40. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Stayner, Ontario; tower detail.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Stayner; tower*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

Fig. 4.41. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Stayner, Ontario; porch detail.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Stayner; façade entrance*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

Fig. 4.42. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Stayner, Ontario; interior.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Stayner; interior*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

Fig. 4.43. St George's Anglican Church, Pickering Village, Ontario; interior.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Pickering Village; interior*. n.d. Ajax, Ontario.

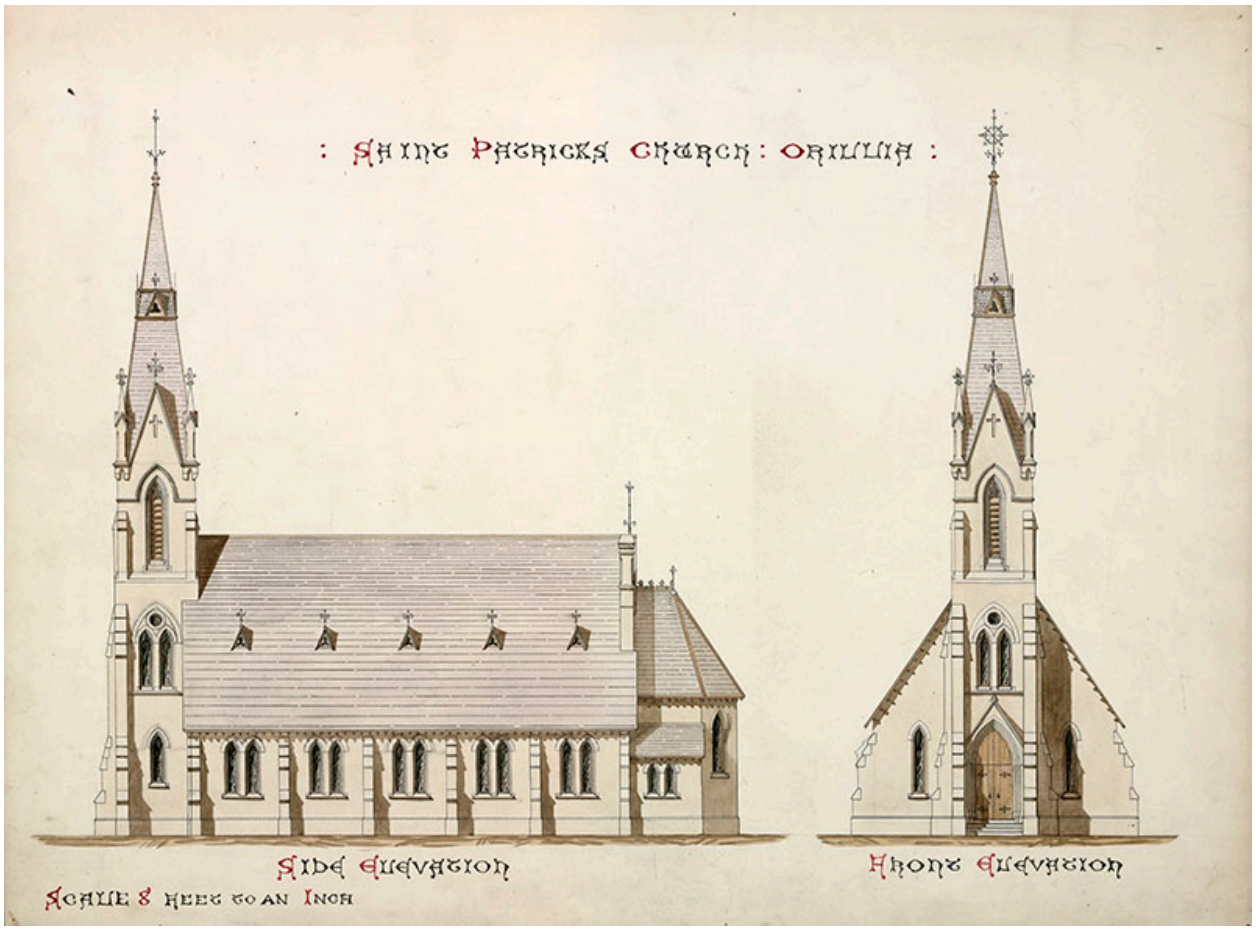


Fig. 4.44. Guardian Angels Catholic Church, Orillia, Ontario (c.1872); drawing. Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Saint Patrick's Church, Orillia*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.45. Guardian Angels Catholic Church, Orillia, Ontario (c.1872); archival photograph. Henry Langley, architect

Image courtesy of Guardian Angels Church, Orillia, Ontario

Church of Angel's Guardian, Orillia, Ont. n.d. Guardian Angels Church, Orillia, ON. 2009.

Fig. 4.46. Assumption Roman Catholic Church, Windsor, Ontario.

Crisco 1492. *Exterior (main Church), Our Lady of the Assumption, Windsor, Ontario*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 9 Jan. 2015. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Exterior_(main_church),_Our_Lady_of_the_Assumption,_Windsor,_Ontario.jpg>.

Fig. 4.47. The Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Guelph, Ontario (1877). Joseph Connolly, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *The Church of Our Lady, Guelph; façade*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 4.48. St Anne's Roman Catholic Church, Penetanguishene (c.1886-1902).

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Catholic Church, Penetanguishene; exterior*. n.d. Penetanguishene, Ontario.

Fig. 4.49. St Mary's Catholic Church, Wilno, Ontario (1836).

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Mary's, Wilno; exterior*. n.d. Wilno, Ontario.

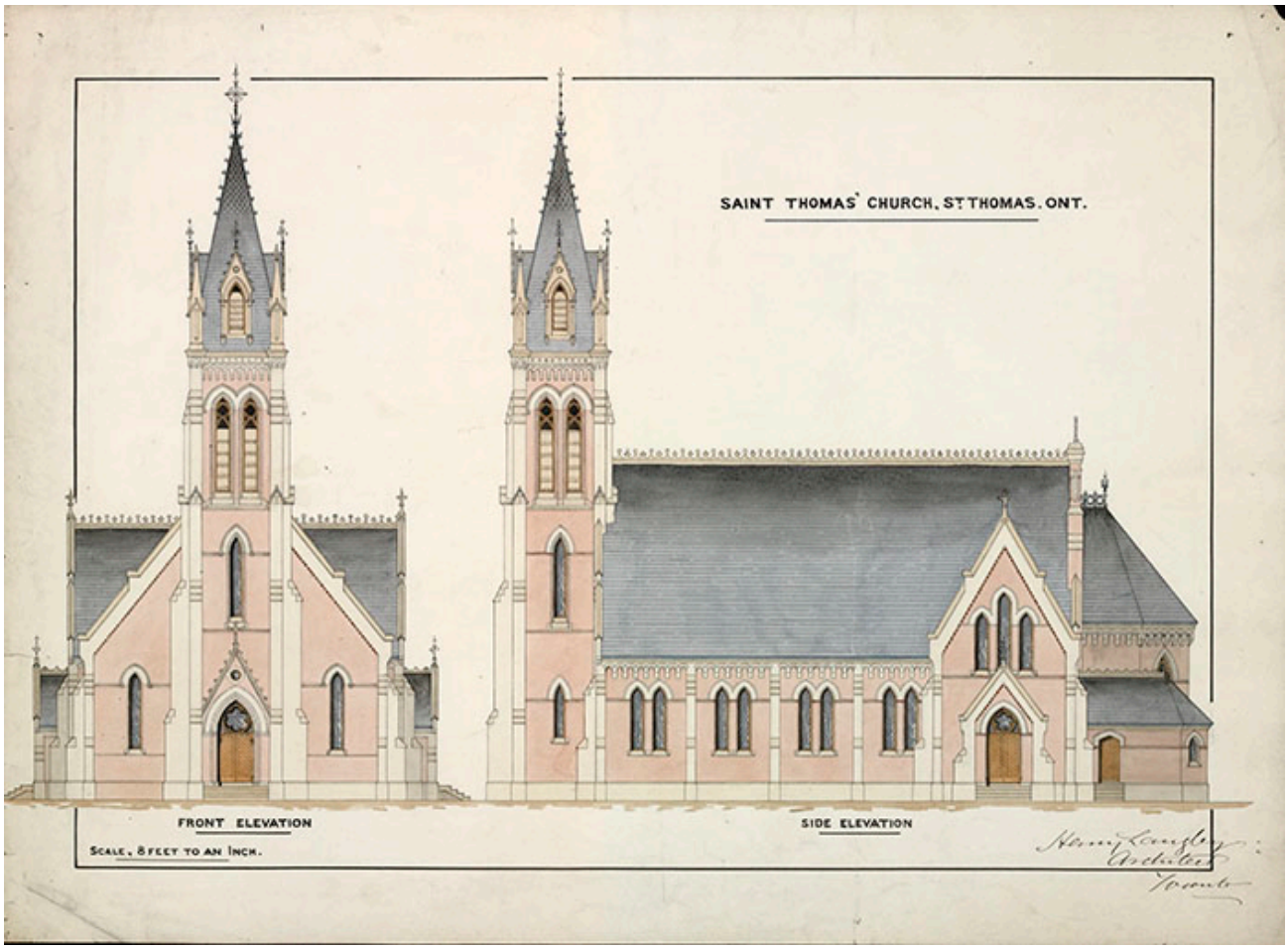


Fig. 4.50. Church of the Holy Angels, St. Thomas, Ontario; drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Saint Thomas' Church, St. Thomas, Ont.* n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.51. Church of the Holy Angels, St. Thomas, Ontario (dem.).
Henry Langley, architect

Image courtesy of the St. Thomas Public Library, St. Thomas, Ontario.

Church of the Holy Angels. n.d. St. Thomas Public Library, St. Thomas, ON. n.d.

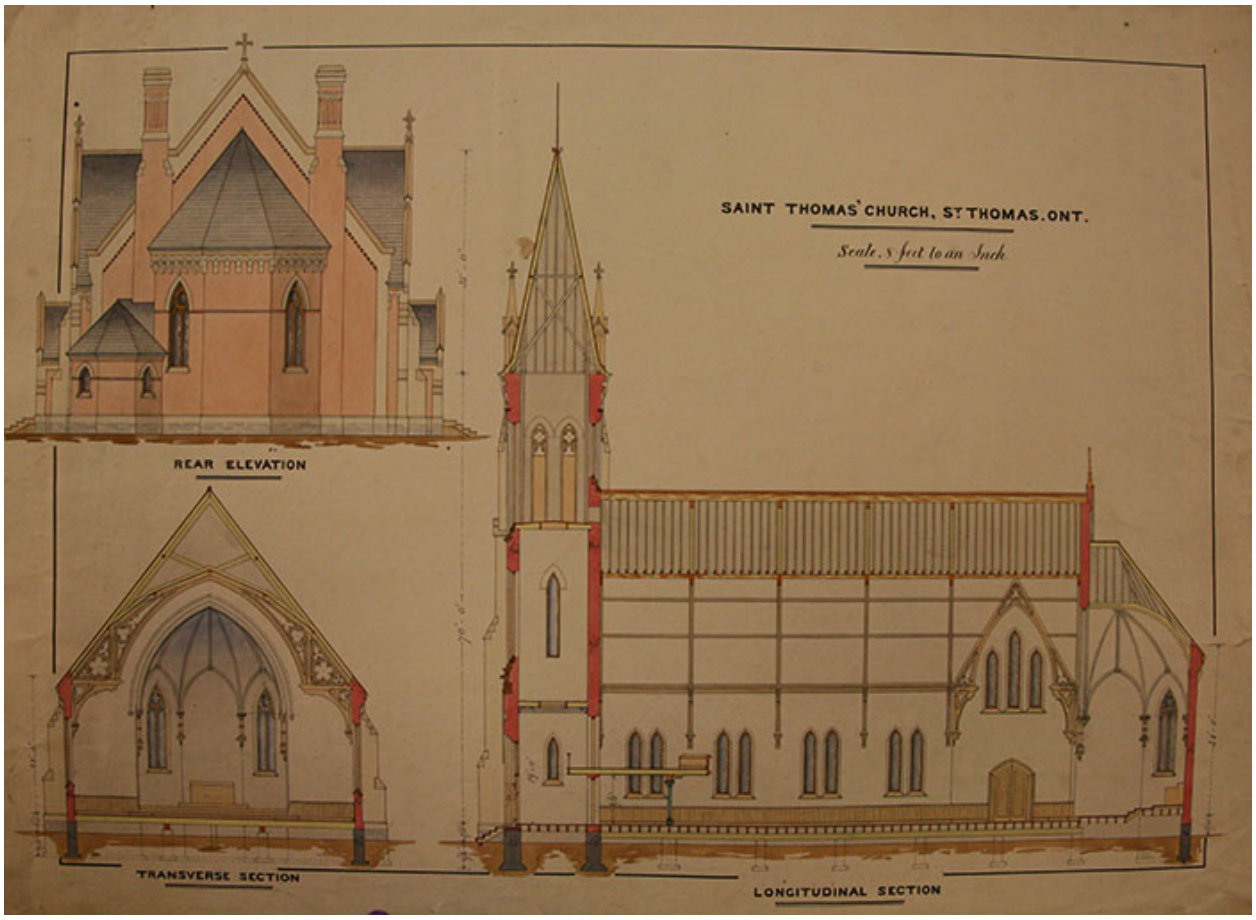


Fig. 4.52. Church of the Holy Angels, St. Thomas, Ontario; drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Saint Thomas' Church, St. Thomas, Ont.* n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 4.53. St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario (1868); interior.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster*. 2007. Ancaster, Ontario.

Fig. 4.54. St Basil's Roman Catholic Church, Toronto, Ontario; interior.
William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of St Michael's College Archives, Toronto, Ontario

St. Basil's Church. n.d. St Michael's University Archives. University of Toronto, Toronto, ON.

Fig. 4.55. St John Chrysostom, Newmarket, Ontario (1873) (dem.); archival photograph. Henry Langley, architect

Image courtesy of St John Chrysostom Catholic Church, Newmarket, Ontario

St John Chrysostom, Newmarket. n.d. St. John Chrysostom Church Archives, Newmarket, ON.

Fig. 4.56. Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (1875); exterior.
Langley, Langley, and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste Marie*. 2007-8. Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

Fig. 4.57. Paroisse Sainte-Croix, Lafontaine, Ontario (1875); façade.
Langley, Langley, and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Lafontaine Church*. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

Fig. 4.58. Paroisse Sainte-Croix, Lafontaine, Ontario (1875); tower detail. Langley, Langley, and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Lafontaine Church; spire*. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

Fig. 4.59. Paroisse Sainte-Croix, Lafontaine, Ontario (1875); tympanum window detail. Langley, Langley, and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. Lafontaine Church; tympanum. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

Fig. 4.60. Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (1875); exterior.
Langley, Langley, and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste Marie*. 2007-8. Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

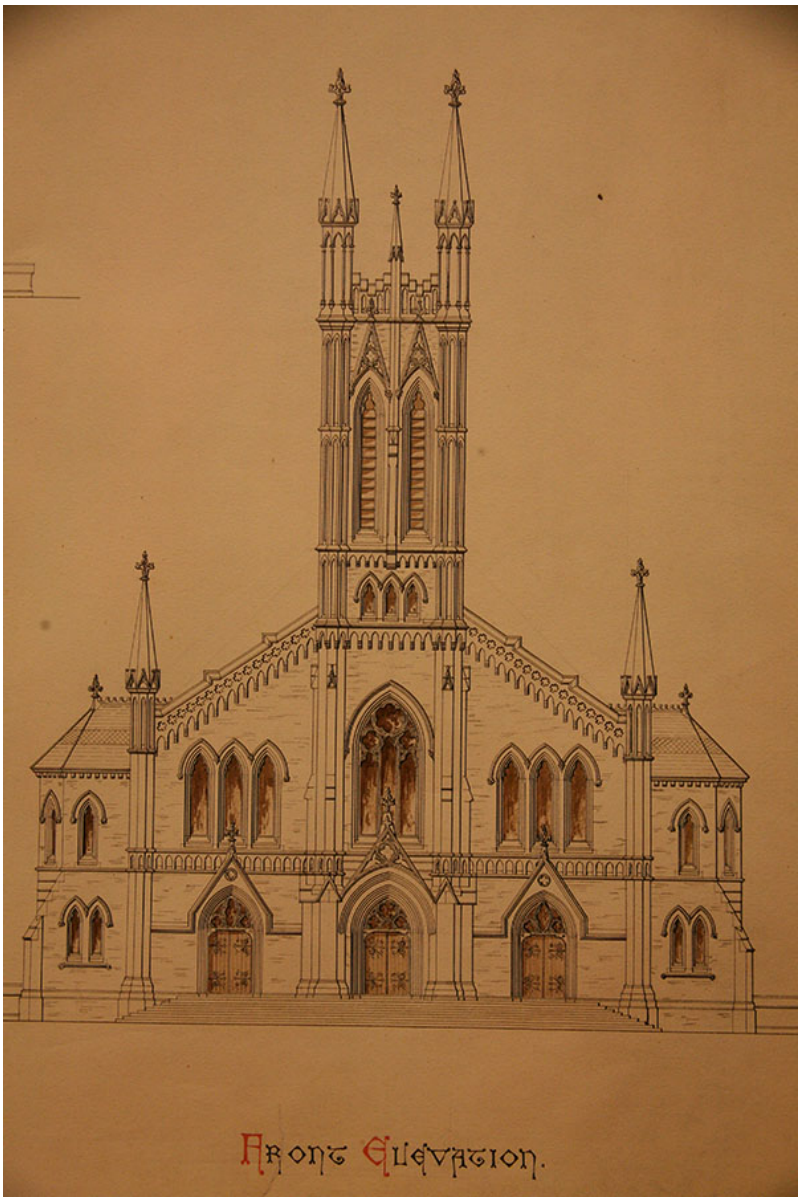


Fig. 4.61. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1869-70); drawing. Henry Langley, architect

Image courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Front Elevation*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 4.62. Paroisse Sainte-Croix, Lafontaine, Ontario (1875); interior.
Langley, Langley, and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Lafontaine Church; interior*. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

Fig. 5.1. Notre Dame Basilica, Montreal, Quebec.

Image courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Notre Dame Roman Catholic Church, Montreal, Quebec. n.d. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 5.2. Holy Trinity Church, Georgetown, PEI (1839).

Image courtesy of PEI Archives and Records Office; Acc. 2841/44

Georgetown - Trinity Church. n.d. Photograph. PEI Public Archives and Records Office.

Fig. 5.3. Old St Thomas Church, St Thomas, Ontario (1824); façade.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Old St Thomas Church, St Thomas, ON*. 2013. St Thomas, Ontario.

Fig. 5.4. Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids, Ontario (1831-34); façade.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids*. 2012. Burritt's Rapids, Ontario.

Fig. 5.5. Oldridge Chapel, Devon (1841-43); southwest elevation.
John Medley, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Oldridge Chapel, Devon*. n.d. Whitestone, Devon.

Fig. 5.6. Oldridge Chapel, Devon (1841-43); interior.
John Medley, architect

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Oldridge Chapel, Devon*. n.d. Whitestone, Devon.

Fig. 5.7. St Anne's Chapel, Fredericton, New Brunswick.
Frank Wills, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Chapel, Fredericton - west end*. 2015. Fredericton, New Brunswick.

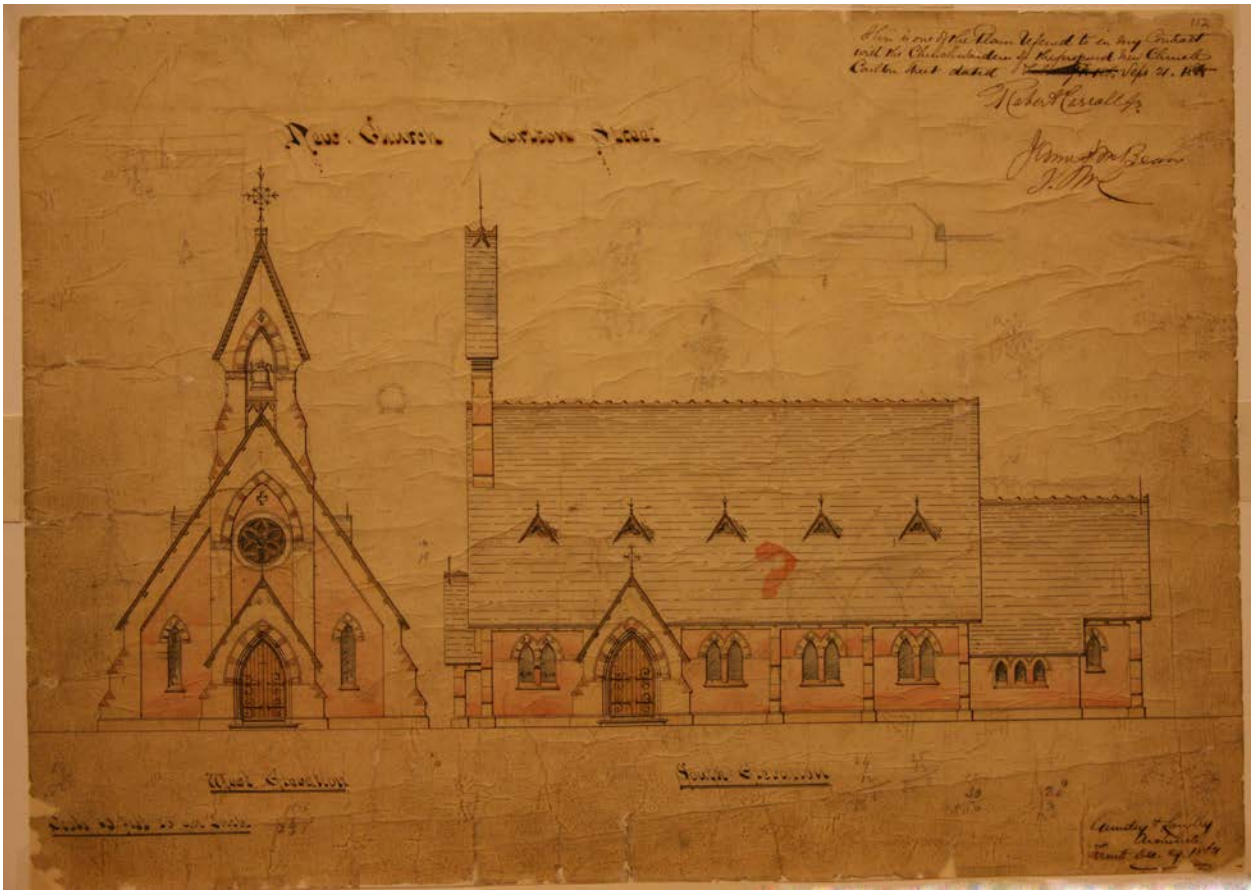


Fig. 5.8. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto; drawing of West and South Elevations. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 5.9. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario; façade.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

Fig. 5.10. St Michael’s, Longstanton; façade.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Michael’s, Longstanton*. 2013. Longstanton, Ontario.

Fig. 5.11. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario; south elevation.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto; southeast elevation*. n.d. Toronto.

Fig. 5.12. St Michael’s, Longstanton; southwest elevation.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Michael’s, Longstanton; southwest elevation*. 2013. Longstanton, Ontario.

Fig. 5.13. St Anne's Episcopal Church, Coupar Angus, Scotland.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Church, Coupar Angus*. 2012. Coupar Angus, Scotland.

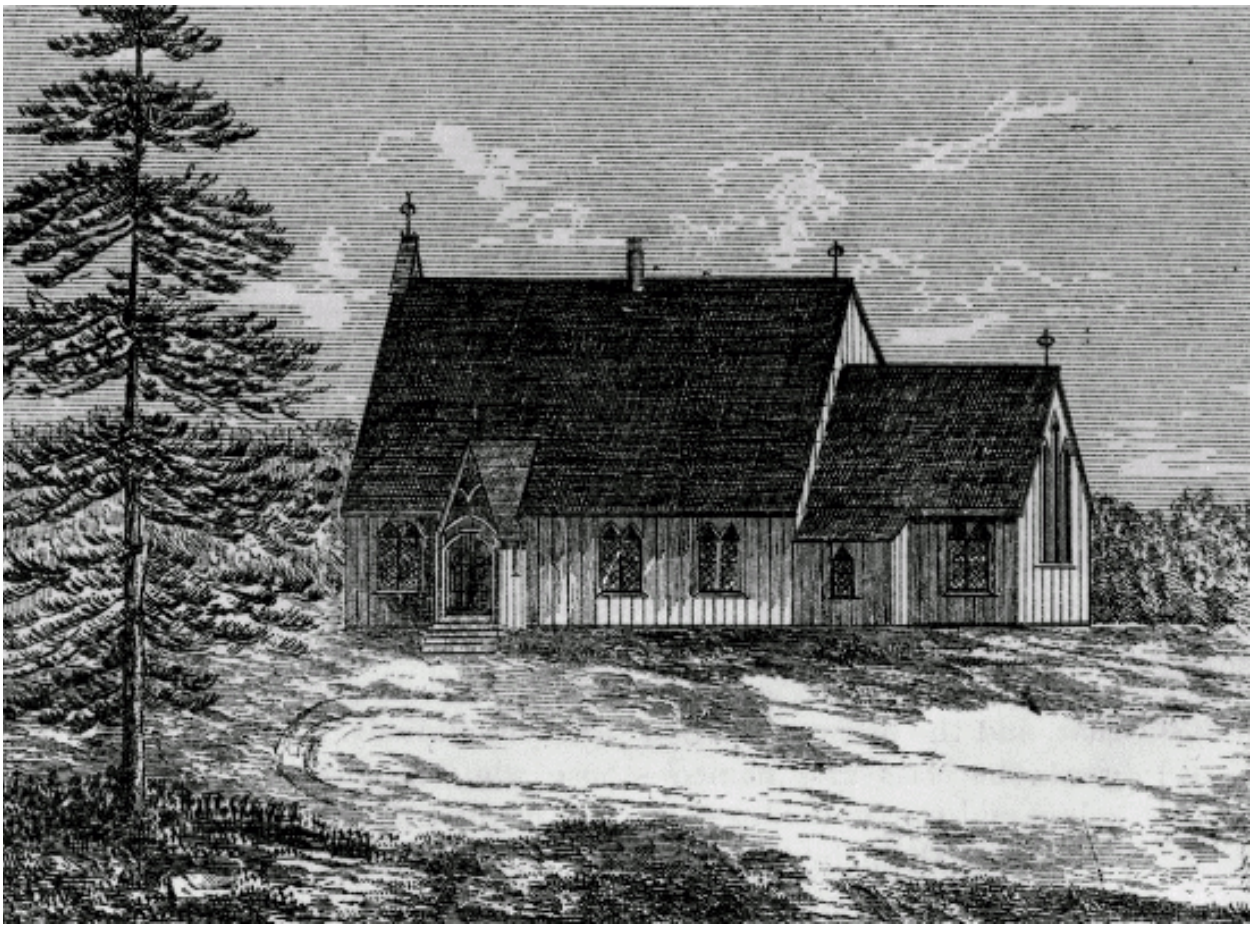


Fig. 5.14. St Paul's Anglican Church, Southampton, Ontario (1861).
William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of: *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. V, No. 14, Page 213.

Reproduced from Library and Archives Canada's website Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News.

"St Paul's Church, Southampton, Ont." *Canadian Illustrated News* 5.13 (1872): 213. Rpt. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web.
< http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06230>.

Fig. 5.15. Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah; southwest elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah; southwest elevation*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

Fig. 5.16. St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village, Ontario; north elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering Village; south elevation*. n.d. Ajax, Ontario.

Fig. 5.17. All Saints, Margaret Street, London, England (1850-59); south elevation. William Butterfield, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Margaret Street, London*. 2012. London, England.

Fig. 5.18. St James the Less, Pimlico, London, England (1861).
George Edmund Street, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St James the Less, Pimlico*. 2013. London, England.

Fig. 5.19. St Barnabas Church, Horton-cum-Studley, England (1867); southeast elevation. William Butterfield, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Barnabas Church, Horton-cum-Studley*. 2013. Horton-cum-Studley, England.

Fig. 5.20. Christ Church, Smannell, England (1856).
William White, architect

Bates, Colin. *Christ Church, Smannell*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 13 March 2006. Web. 17 June 2015. < https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smannell#/media/File:Christ_Church,_Smannell_-_geograph.org.uk_-_156691.jpg>.

Fig. 5.21. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario; interior.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto; interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

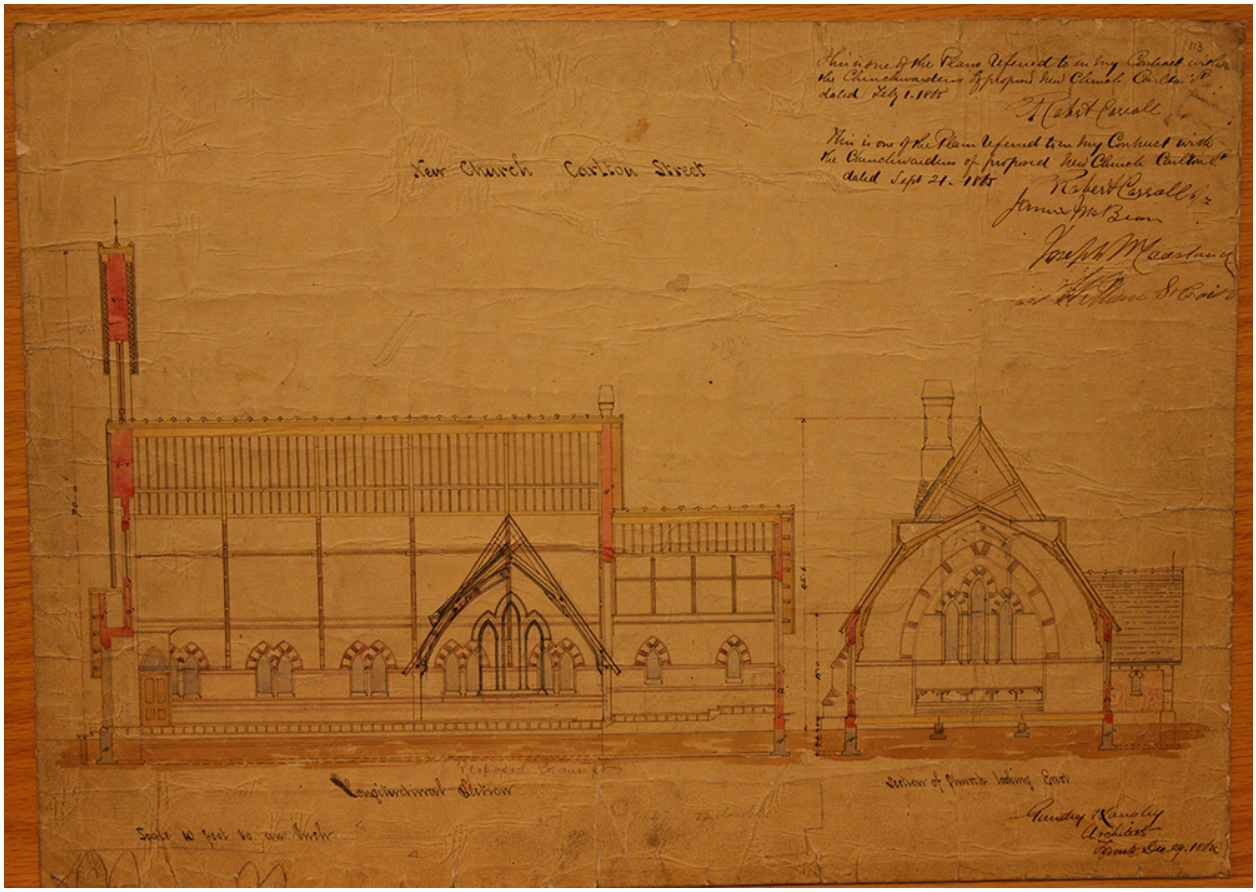


Fig. 5.22. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto; drawing of longitudinal section and chancel section.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 5.23. St Barnabas Church, Horton-cum-Studley, England (1867); interior.
William Butterfield, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Barnabas Church, Horton-cum-Studley; interior*. 2013. Horton-cum-Studley, England.

Fig. 5.24. St Mary Magdalene Church, Paddington, London, England (1866-67); interior. George Edmund Street, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Mary Magdalene Church, Paddington, London*. 2013. London, England.

Fig. 5.25. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario; archival photograph taken after 1905.

Photo courtesy of St Peter's Anglican Church Archives.

St Peter's Church, Toronto - archival photo. n.d. Photograph. St Peter's Anglican Church Archives.

Fig. 5.26. St Lawrence, Tubney; chancel interior.
A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Lawrence, Tubney; chancel*. 2013. Tubney, England.

Fig. 5.27. St Giles, Cheadle; chancel interior.
A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Giles, Cheadle; chancel*. 2013. Cheadle, England.

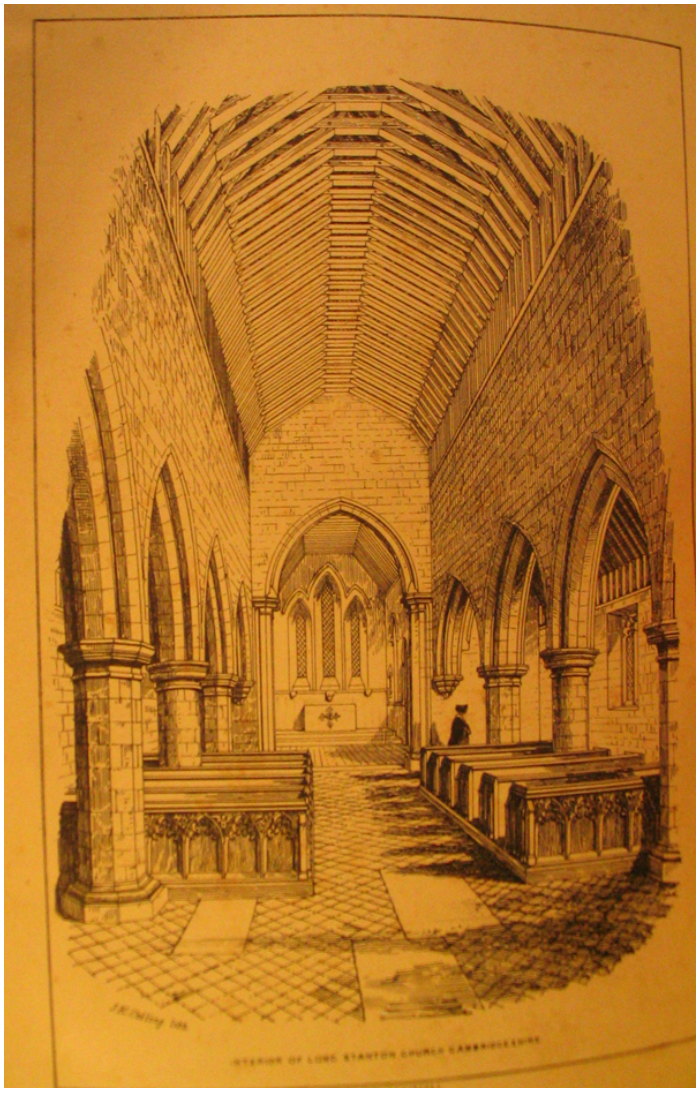


Fig. 5.28. “Interior of Long Stanton Church Cambridgeshire” published in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon’s, *Parish Churches: being perspective views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions* (1848).

Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. “Interior of Long Stanton Church Cambridgeshire.” *Parish Churches: being perspective views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions*. London: George Bell (1848), n.pag.

Fig. 5.29. All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls; NE elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Fig. 5.30. St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village, Ontario (1858); east elevation. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering Village; southeast elevation*. n.d. Ajax, Ontario.

Fig. 5.31. St Luke's Anglican Church, Vienna, Ontario (1860); interior.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Luke's Church, Vienna; interior*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

Fig. 5.32. Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, Ontario; northeast elevation.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah; northeast*. East Zorrah, Ontario.

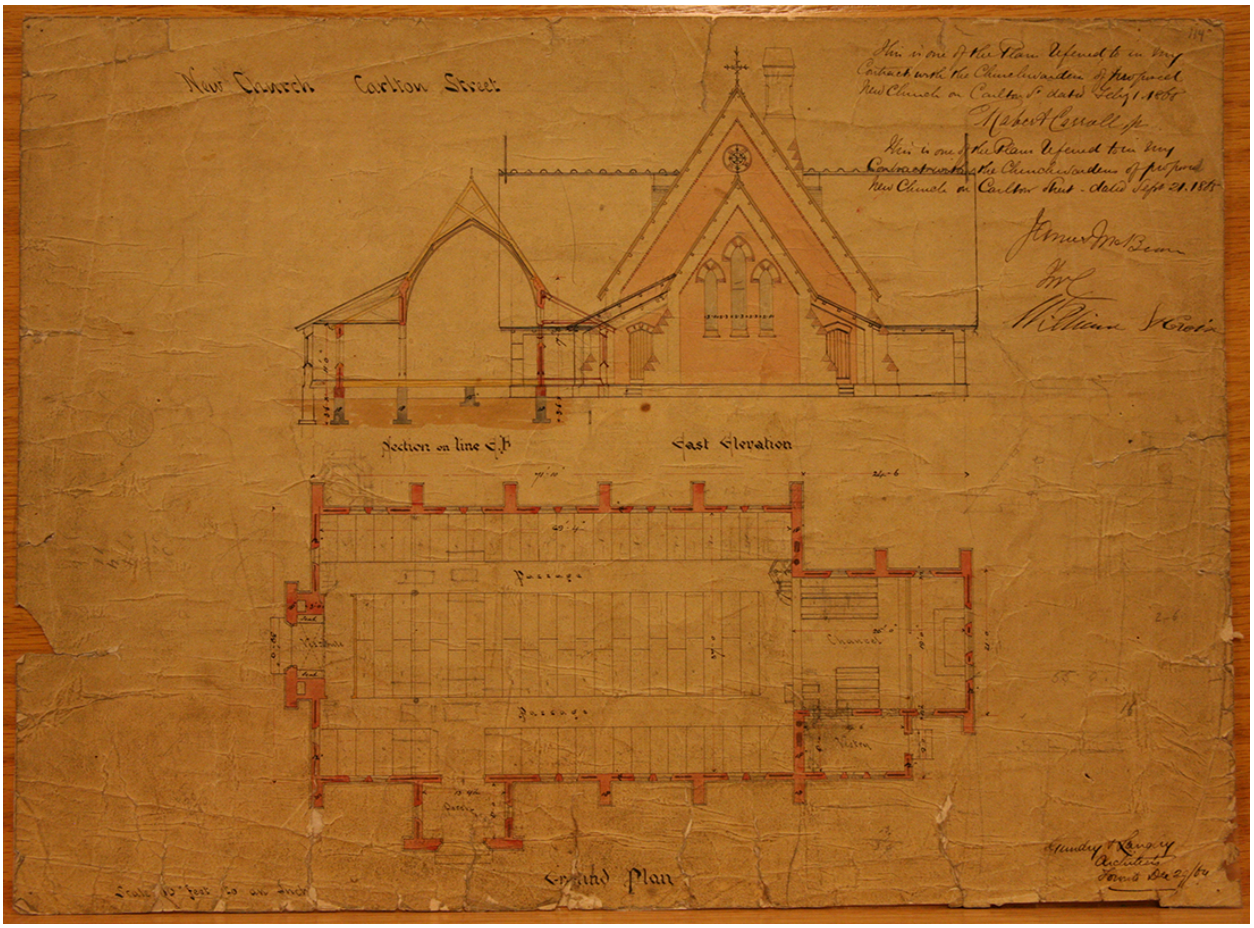


Fig. 5.33. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto; plan.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 5.34. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario; archival photograph taken between 1872- 1905.

Photo courtesy of St Peter's Anglican Church Archives.

St Peter's Church, Toronto - archival photo. n.d. Photograph. St Peter's Anglican Church Archives.

Fig. 5.35. Old St Thomas Church, St Thomas, Ontario (1824); interior.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Old St Thomas Anglican Church*. 2013. St. Thomas, Ontario.

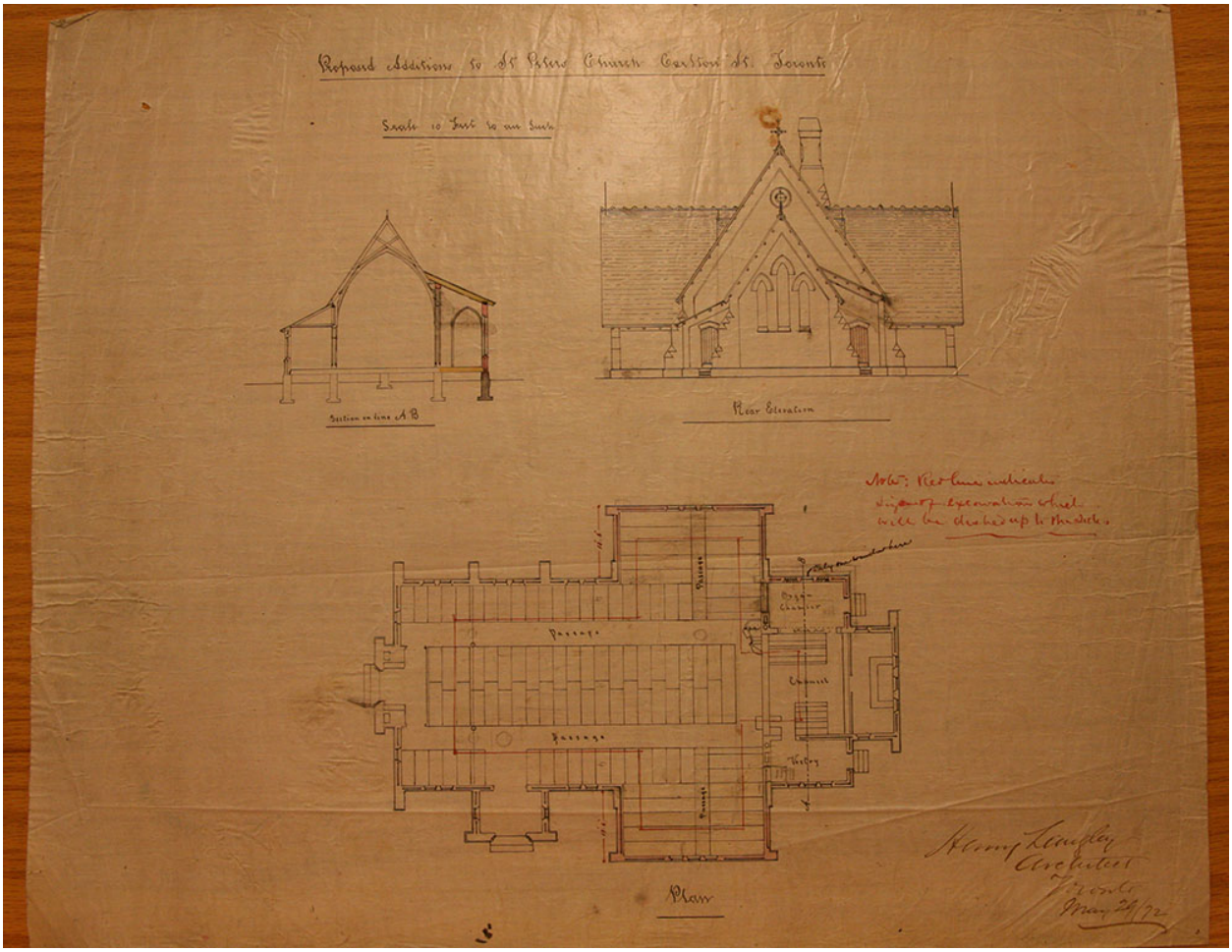


Fig. 5.36. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto; plan for transept addition.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Proposed Addition to St Peter's Church Carleton St Toronto*. 1872. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

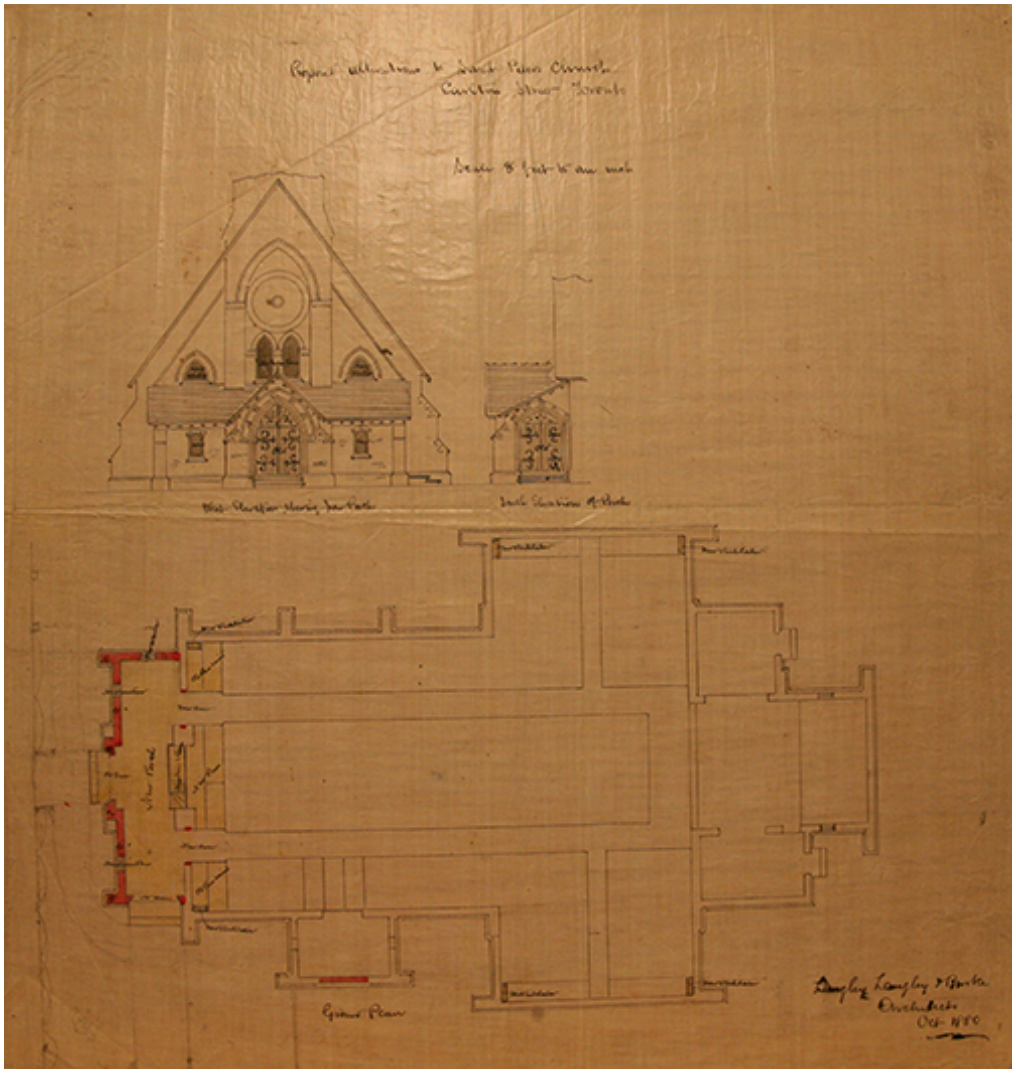


Fig. 5.37. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto; plan for porch addition.
Langley, Langley & Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Proposed Additions to Saint Peter's Church Carleton Street Toronto*. 1880. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

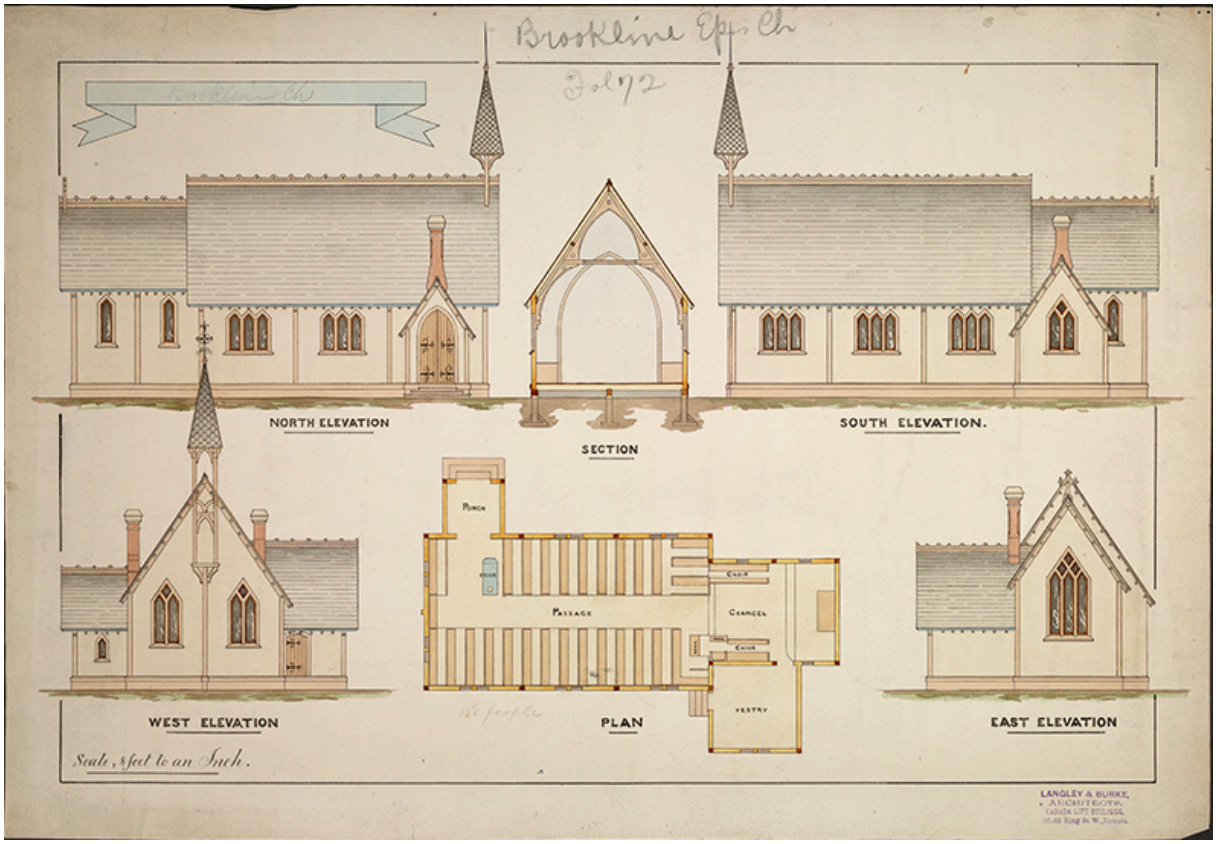


Fig. 5.38. St Thomas Anglican Church, Brooklin; drawing.
Langley & Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley and Burke. *Brooklin Ch*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 5.39. St Thomas Anglican Church, Brooklin; west façade.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church, Brooklin*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

Fig. 5.40. St Thomas Anglican Church, Brooklin; northeast exterior.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church Brooklin; northeast*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

Fig. 5.41. St John the Evangelist Church (The Garrison Church), Toronto, Ontario.
William Hay, architect

Image courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Fuller and Bencke. *Church of St, John the Evangelist, Toronto*. 1859. Lithograph. 942-3 Cab II. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 5.42. St Thomas Anglican Church, Brooklin; interior looking east.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church, Brooklin; interior*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

Fig. 5.43. St Thomas Anglican Church, Brooklin; interior looking west.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church, Brooklin; interior looking west*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

Fig. 5.44. Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, Ontario; interior looking east.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah; interior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

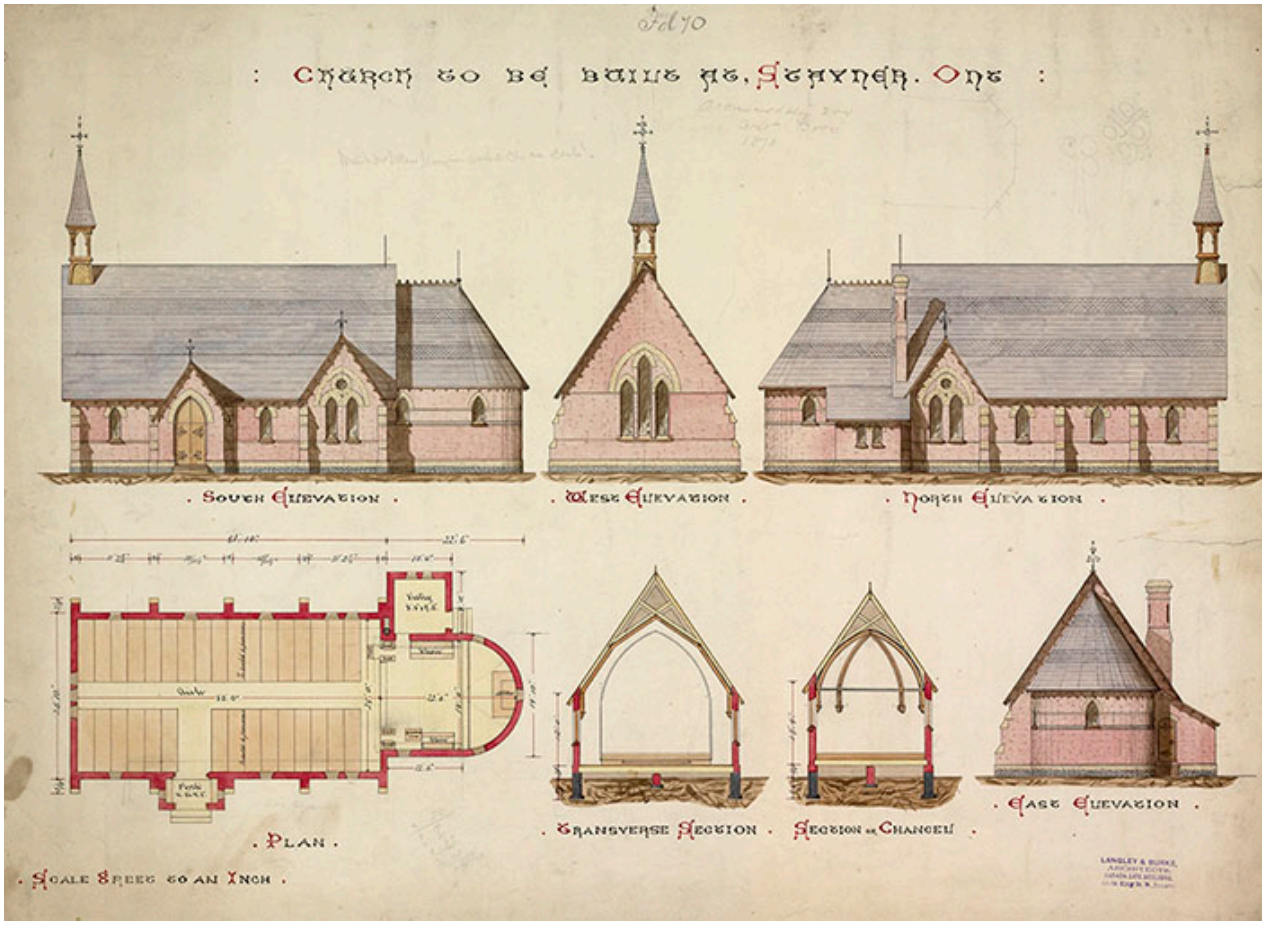


Fig. 5.45. St Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; drawing.
Langley & Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley and Burke. *Church to be Built at Stayner, Ont*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 5.46. Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; northwest exterior.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

Fig. 5.47. St Mary Magdalene Church, Flaunden, Hertfordshire (1838).
George Gilbert Scott, architect

Photo courtesy of Hertfordshire Churches in Photographs

St Mary Magdalene, Flaunden. Digital image. *Hertfordshire Churches in Photographs*. Word Press, 10 May 2015. Web. 22 July 2015. <https://hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/flaunden_st_mary_magdalene090514_22.jpg>.

Fig. 5.48. Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; northeast exterior.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; northeast elevation*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

Fig. 5.49. Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; interior.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; interior*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

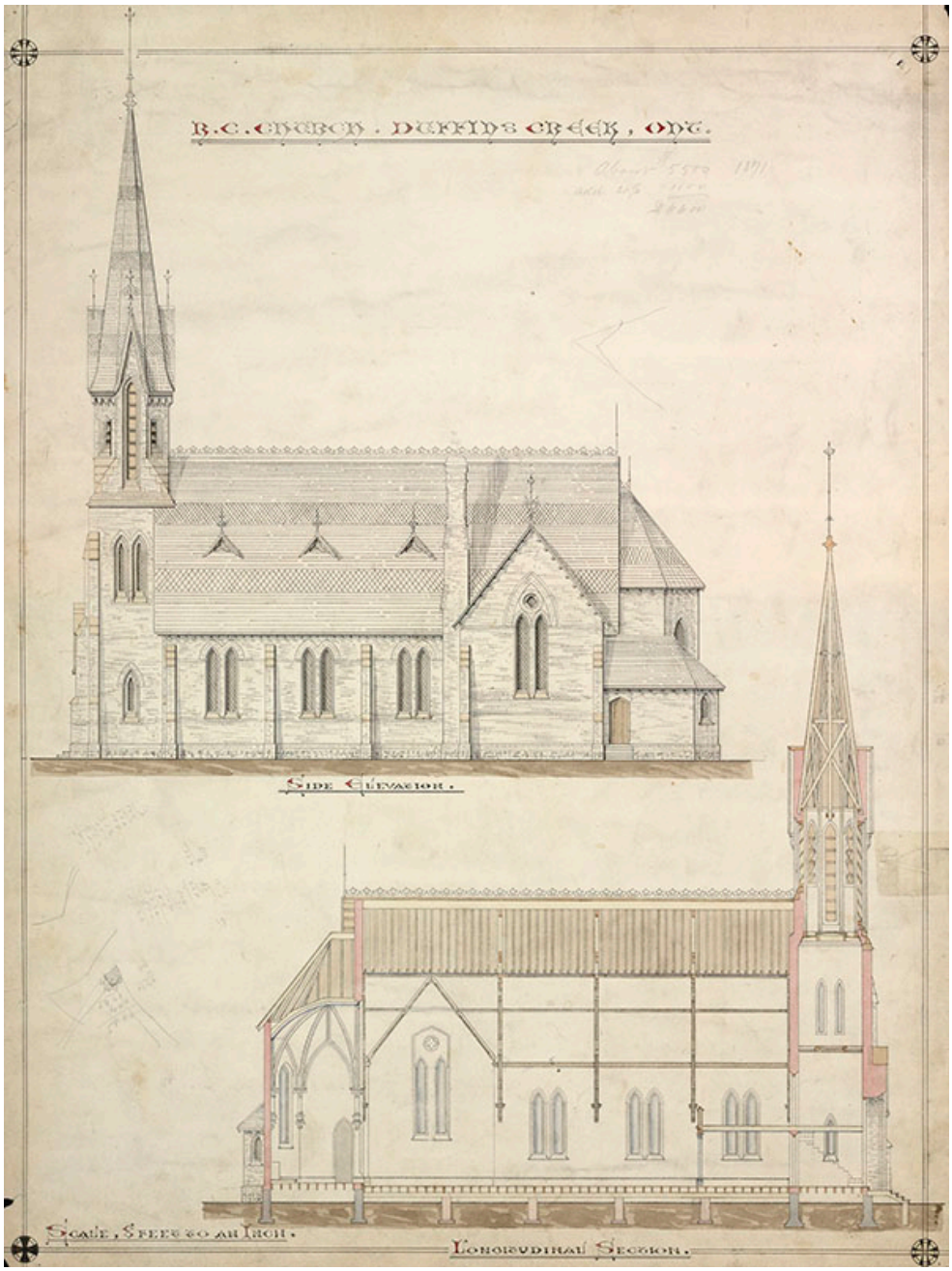


Fig. 5.50. St Frances de Sales Catholic Church, Pickering (Duffins Creek), Ontario (1870); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *RC Church Duffins Creek, Ont*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

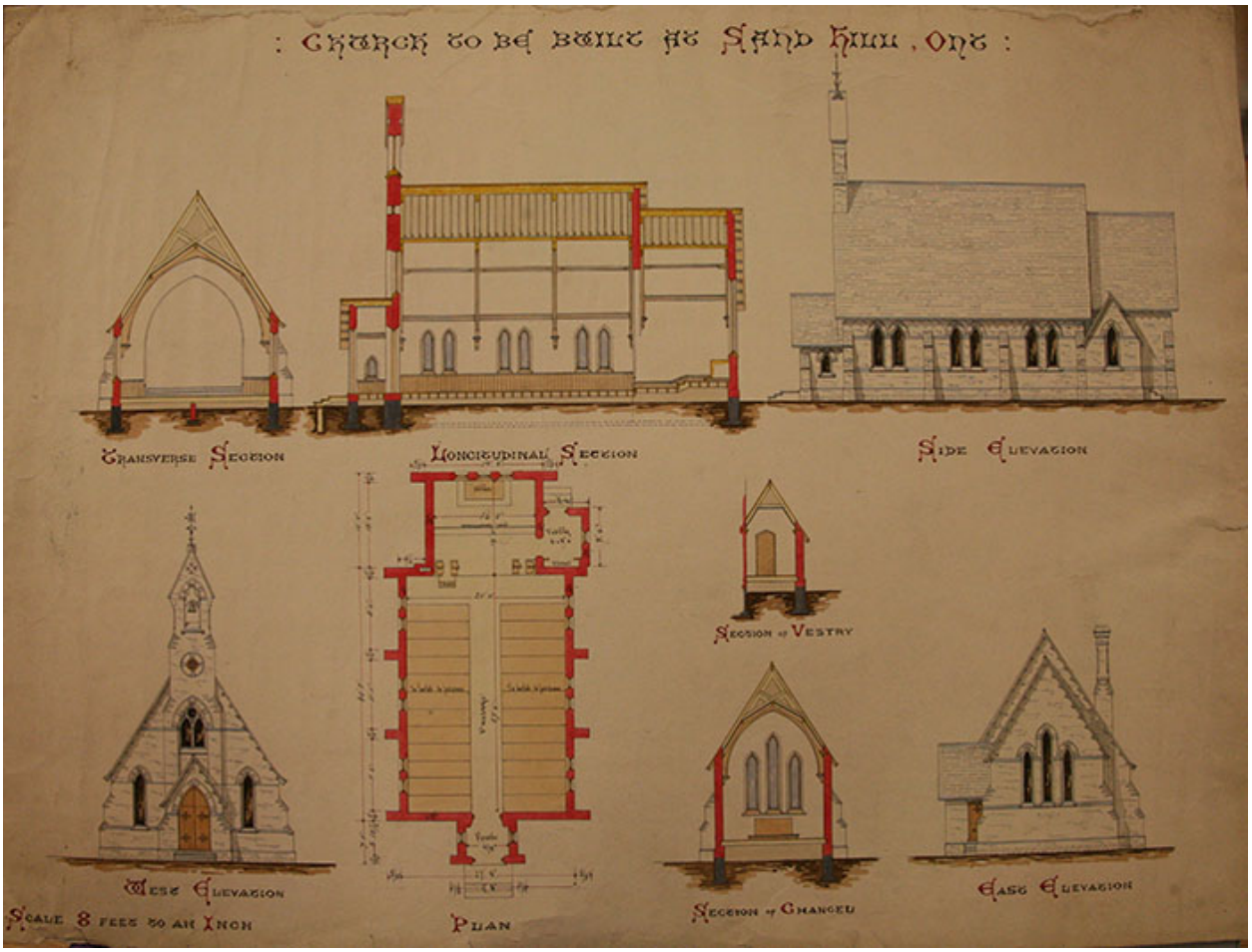


Fig. 5.51. St Mark's Anglican Church, Sandhill, Ontario (1885); drawing.
Langley & Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley and Burke. *Church to be Built at Sand Hill, Ont.* n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 5.52. St Mark's Anglican Church, Sandhill, Ontario (1885); façade.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Sandhill Church*. n.d. Sandhill, Ontario.

Fig. 5.53. St Mark's Anglican Church, Sandhill, Ontario (1885); interior.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Sandhill Church; interior*. n.d. Sandhill, Ontario.

Fig. 5.54. Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London, Ontario (1873); façade.
Langley, Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London; façade*. n.d. London, Ontario.

Fig. 5.55. Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London, Ontario (1873); general exterior. Langley, Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London; exterior*. n.d. London, Ontario.

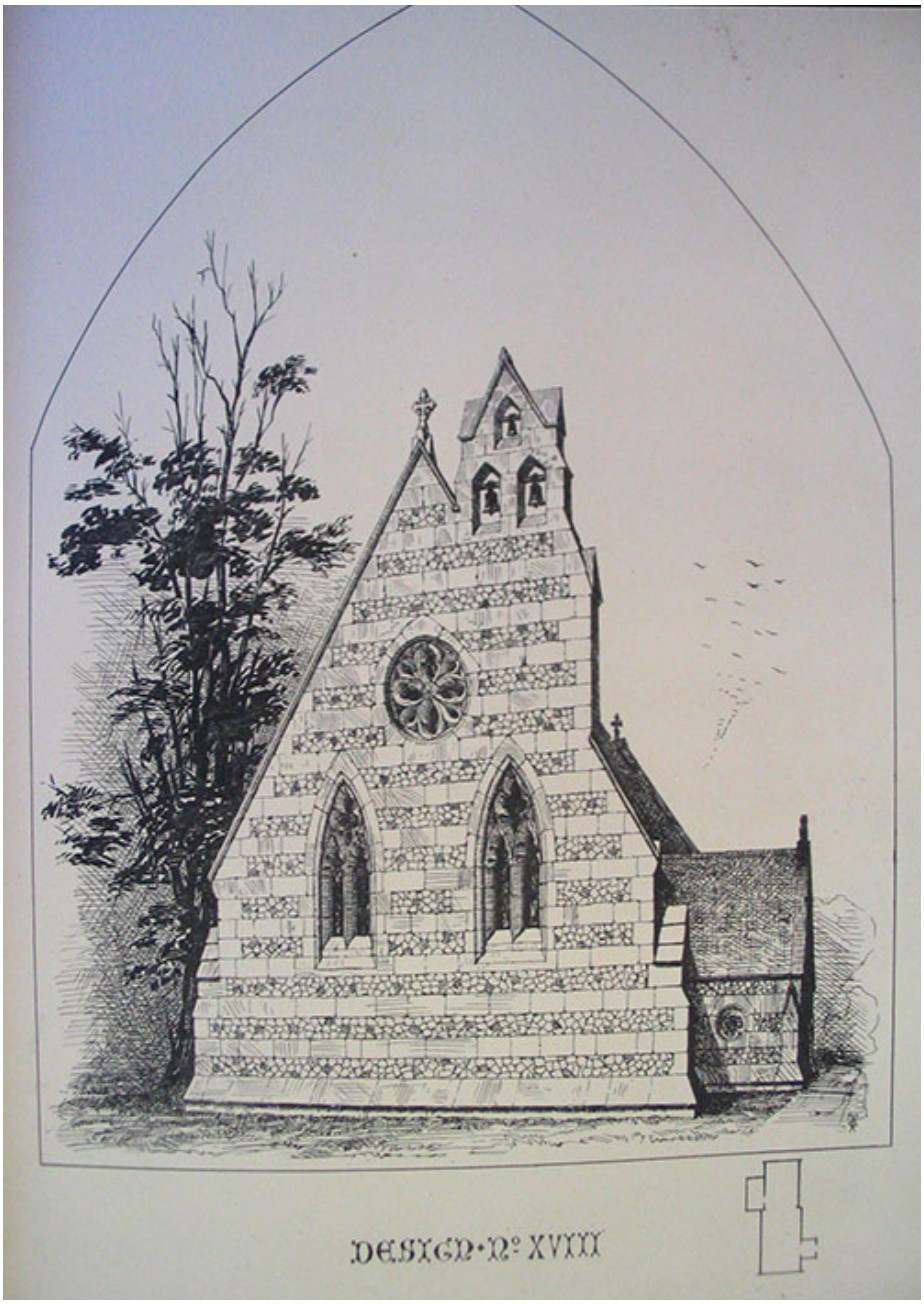


Fig. 5.56. “Design No. XVIII”, published in George Truefitt’s, *Designs for Country Churches* (1850).

Truefitt, George. “Design No. XVIII.” *Designs for Country Churches*. London: Joseph Masters (1850), n.pag.

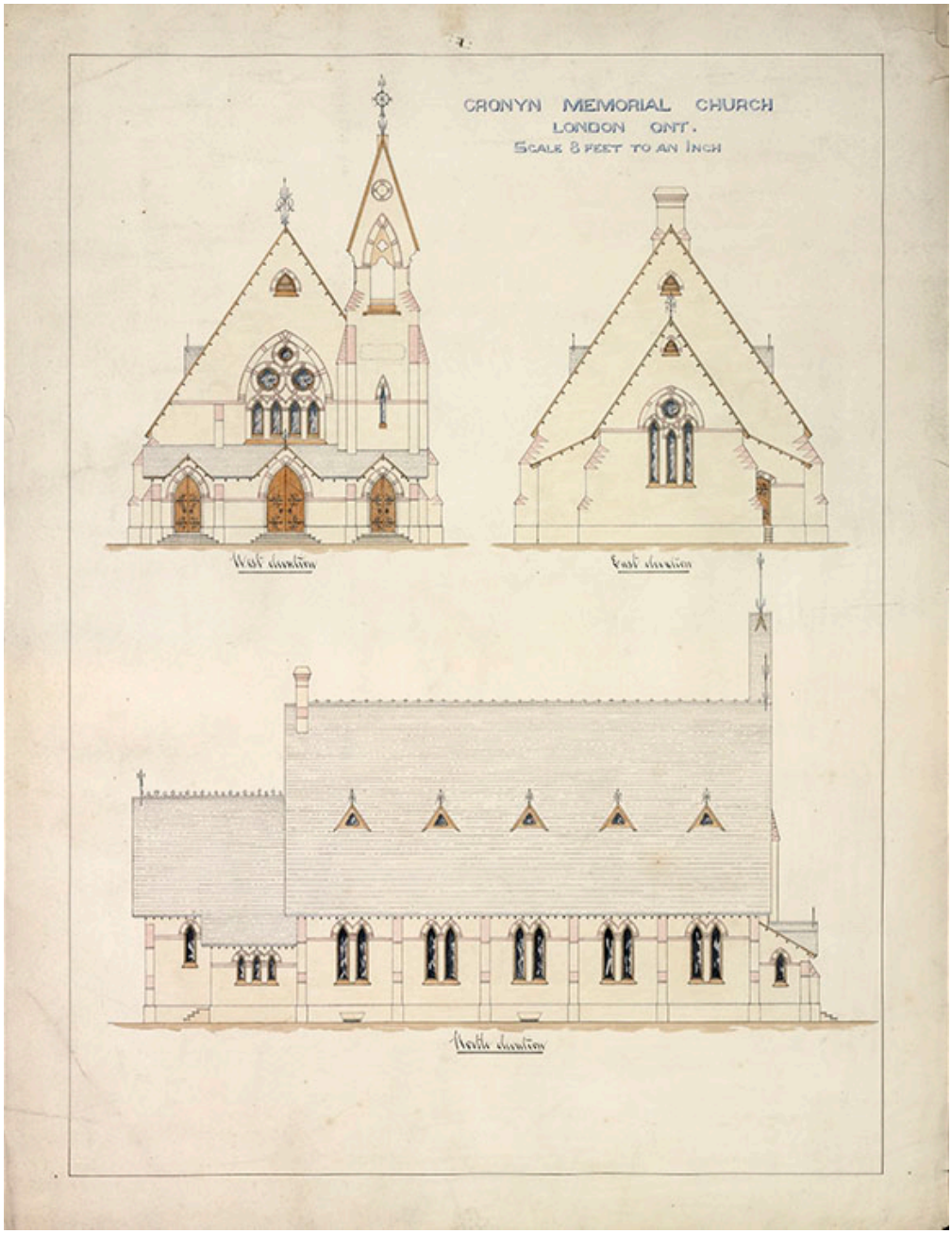


Fig. 5.57. Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London, Ontario (1873); drawing. Langley & Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley and Burke. *Cronyn Memorial Church London Ont.* n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 5.58. All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, Ontario (1865); façade.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby; façade*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

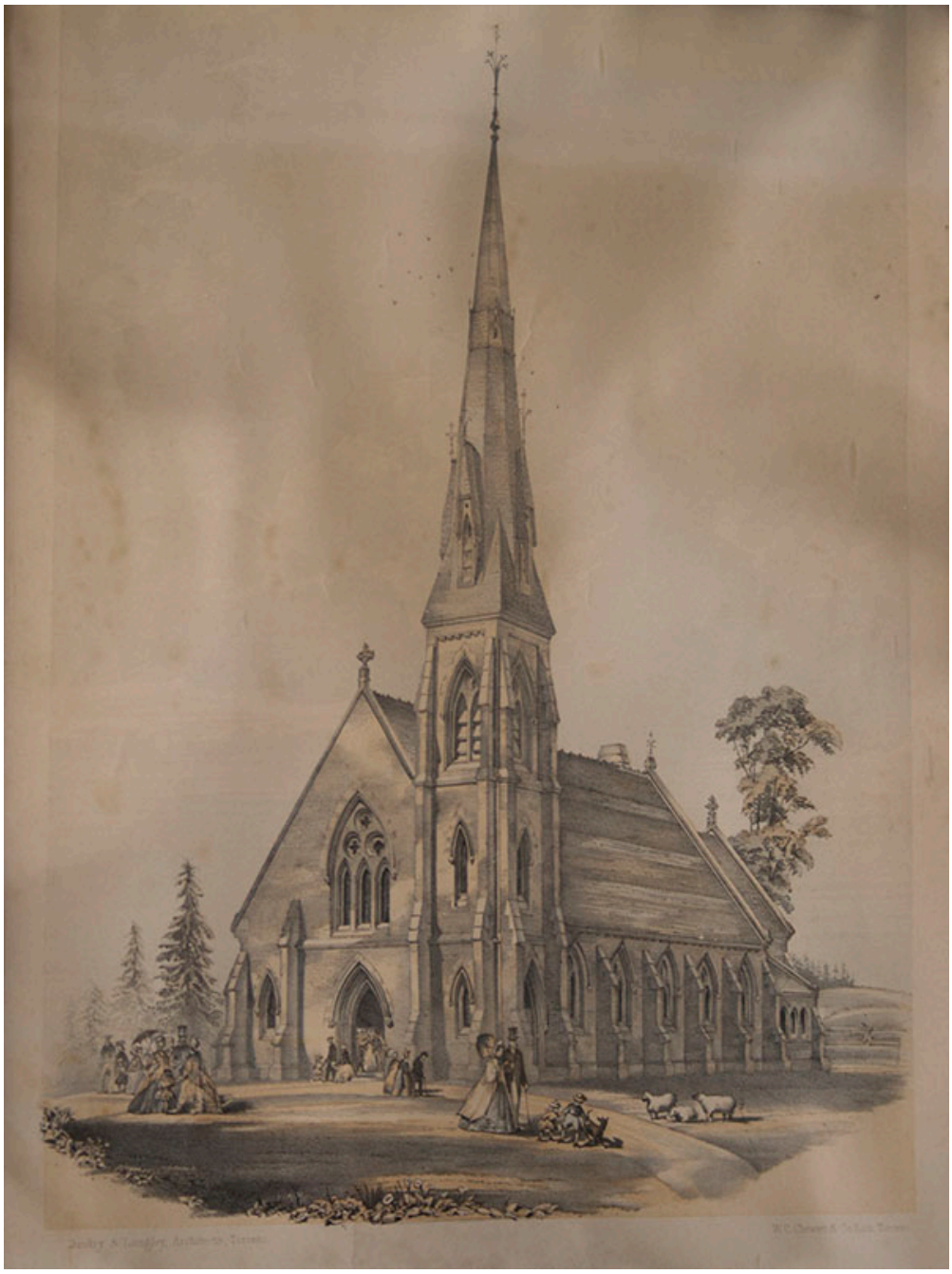


Fig. 5.59. All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, Ontario (1865); presentation sketch. Gundry & Langley, architects

Image courtesy of the Whitby Archives, Whitby, Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *All Saints Church, Whitby*. 1865. Architectural Presentation Sketch. Whitby Archives, Whitby, Ontario.

Fig. 5.60. “Contrasted Towns” from AWN Pugin’s, *Contrasts: or, a parallel between the noble edifices of the Middle Ages, and corresponding buildings of the present day: shewing the present decay of Taste. Accompanied by appropriate Text.*

Pugin, AWN. “Contrasted Towns.” *Contrasts: or, a parallel between the noble edifices of the Middle Ages, and corresponding buildings of the present day: shewing the present decay of Taste. Accompanied by appropriate Text. Contrasts and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. Ed. Timothy Brittain-Catlin. Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2003. Print.

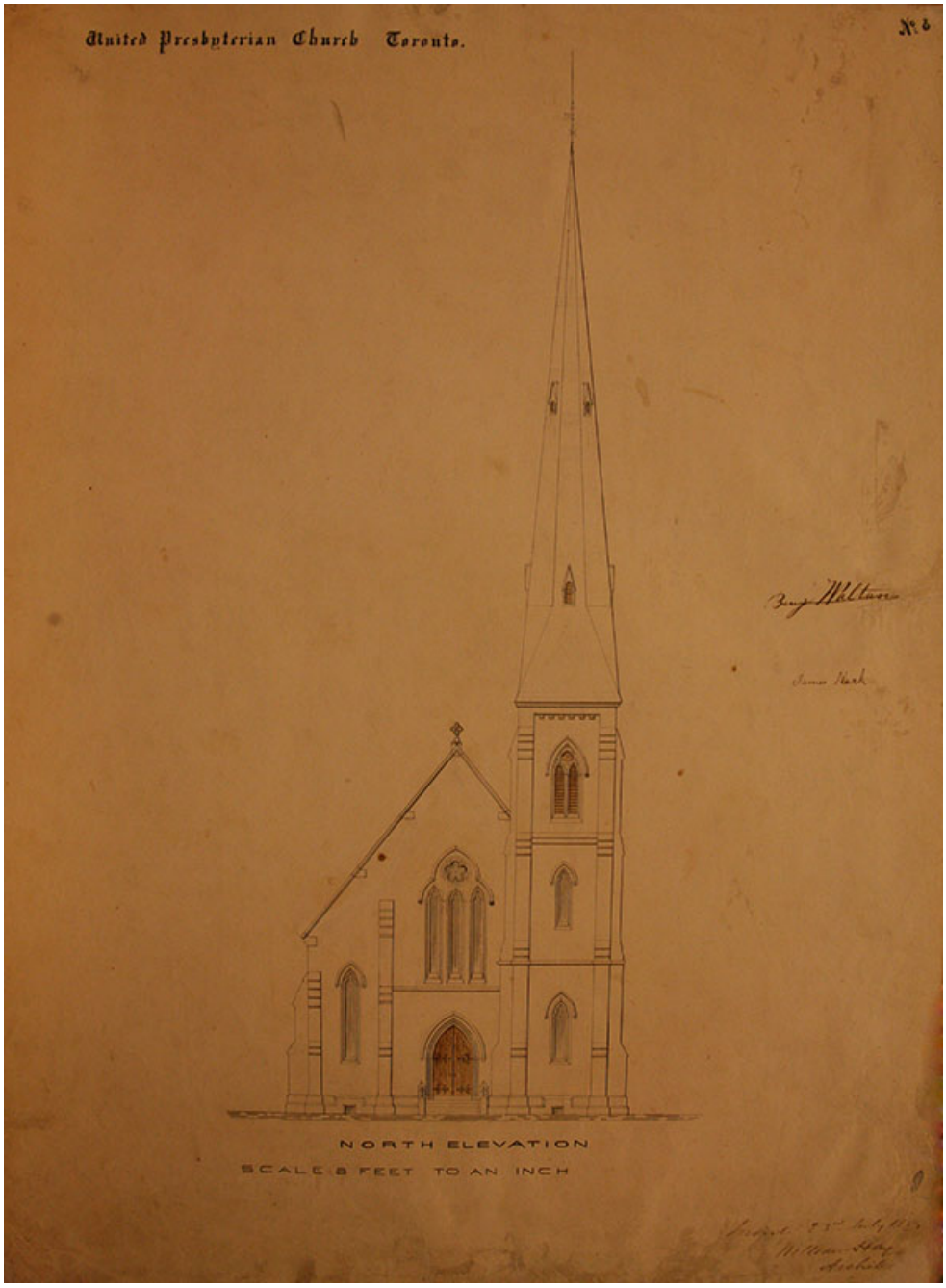


Fig. 5.61. Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Ontario; drawing of front elevation.
William Hay, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

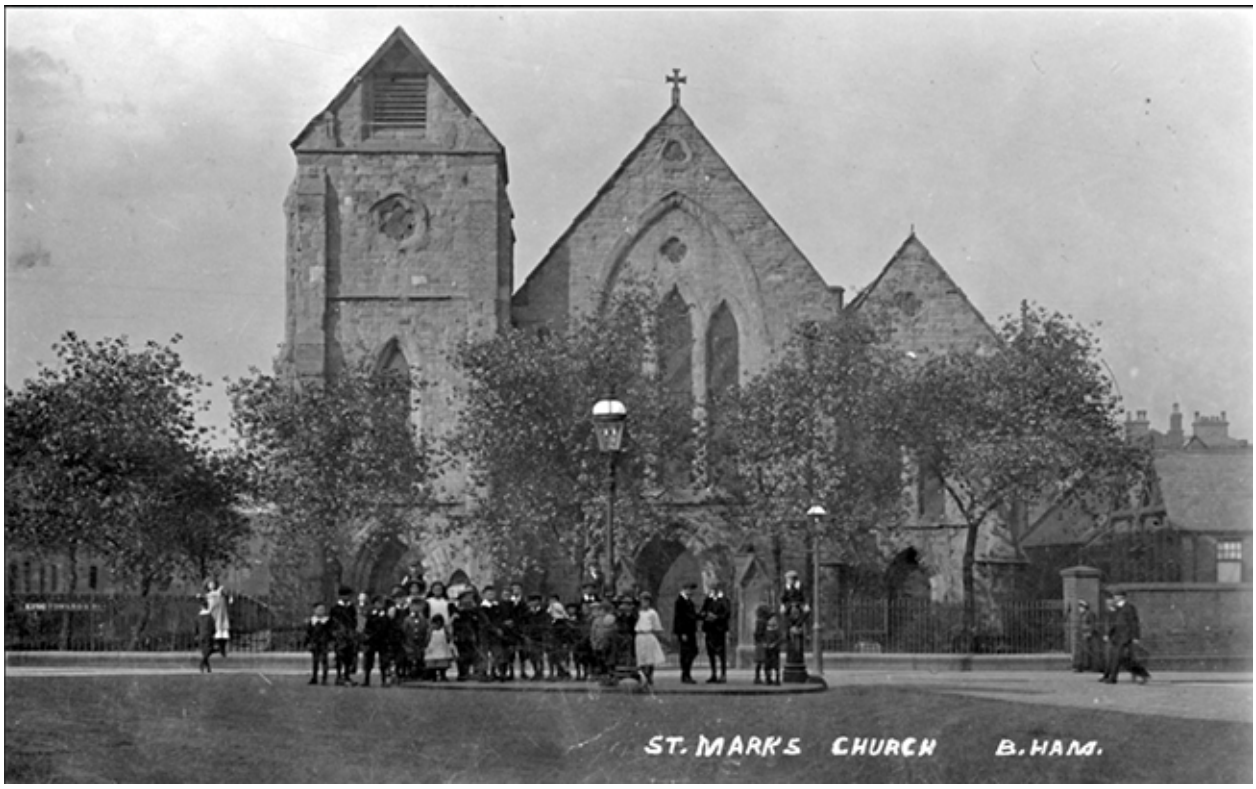


Fig. 5.62. St Mark's Church, Birmingham, England (1840) (dem. 1947); archival photograph.

Image courtesy of Mac Joseph

St Marks Church B.ham. Digital image. *Old Ladywood*. Mac Joseph, n.d. Web. 20 June 2015. <http://www.oldladywood.co.uk/stmarkschurch.htm>.

Fig. 5.63. All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, Ontario (1865); interior.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby; interior*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

Fig. 5.64. All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, Ontario; archival photograph.
Image courtesy of the Whitby Archives, Whitby, Ontario.

All Saints Church, Whitby - archival photo. n.d. Photograph. Whitby Archives, Whitby, Ontario.

Fig. 5.65. St John the Evangelist the Evangelist Anglican Church, Port Hope, Ontario (1866); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Port Hope CW*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

Fig. 5.66. St John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Port Hope, Ontario (1866); façade. Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St John the Evangelist Church, Port Hope; northwest exterior*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

Fig. 5.67. “New Church at Swindon, on the Great Western Railway.” printed in *The Illustrated London News* 11 Oct. 1854, 180th ed.: 229.

“New Church at Swindon, on the Great Western Railway.” *The Illustrated London News* 11 Oct. 1854, 180th ed.: 229.

Fig. 5.68. St Michael's Church, Bowes Park, archival photograph.

Image courtesy of Fr Colin

The Old Church at Bowes. Digital image. *St. Michael's at Bowes, London UK*. St. Michael's at Bowes, London UK, n.d. Web. 22 June 2015. <http://www.woodgreenparish.com/SMAB%202006.htm>.

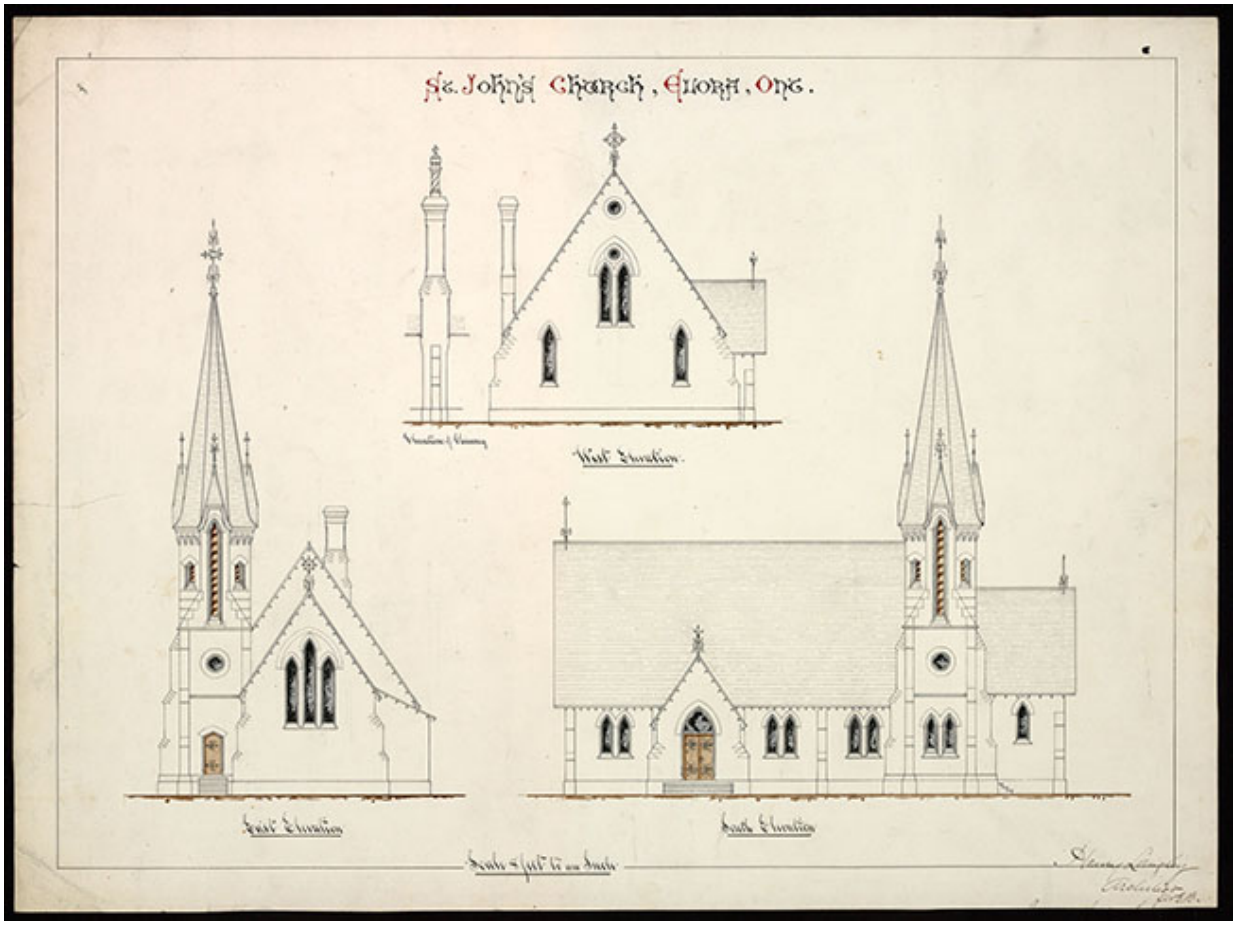


Fig. 5.69. St John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Elora (1872); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Langley, Henry. *St John's Church, Elora, Ont.* n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 5.70. St John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Port Hope, Ontario (1866); interior. Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St John the Evangelist Church, Port Hope; interior*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

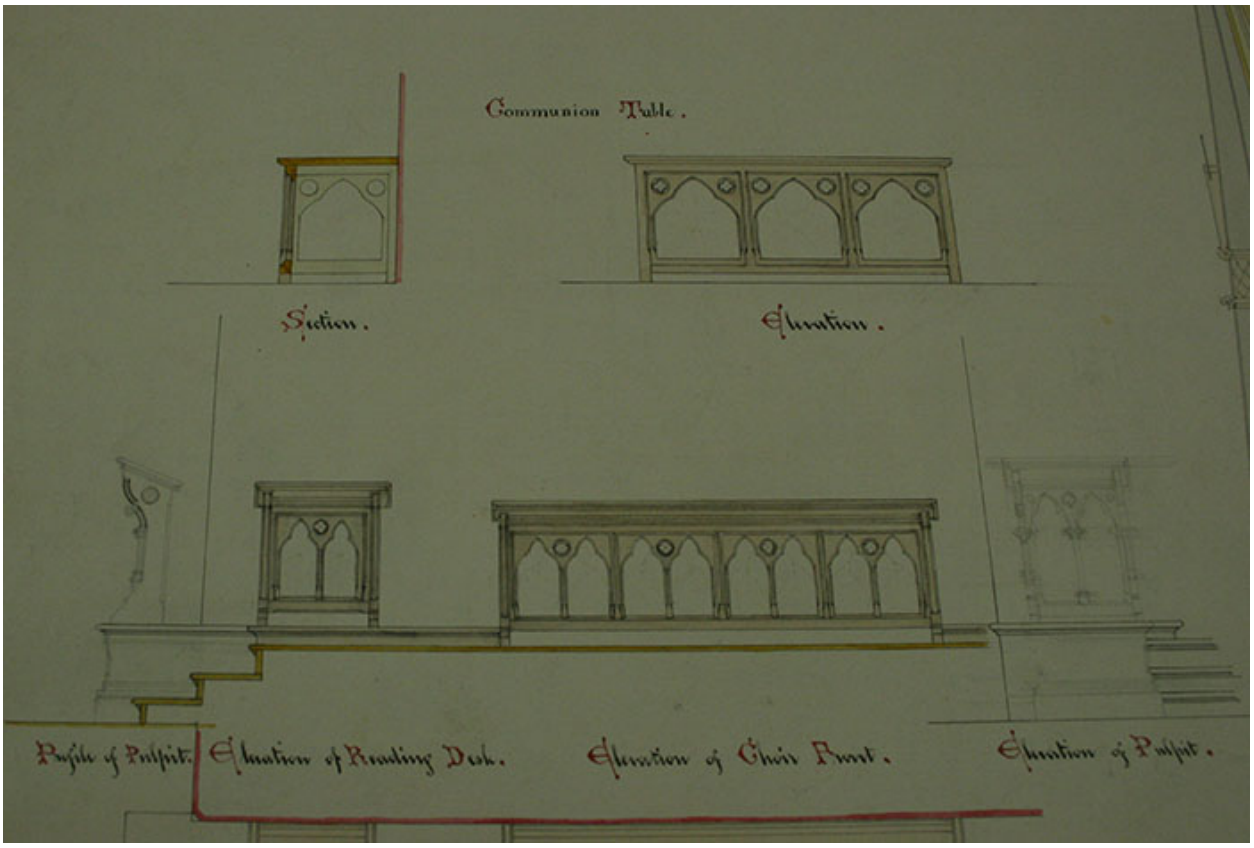


Fig. 5.71. St John the Evangelist the Evangelist Anglican Church, Port Hope, Ontario (1866); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Port Hope CW*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

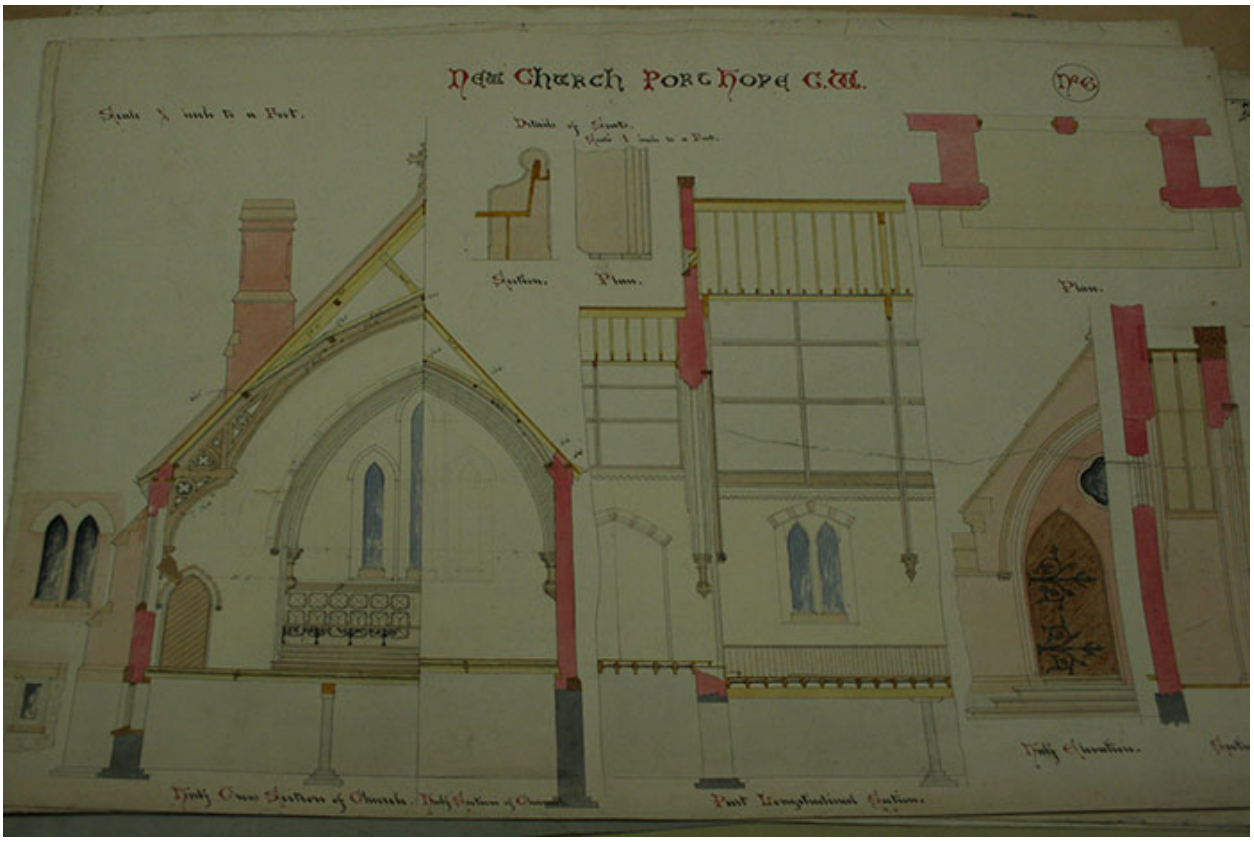


Fig. 5.72. St John the Evangelist the Evangelist Anglican Church, Port Hope, Ontario (1866); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Port Hope CW*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 5.73. St Giles Roman Catholic Church, Cheadle, Staffordshire (1841-46); chancel screen. A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Giles Cheadle; screen*. 2013. Cheadle, Staffordshire.

Fig. 5.74. St Giles Roman Catholic Church, Cheadle, Staffordshire (1841-46); chancel. A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Giles Cheadle; Chancel*. 2013. Cheadle, Staffordshire.

Fig. 5.75. St Giles Roman Catholic Church, Cheadle, Staffordshire (1841-46); stained glass. A.W.N. Pugin, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Giles Cheadle; detail of stained glass.* 2013. Cheadle, Staffordshire.

Fig. 5.76. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario; façade (1848-54; additions 1874-75).

Cordeiro, Rick. Cathedral Place, Anglican Church of Canada, downtown Hamilton, Ontario. Digital image. *Christ's Church Cathedral (Hamilton, Ontario)*. Wikimedia Commons, 1 Nov. 2007. Web. 23 July 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8f/CathedralPlaceAnglicanChurchCanada.JPG>.

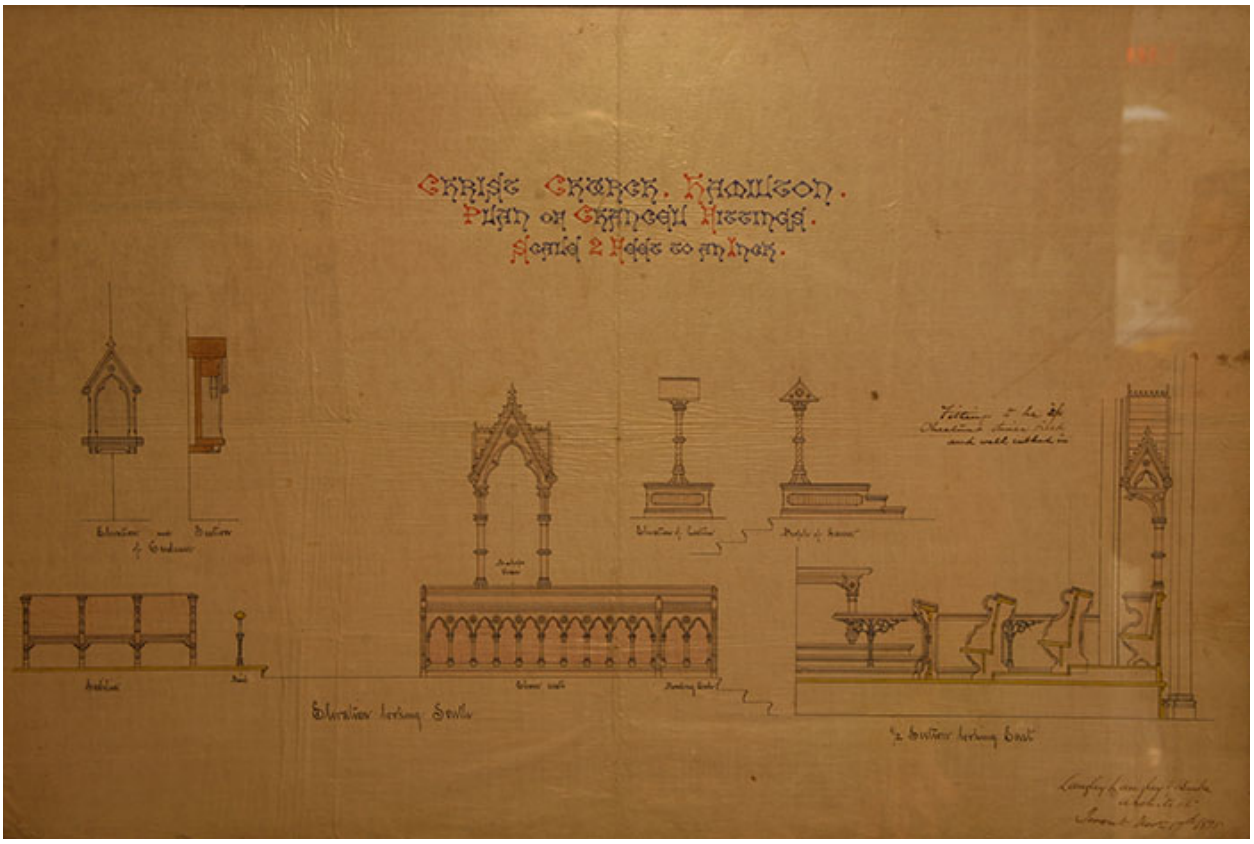


Fig. 5.77. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario; drawing (1875).
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Christ Church Hamilton Plan of Changel Fittings*. 1875. Architectural Drawing. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario.

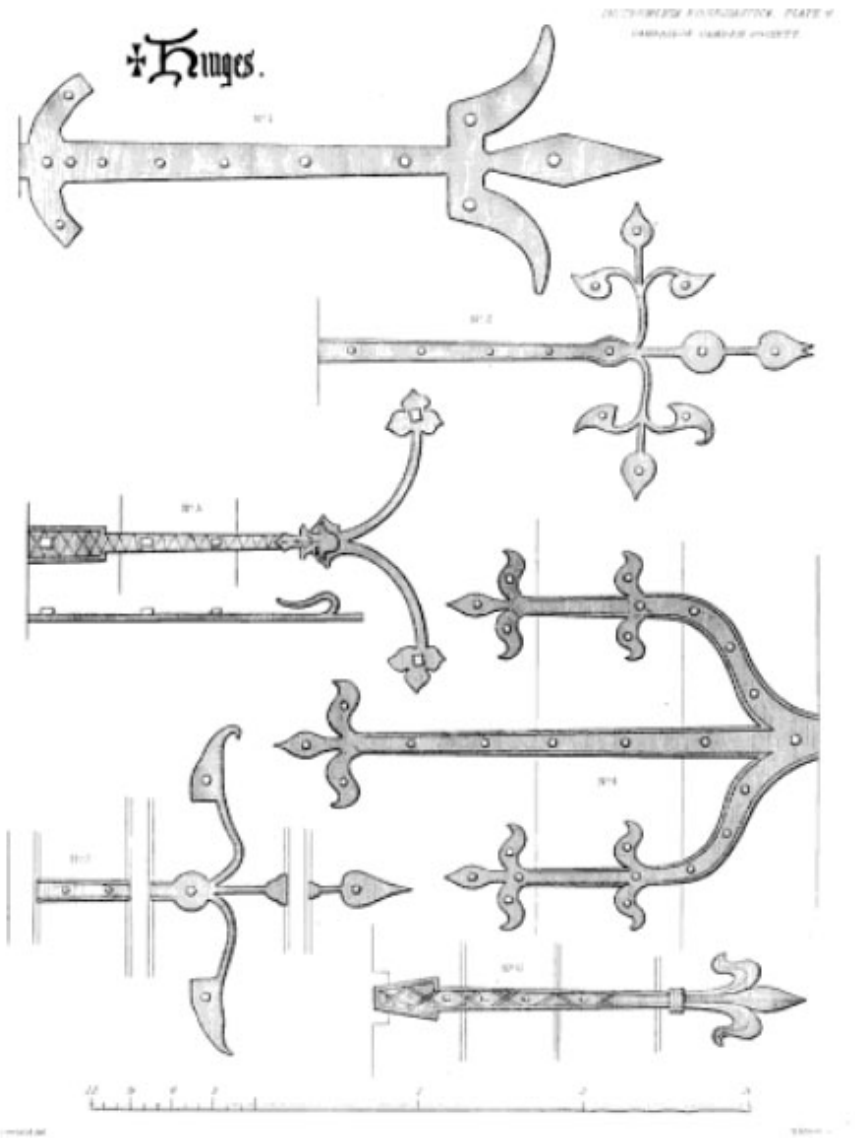


Fig. 5.78. “Hinges” from the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*.

“Hinges.” *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*. Ed. The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society. London: John Van Voorst, 1847. *Google Books*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. < http://books.google.ca/books?id=B9w-AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

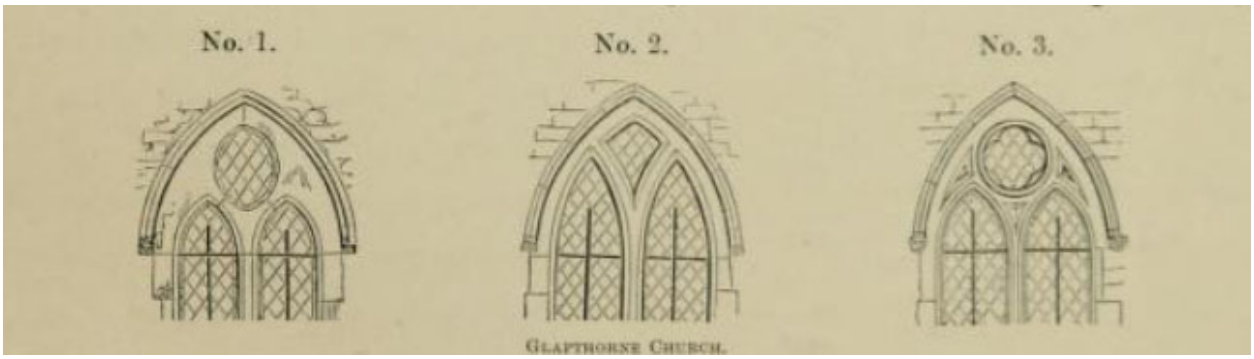


Fig. 5.79. Windows from Glaptorne Church published in Brandon, J. Arthur, and Raphael Brandon. *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: Illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of Doorways, Windows, etc. and accompanied with Remarks on the Several Details of an Ecclesiastical Edifice*.

Brandon, J. Arthur, and Raphael Brandon. "Glapthorne Church." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: Illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of Doorways, Windows, etc. and accompanied with Remarks on the Several Details of an Ecclesiastical Edifice*. London: W. Kent & Co., 1847.

Fig. 5.80. St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster , Ontario (1868); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Ancaster; Front Elevation*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Archives of St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario.

Fig. 5.81. St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario (1868); façade.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster, façade*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

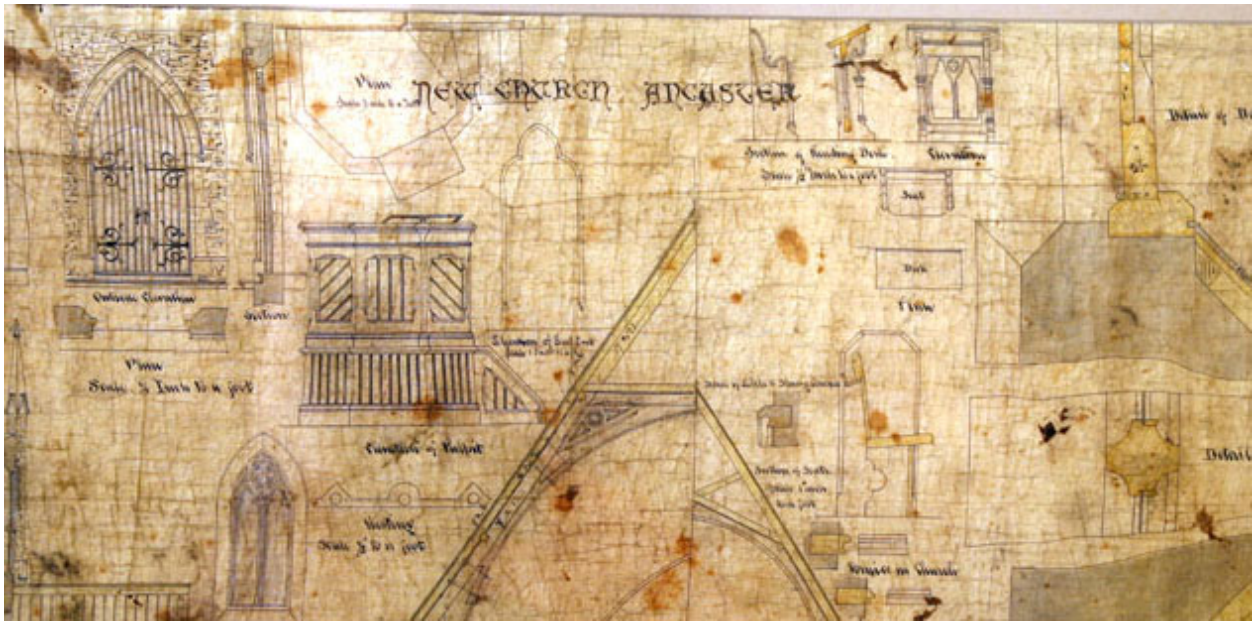


Fig. 5.82. St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster , Ontario (1868); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Ancaster*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Archives of St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario.

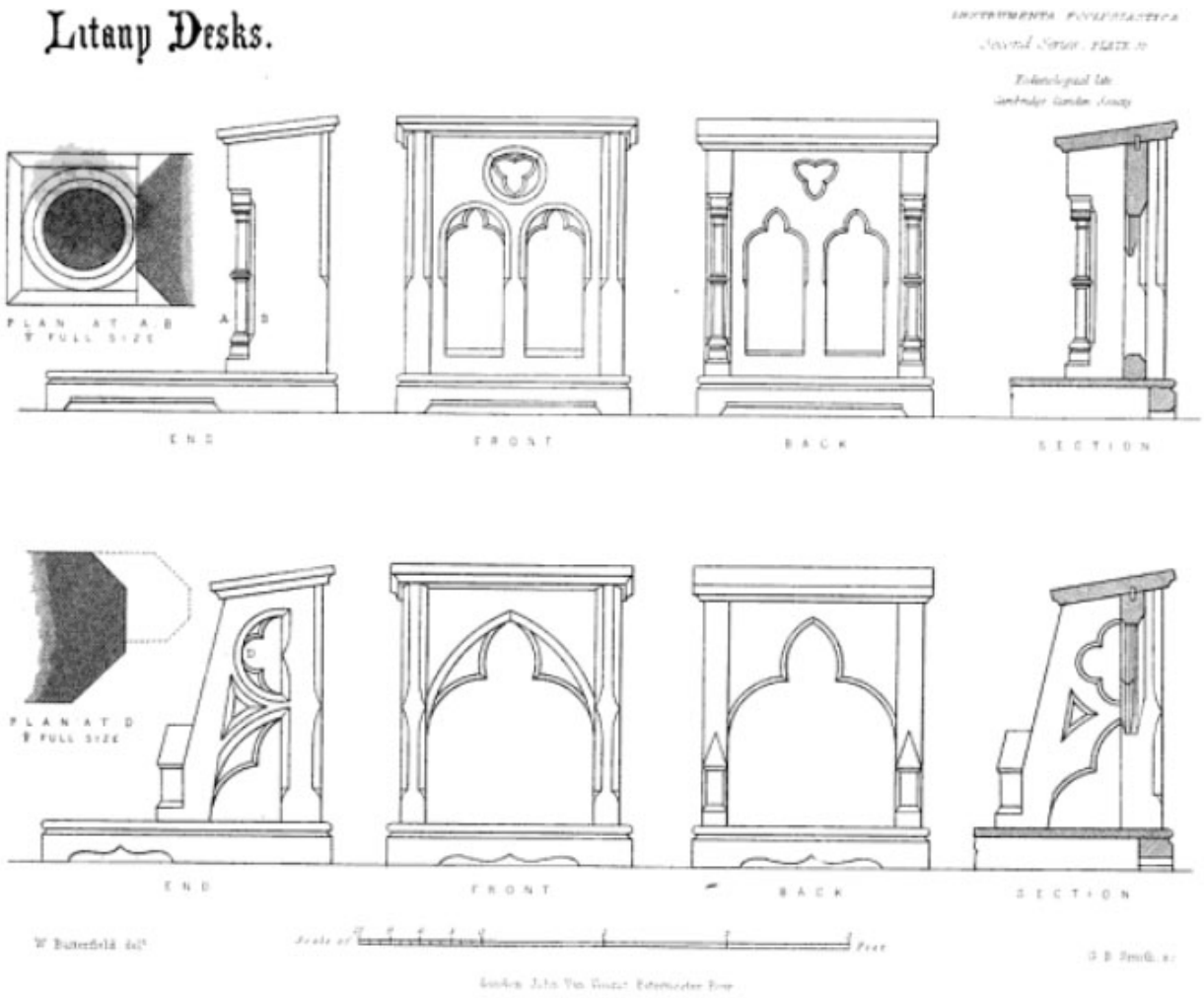


Fig. 5.83. “Litany Desks” from the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, second series*.

“Litany Desks.” *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, second series*. Ed. The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society. London: John Van Voorst, 1856. *Google Books*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=p_knAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Fig. 5.84. St John’s Anglican Church Ancaster (1824); watercolour preserved in St John’s Church Hall.

Courtesy of St John’s Anglican Church, Ancaster

St John’s Church, Ancaster. n.d. Watercolour. St John’s Church Hall, Ancaster, Ontario.

Fig. 5.85. St James Anglican Church, Long Reach, New Brinswick (1841-43); interior.

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Long Reach (NB), St James's Anglican Church, interior to E, 1841-43*. n.d. Long Reach, New Brunswick.

Fig. 5.86. The Covenanter's Church, Grand Pre, Nova Scotia (1804); interior.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Covenanter's Church; interior*. 2010. Grand Pre, Nova Scotia.

Fig. 5.87. St Mary Magdalene Anglican Church, Picton, Ontario (1823; chancel added 1863-64).

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Paris (ON), St James's Anglican Church, exterior from S*. n.d. Picton, Ontario.

Fig. 5.88. St James Anglican Church, Paris, Ontario (1839; chancel added 1865).

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. Picton (ON), St Mary's Anglican Church, exterior from S; nave 1823; chancel, vestry and tower, 1863-65. n.d. Paris, Ontario.

Fig. 5.89. Holy Trinity Church (now the Consecon Library), Consecon, Ontario (1847), exterior.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *The Consecon Library (former Holy Trinity Church)*. n.d. Consecon, Ontario.

Fig. 5.90. St John’s Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario (1868); southeast exterior. Gundry and Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St John’s Church, Ancaster, SE exterior*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

Fig. 5.91. Holy Trinity Church, Shaftesbury (1843); southwest elevation.
George Gilbert Scott, architect

Birchall, Eugene. *Shaftesbury, Holy Trinity Church*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 23 July 2009. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/76/Shaftesbury%2C_Holy_Trinity_Church_-_geograph.org.uk_-_1751115.jpg>.

Fig. 5.92. St John’s Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario (1868); south exterior.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St John’s Church, Ancaster, south exterior*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

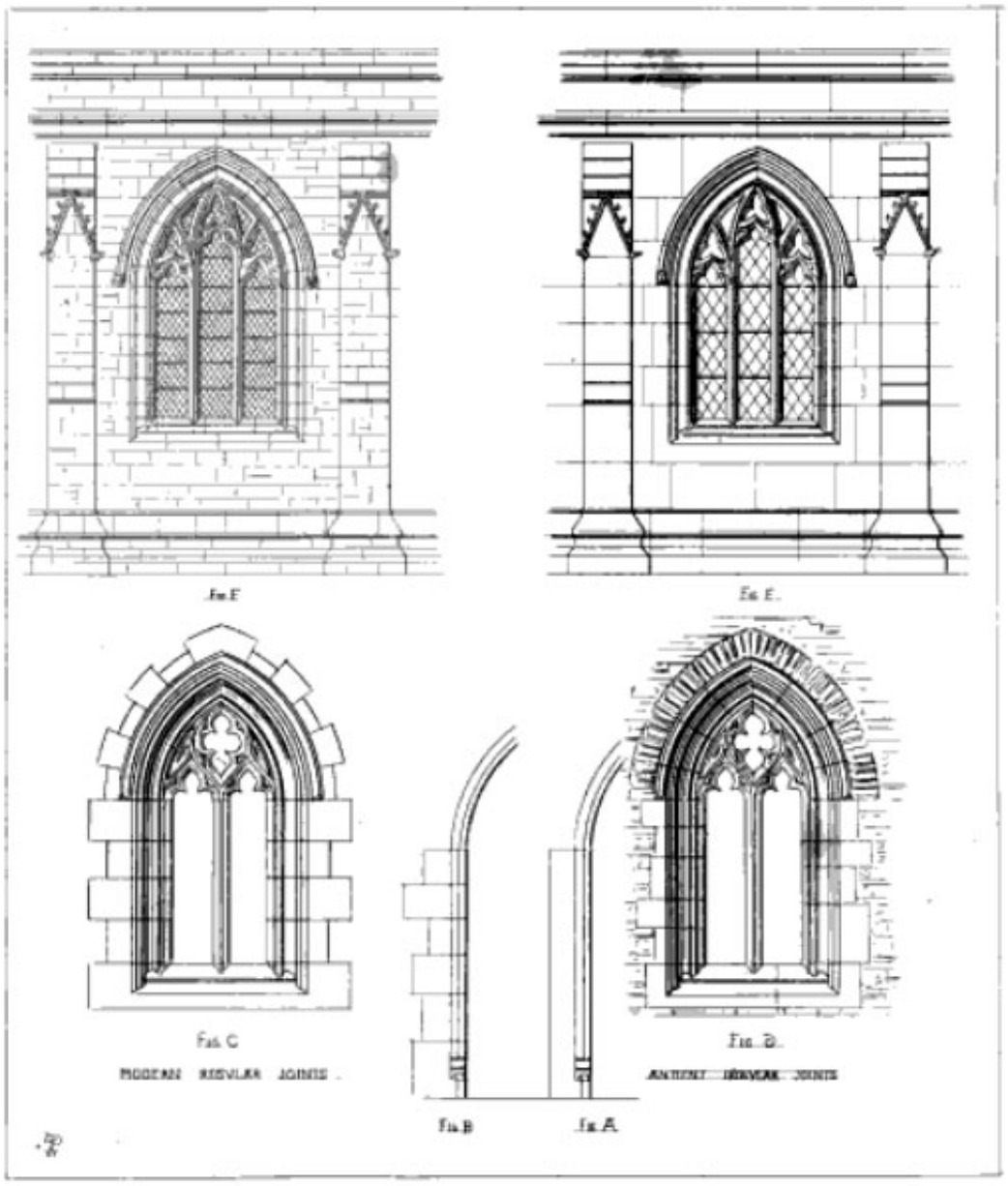


Fig. 5.93. Plate II from *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.

Pugin, AWN. “Plate II.” “The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture.” *Contrasts and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. Ed. Timothy Brittain-Catlin. Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2003. Print.

Fig. 5.94. St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario (1868); interior.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster, interior*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

Fig. 5.95. St George's Anglican Church (1869); general exterior.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario

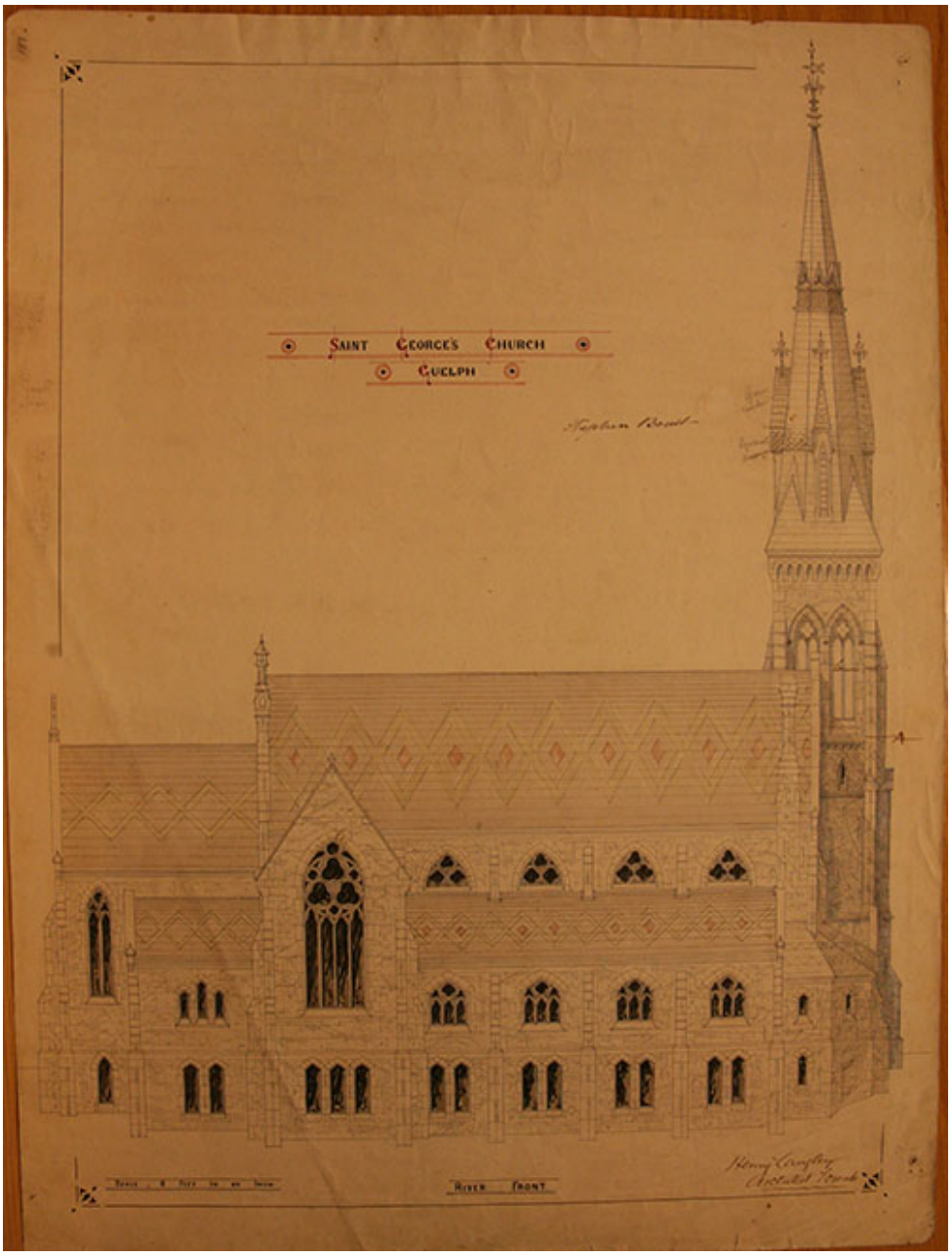


Fig 5.96. St George's Anglican Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Langley, Henry. *Saint George's Church Guelph*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 5.97. St George's Anglican Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); southeast exterior. Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, southeast*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 5.98. St Mary's Church, Hanwell (1841).
George Gilbert Scott, architect

P.g.Champion. *St mary hanwell 38*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 8 July 2007. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4e/St_mary_hanwell_38.jpg>.

Fig. 5.99. St George's Anglican Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); tower.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, tower*. 2013. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 5.100. St George's Anglican Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); northeast exterior. Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, northeast*. 2013. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 5.101. St George's Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario (1857); northeast exterior. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Newcastle; northeast*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

Fig. 5.102. St George's Anglican Church, Newcastle, Ontario (1857); southeast exterior. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Newcastle; southeast*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

Fig. 5.103. St Giles Church, Camberwell (London), England (1841); north elevation.
George Gilbert Scott, architect

Photo courtesy of Peter Coffman

Coffman, Peter. *St Giles, Camberwell; north elevation*. n.d. London, England.

Fig. 5.104. St Giles Church, Camberwell (London), England (1841); south elevation. George Gilbert Scott, architect

Photo courtesy of Peter Coffman

Coffman, Peter. *St Giles, Camberwell; south elevation*. n.d. London, England.

Fig. 5.105. Grace Anglican Church, Brantford, Ontario (1856); south exterior.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Grace Anglican Church, Brantford; general exterior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

Fig. 5.106. Holy Trinity Church, Hartshill, Staffordshire (1842).
George Gilbert Scott, architect

Oaktree. *Hartshill War Memorial, Stoke-on-Trent Staffs*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 11 March 2011. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c6/Hartshill_War_Memorial%2C_Stoke-on-Trent_Staffs.JPG>.

Fig. 5.107. St George's Anglican Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); interior.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, interior*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 5.108. Grace Anglican Church, Brantford, Ontario (1856); interior.
William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Grace Anglican Church, Brantford; interior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

Fig. 5.109. St Mary's Church, Hanwell (1841); interior.
George Gilbert Scott, architect

P.g.Champion. *The east window. St Mary's Church, Hanwell*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 23 May 2010. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4d/St_mary_hanwell_east_window_3435.jpg>.

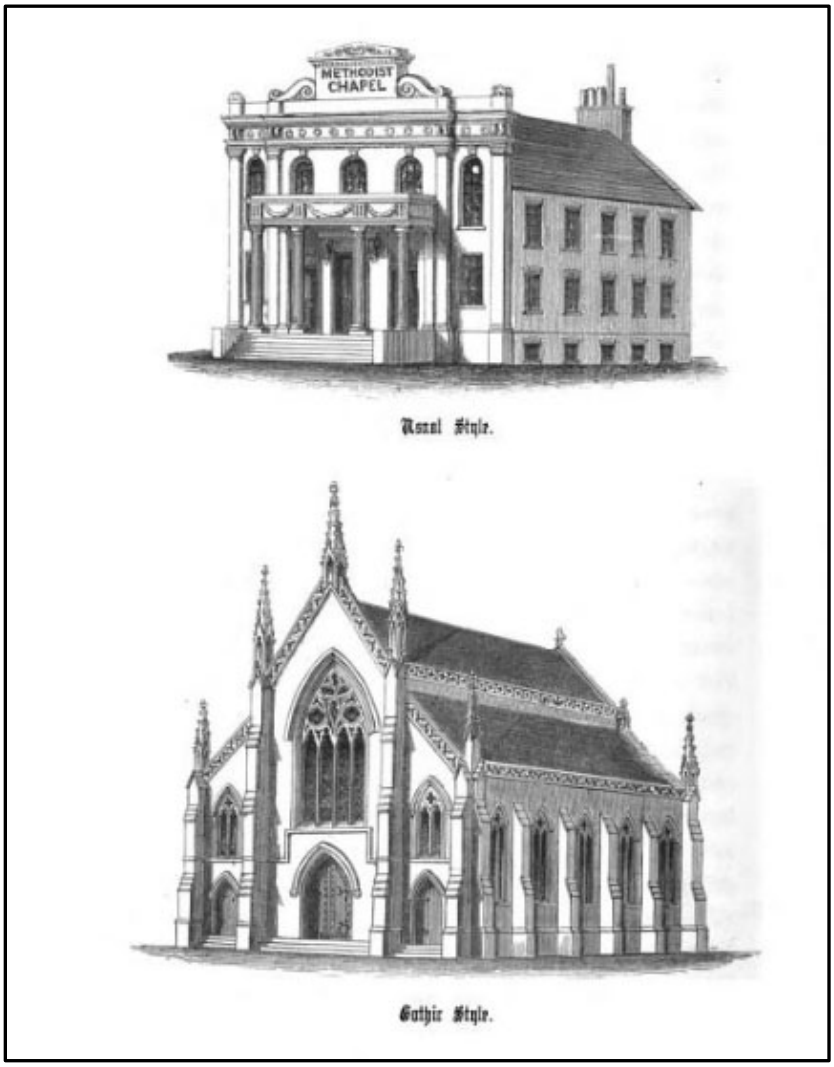


Fig. 6.1. Comparative drawings from, *Chapel and School Architecture. as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the erection of Chapels and School-houses*.

Jobson, F. J. "Usual Style, Gothic Style." *Chapel and School Architecture, as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-houses*. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1850, n.pag.

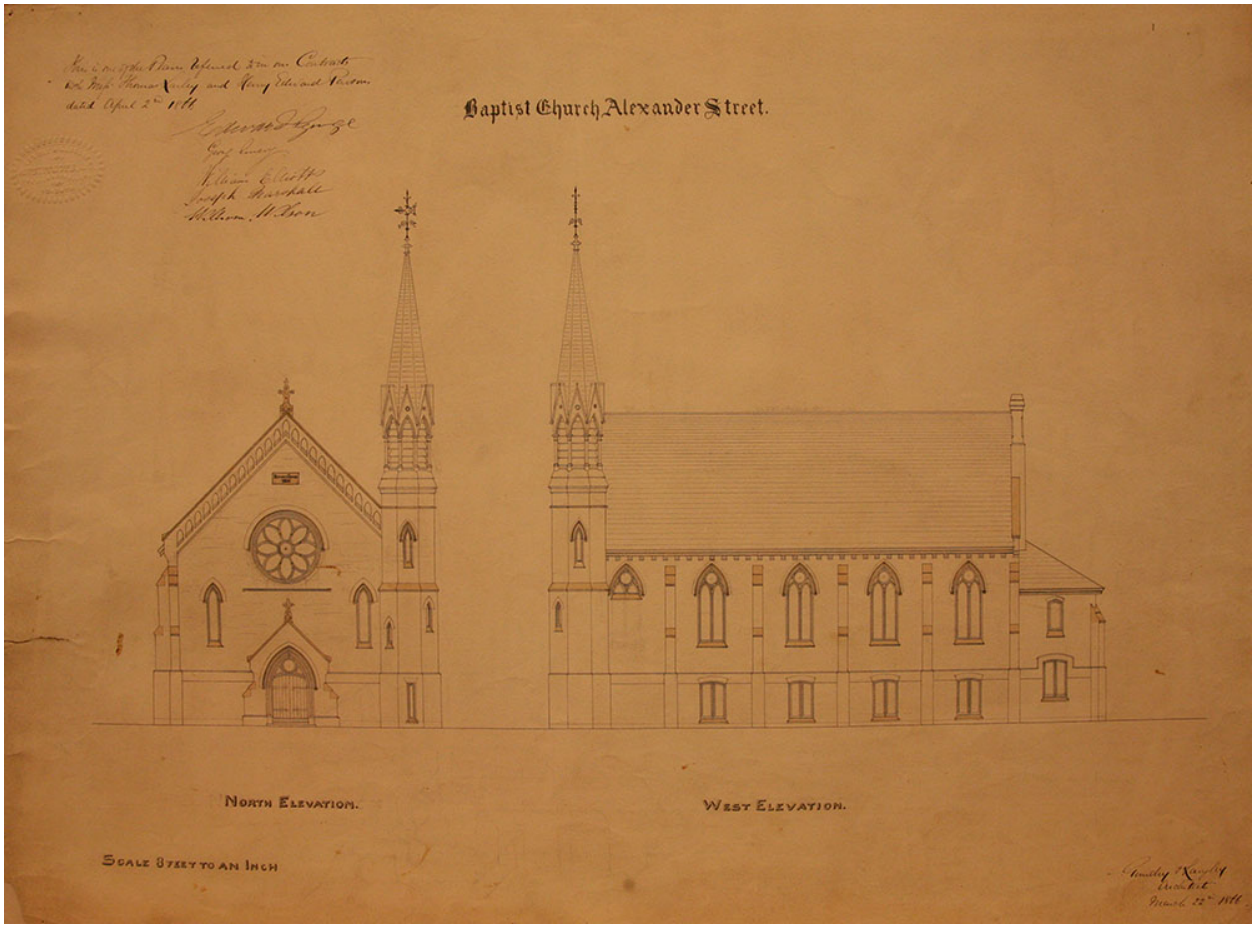


Fig. 6.2. Alexander Street Baptist Church, drawing of front and side elevation.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

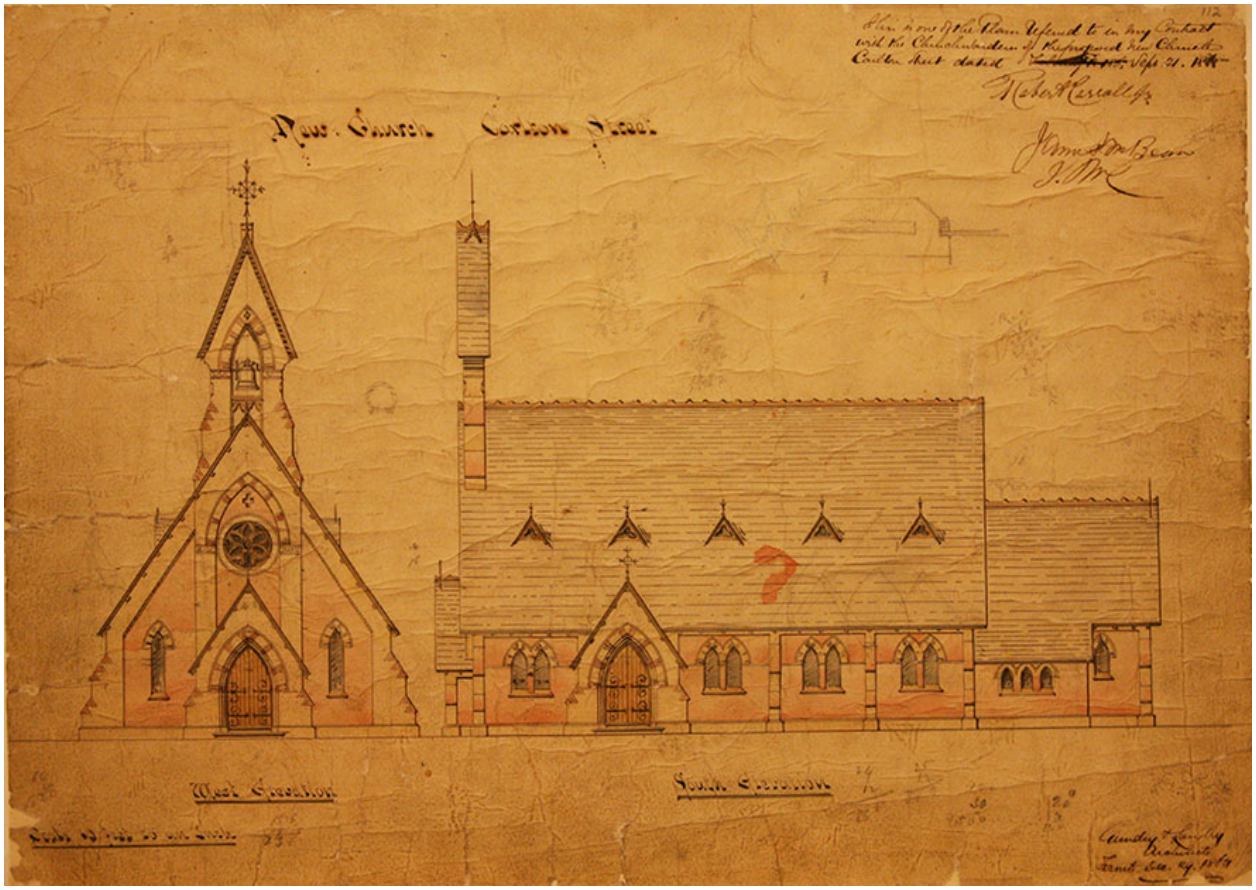


Fig. 6.3. St Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto (1865), drawing of front and side elevation. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1864. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.4. All Saints Anglican Church, Whitby, Ontario (1865).
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

Fig. 6.5. Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Ontario; drawing of front elevation. William Hay, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1856. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.6. The Nikolaikirche, Hamburg; all but the tower was destroyed during WW2.

Emma7stern. *Hamburg StNikolai Panorama*. Digital Image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 31 August 2004. Web. 20 July 2016. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/55/Hamburg_StNikolai_Panorama.jpg>.

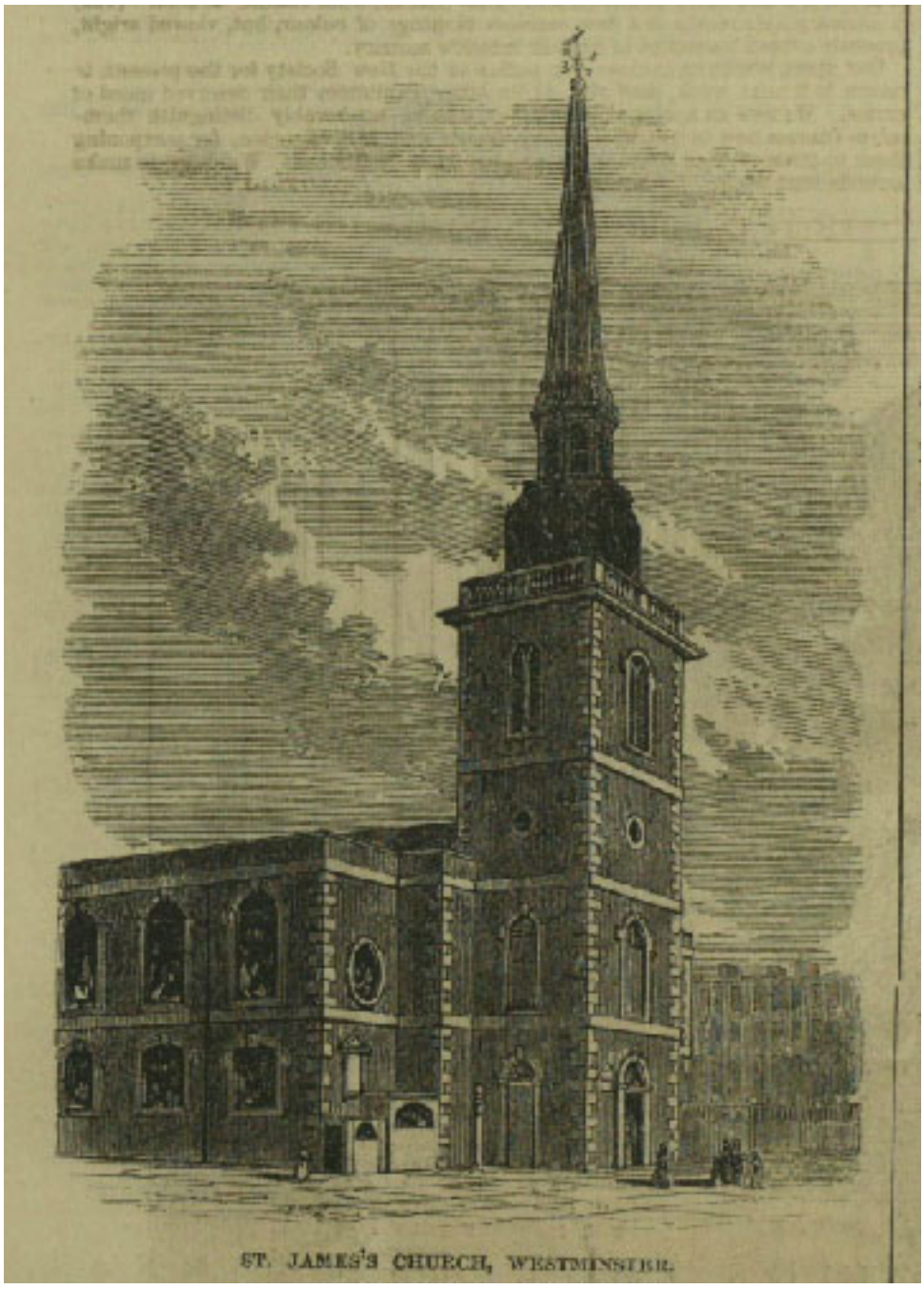


Fig. 6.7. St James's Church, Westminster printed in the Illustrated London News, May 2, 1846. Christopher Wren, architect.

Image courtesy of *The Illustrated London News*, Issue 209, 2 May 1846, Page 293.

"St. James Church, Westminster." *The Illustrated London News* 2 May 1846, 209th ed.: 293.

Fig. 6.8. The Church of St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, England; general exterior. James Gibbs, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Martin-in-the-Fields, London*. 2012. London, England.

Fig. 6.9. The Church of St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, England (1722-24); interior. James Gibbs, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, interior*. 2012. London, England.

Fig. 6.10. Greenock Presbyterian Church, St Andrew's, New Brunswick (1824); interior.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Greenock Presbyterian Church, St Andrew's NB, interior*. 2014. St Andrew's, New Brunswick.

Fig. 6.11. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake (1831); interior.
Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake, interior to the east*. n.d. Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.

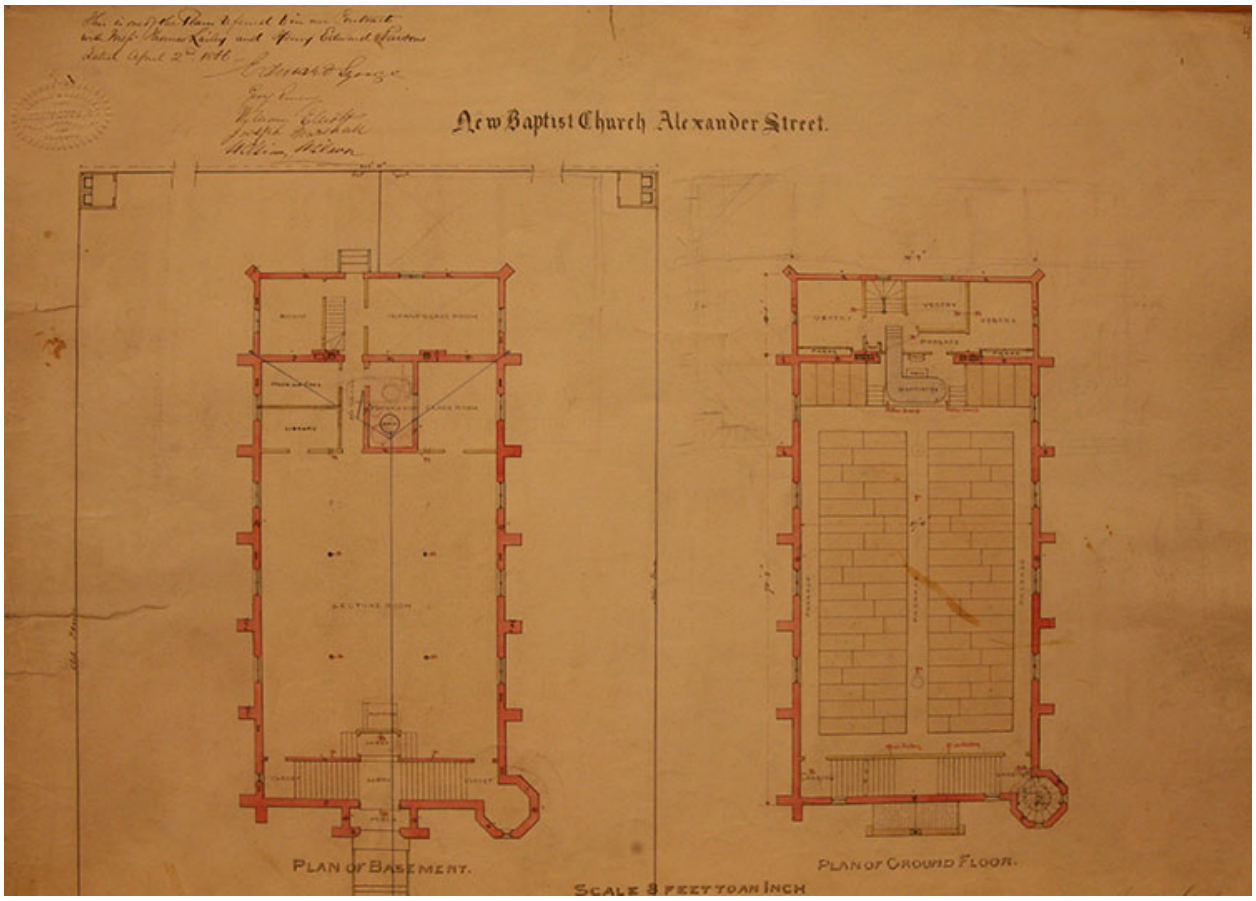


Fig. 6.12. Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866); interior plan.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Gundry and Langley. *New Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.13. Design No. 6 from *Chapel and Church architecture with Designs for Parsonages*.

Bowler, Revd George. “Design No 6.” *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, pl. 11.

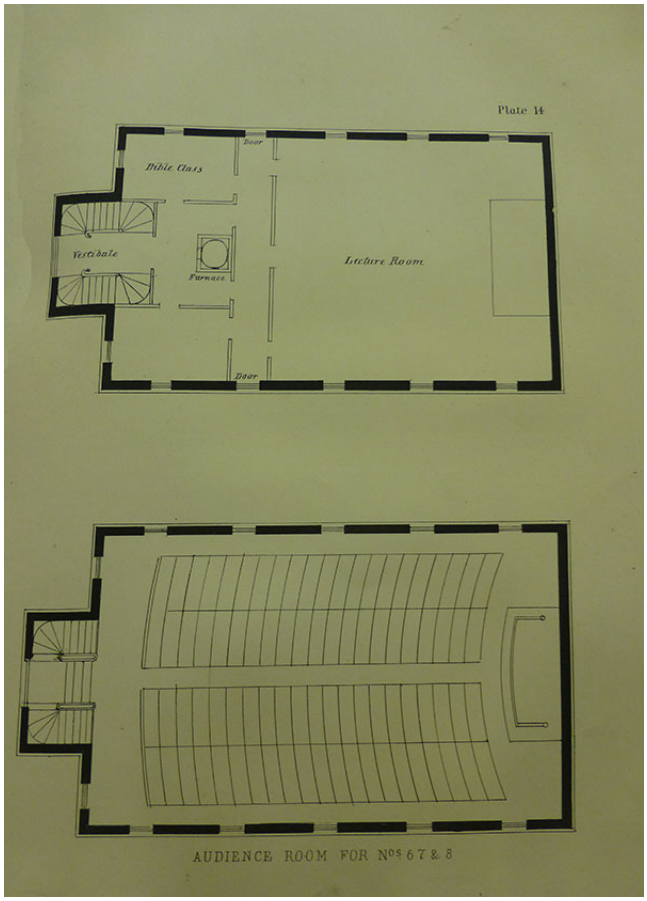


Fig. 6.14. Audience Room for No. 6, 7, &8 from *Chapel and Church architecture with Designs for Parsonages*.

Bowler, Revd George. “Design No 6.” *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, pl. 14.

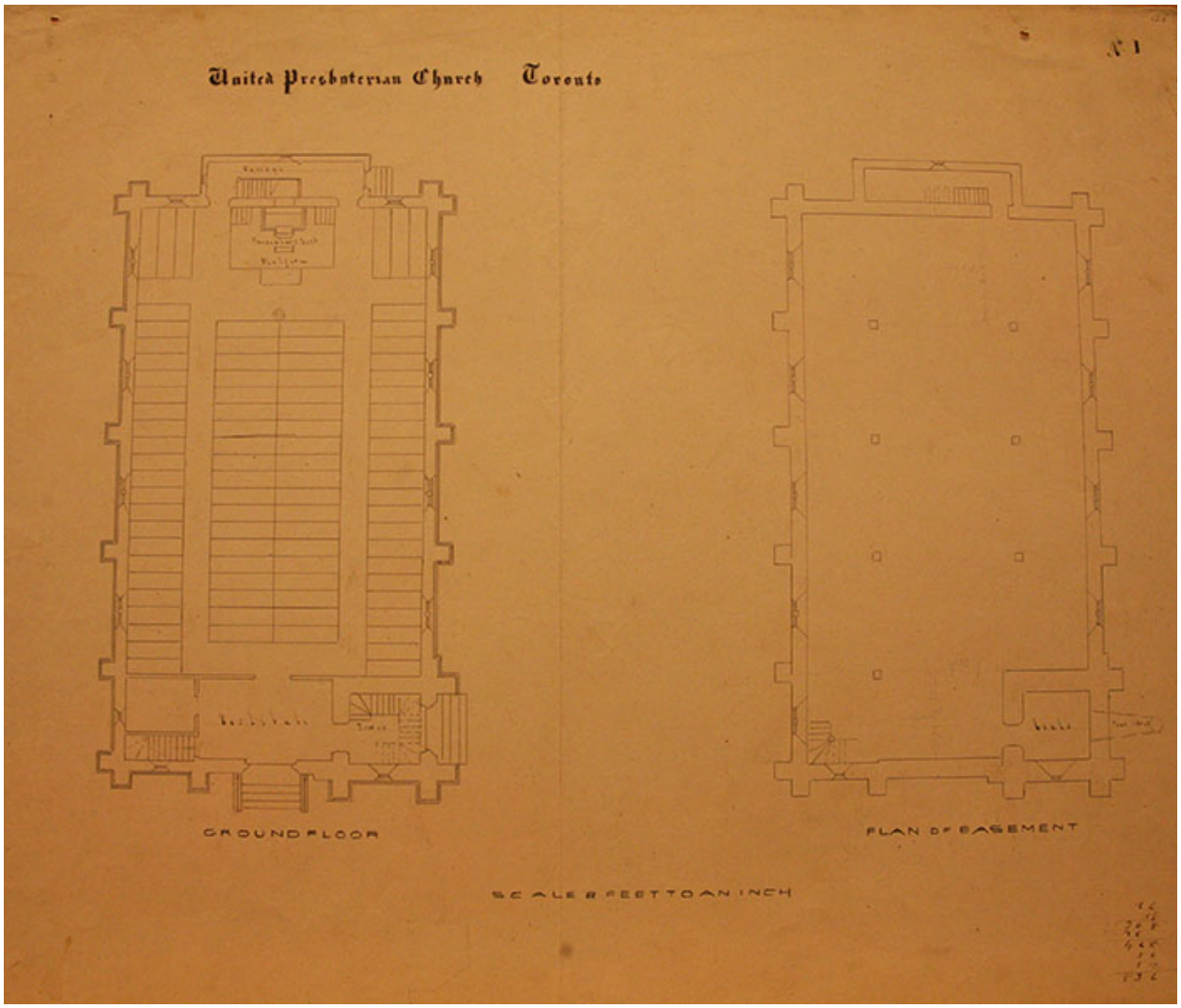


Fig. 6.15. Gould Street United Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Ontario; interior plan. William Hay, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1856. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

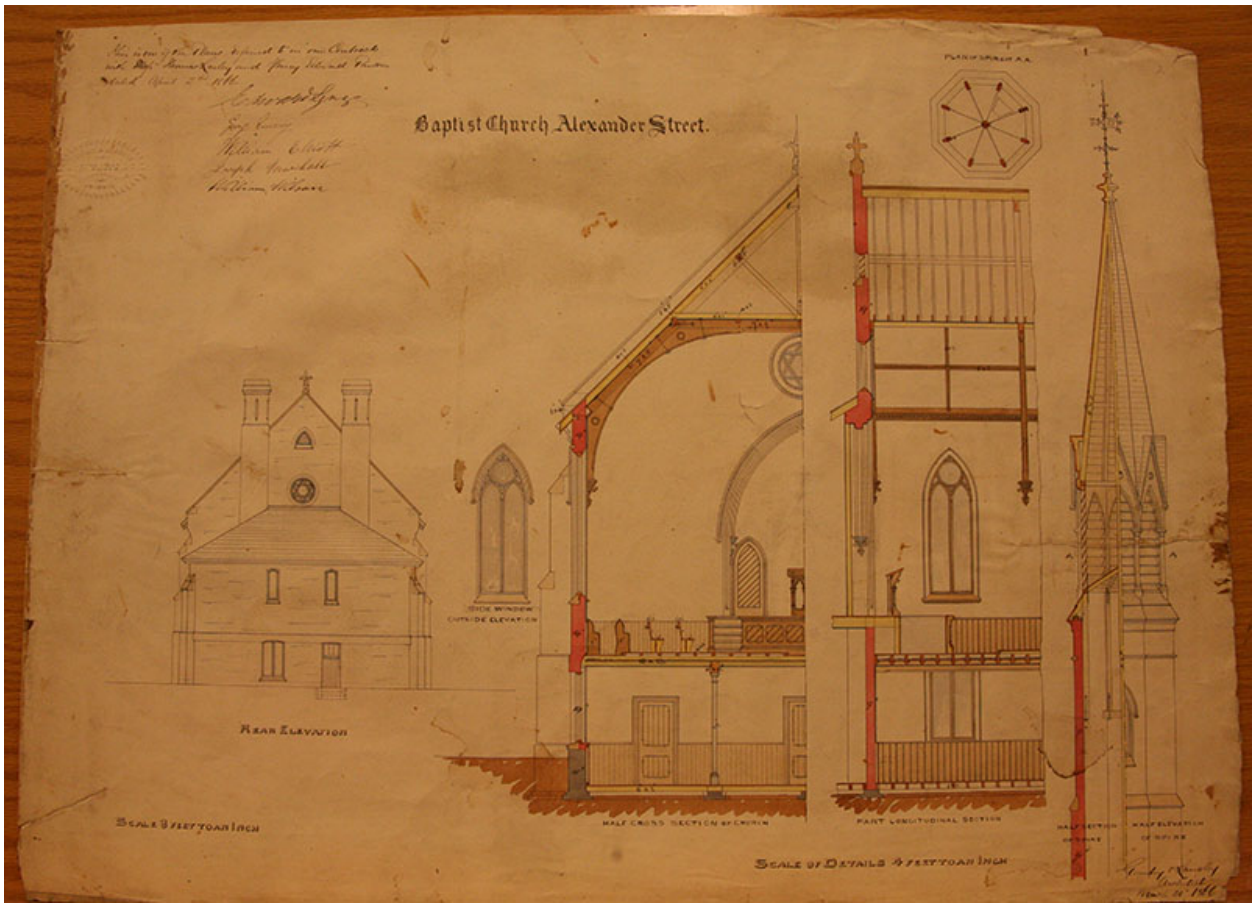


Fig. 6.16. Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866); drawing - detail with pulpit platform and baptismal pool.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

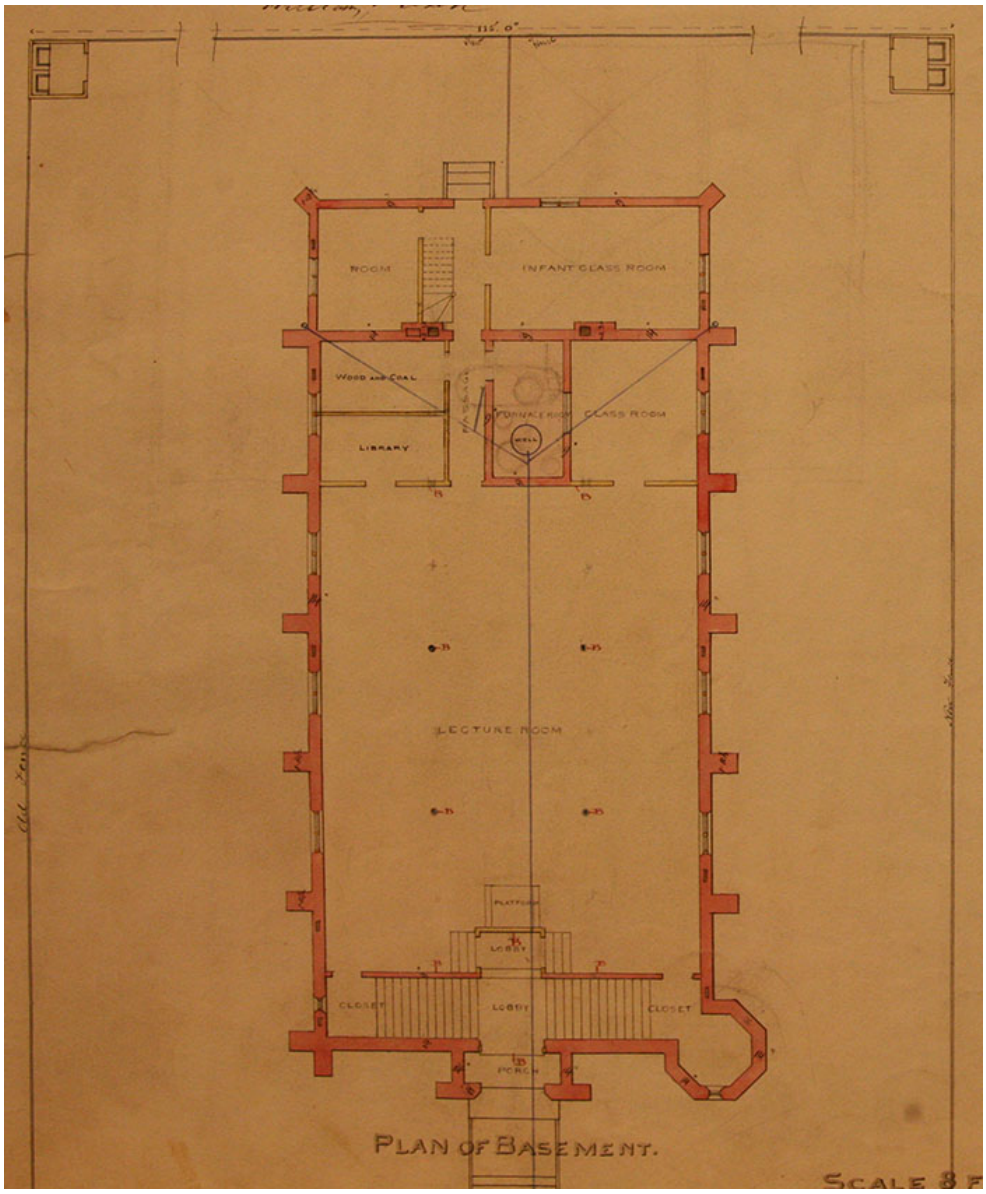


Fig. 6.17. Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866); drawing - detail of basement plan. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street, Plan of Basement*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.18. First Baptist Church, Port Hope, Ontario (1867); general exterior. Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *First Baptist Church, Port Hope, façade*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

Fig. 6.19. First Baptist Church, Port Hope, Ontario (1867); interior.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *First Baptist Church, Port Hope, interior*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

Fig. 6.20. Georgetown Baptist Church, Georgetown, Ontario (1869); façade.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Georgetown Baptist Church, façade*. n.d. Georgetown, Ontario.

Fig. 6.21. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Toronto (1869); façade.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Toronto, façade*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

Fig. 6.22. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (1857); façade. William Hay, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Presbyterian, Guelph, façade*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 6.23. St John’s Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario (1868); exterior. Gundry & Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. St John’s Church, Ancaster, exterior. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

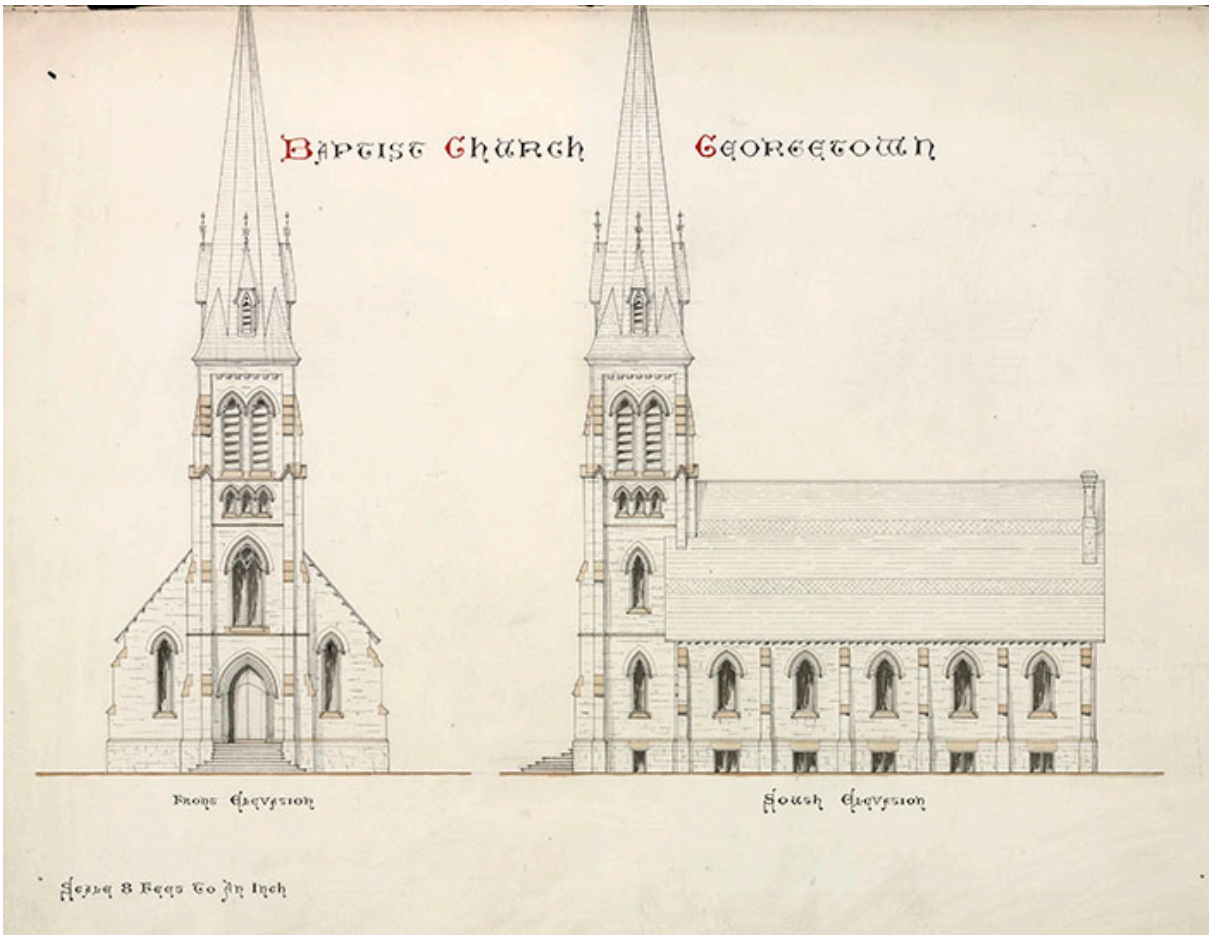


Fig. 6.24. Georgetown Baptist Church, Georgetown, Ontario (1869); drawing. Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Baptist Church Georgetown*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.25. St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario (1868); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *New Church Ancaster; Front Elevation*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Archives of St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario.

Fig. 6.26. St Patrick's Catholic Church, Toronto (1869); drawing.
Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church: Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.27. Ebenezer Primitive Methodist Chapel, Brampton, Ontario (1858); general exterior.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Ebenezer Primitive Methodist Church, Brampton, exterior*. n.d. Brampton, Ontario.

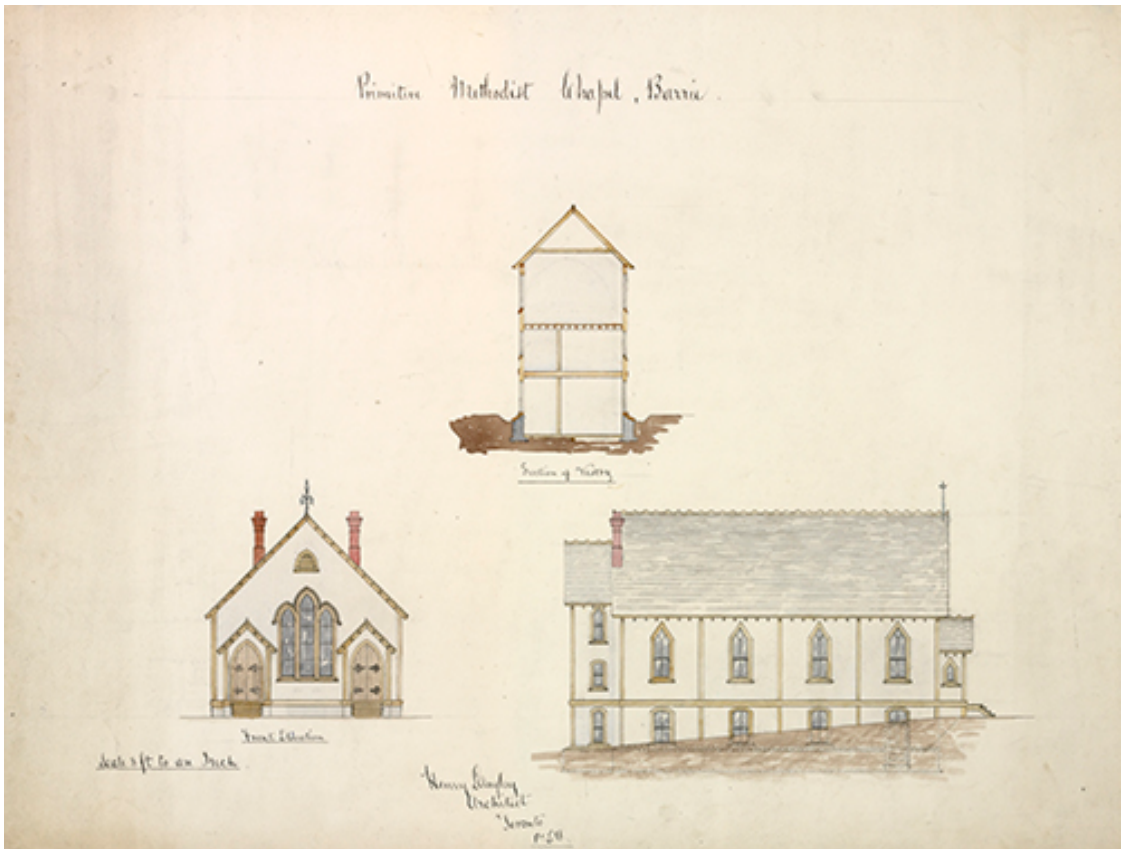


Fig. 6.28. Elizabeth Street Primitive Methodist Chapel, Barrie, Ontario (1870); drawing. Henry Langley, architect (per E.B.)

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Primitive Methodist Chapel, Barrie*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

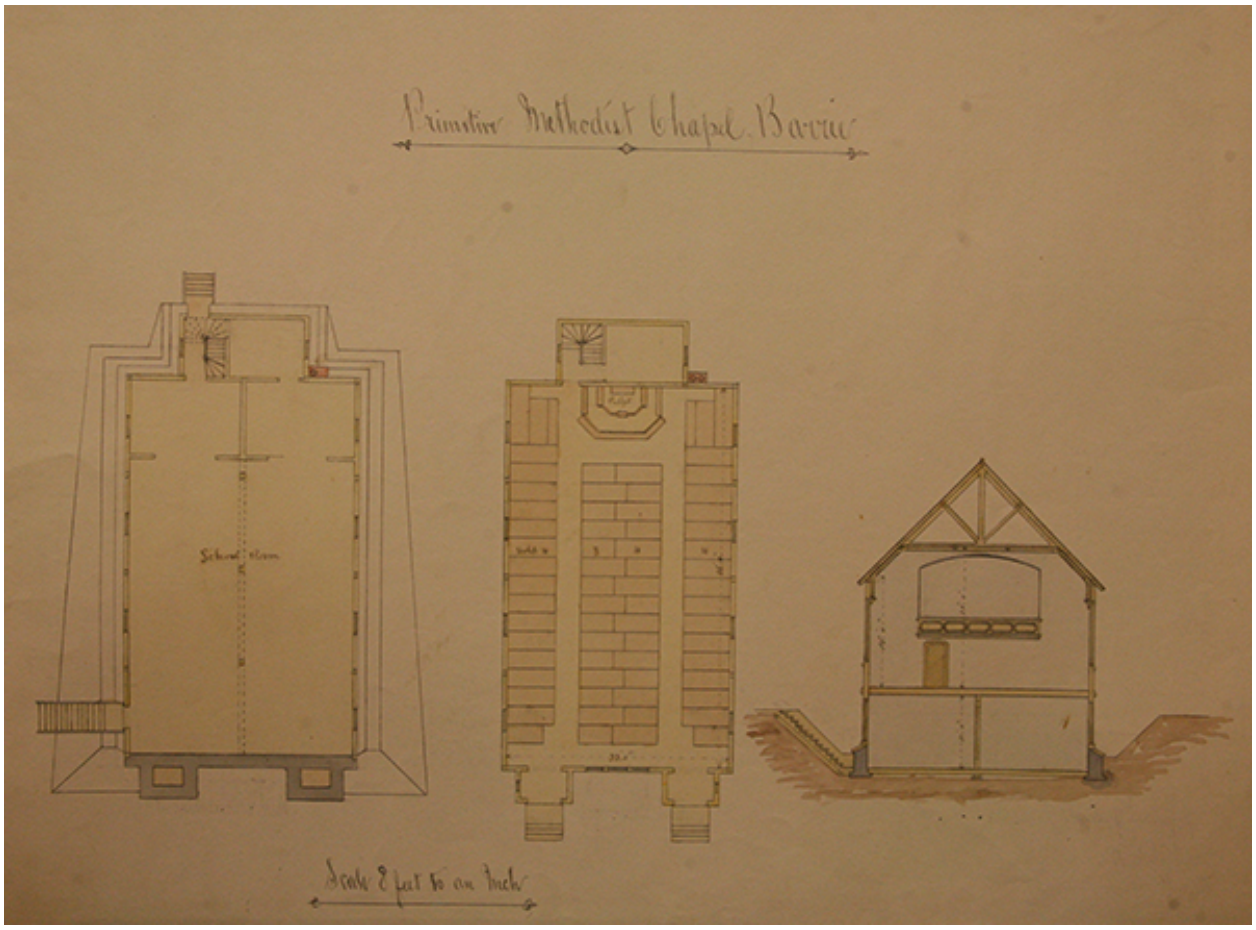


Fig. 6.29. Elizabeth Street Primitive Methodist Chapel, Barrie, Ontario (1870); drawing. Henry Langley, architect (per E.B.)

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Primitive Methodist Chapel, Barrie*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

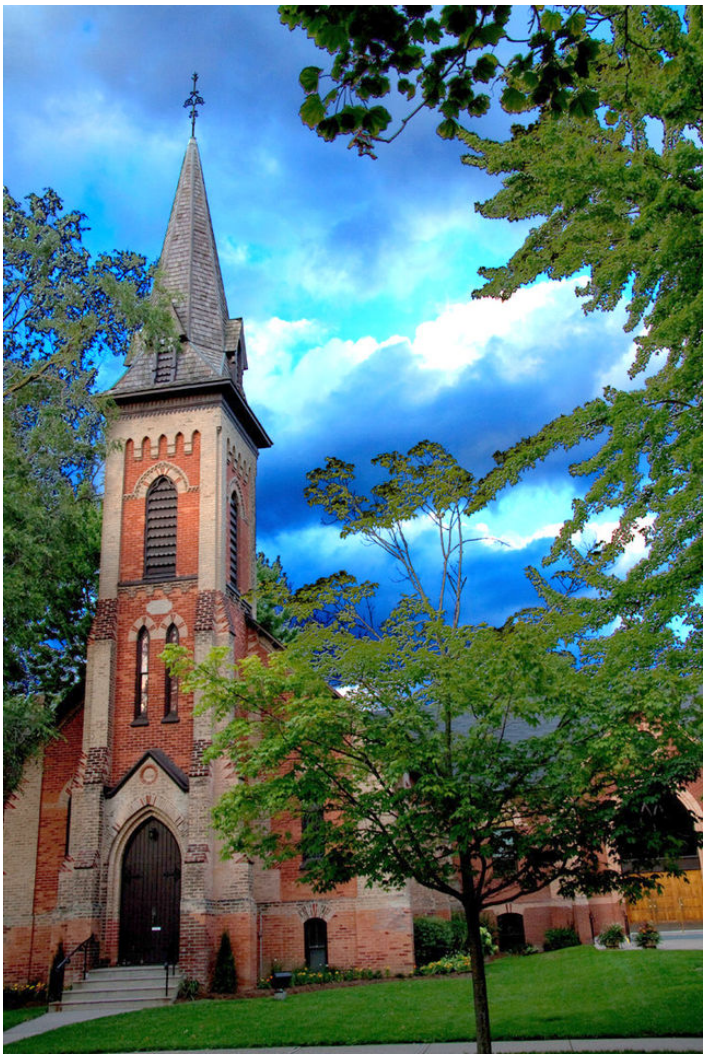


Fig. 6.30. Central Primitive Methodist (United) Church, Unionville, Ontario (1879); exterior. Langley, Langley, & Burke, architects

Channey, Arvinder. *UnionVille MainStreet*. Digital Image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 7 August 2010. Web. 20 July 2016. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/UnionVille_MainStreet_Church.jpg>.

Fig. 6.31. Central Primitive Methodist (United) Church, Unionville, Ontario (1879); interior. Langley, Langley, & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Central PM, Unionville*. n.d. Unionville, Ontario.

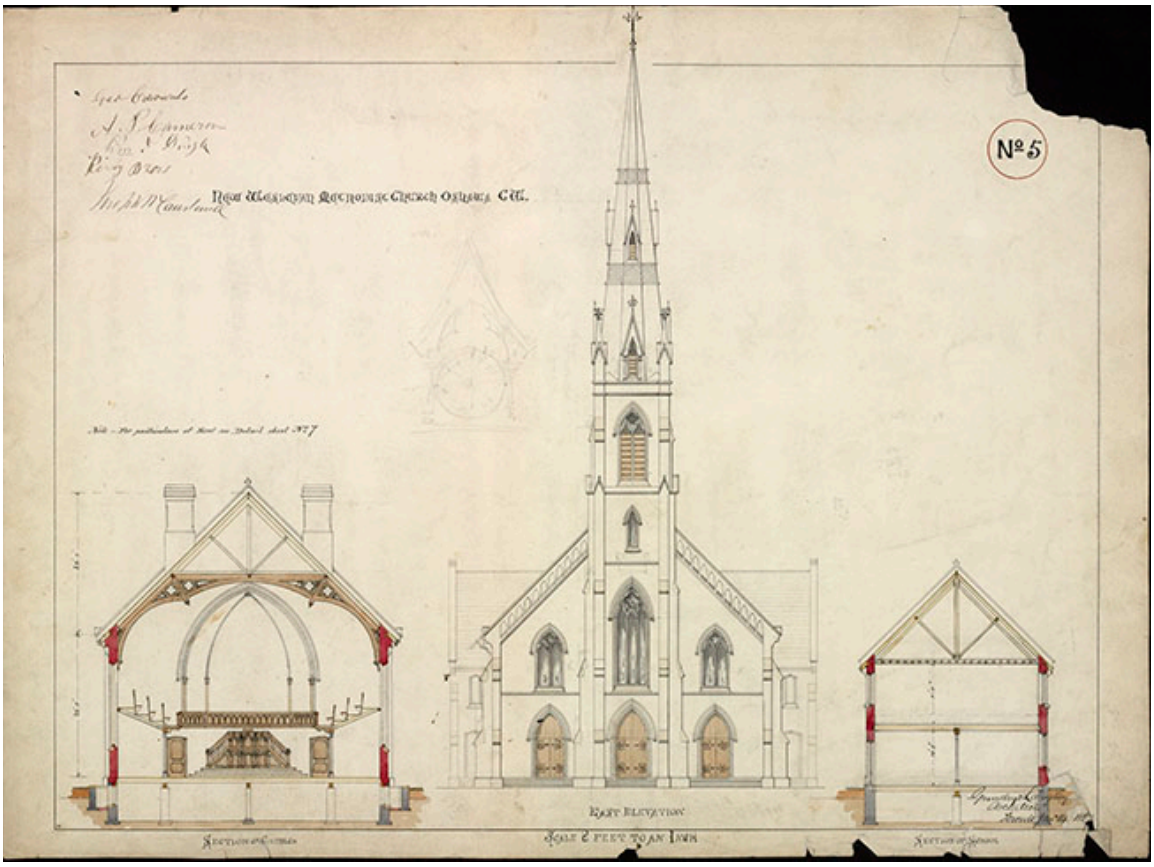


Fig. 6.32. Simcoe Street Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, Ontario (1867); drawing. Gundry and Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *New Wesleyan Methodist Church Oshawa CW*. 1867. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.33. Simcoe Street Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, Ontario (1867); northwest exterior.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Simcoe Street Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, exterior*. n.d. Oshawa, Ontario.

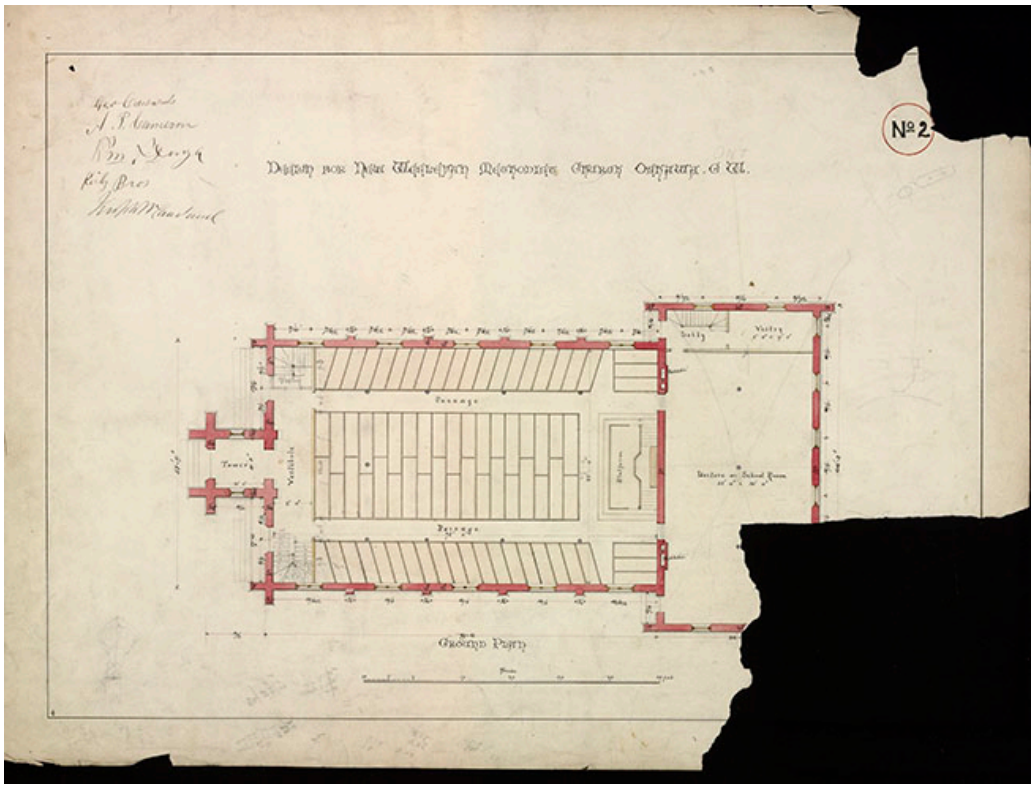


Fig. 6.34. Simcoe Street Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, Ontario (1867); ground plan. Gundry and Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *Design for New Wesleyan Methodist Church Oshawa CW*. 1867. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

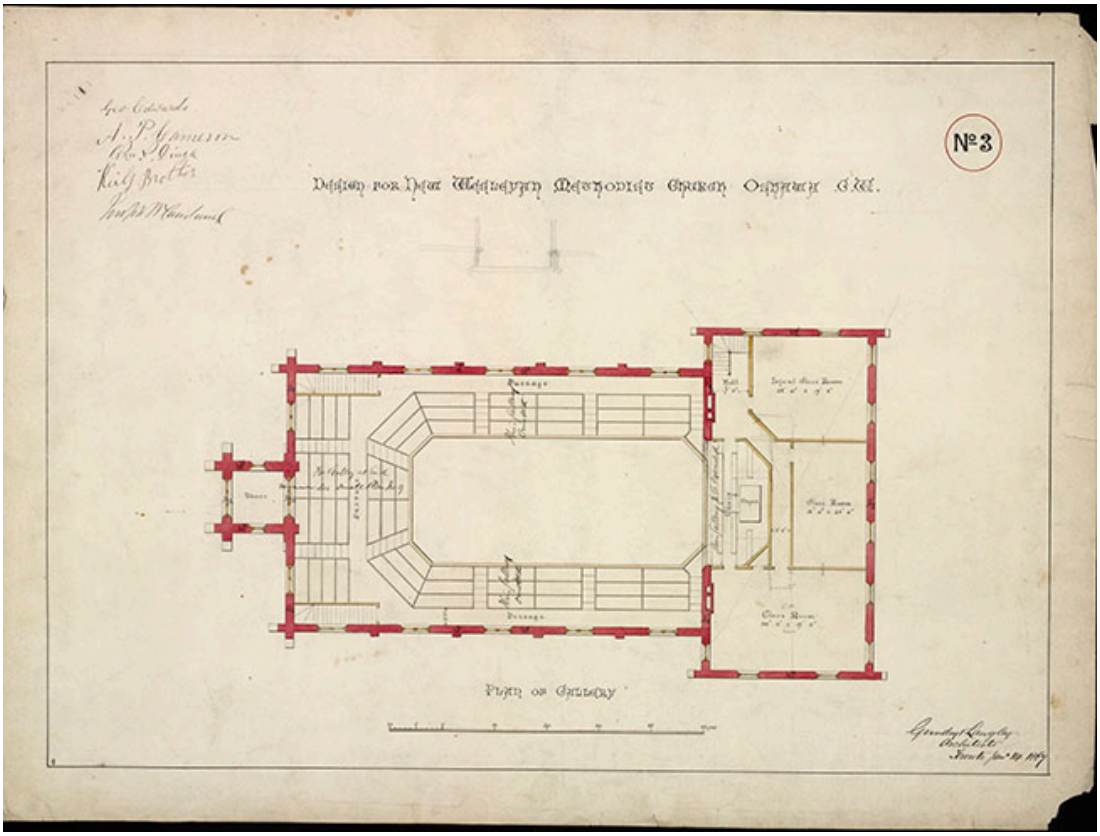


Fig. 6.35. Simcoe Street Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, Ontario (1867); plan of gallery. Gundry and Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *Design for New Wesleyan Methodist Church Oshawa CW*. 1867. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.36. The Barrington Meetinghouse, Nova Scotia (1765); exterior.

Photo: Candace Iron.

Iron, Candace. *The Barrington Meetinghouse, exterior*. n.d. Barrington, Nova Scotia.

Fig. 6.37. The Hay Bay Church, Adolphustown, Ontario (1792); exterior.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *The Hay Bay Church*. n.d. Adolphustown, Ontario.

Fig. 6.38. The White Chapel, Picton, Ontario (1809); exterior.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *The White Chapel*. n.d. Picton, Ontario.

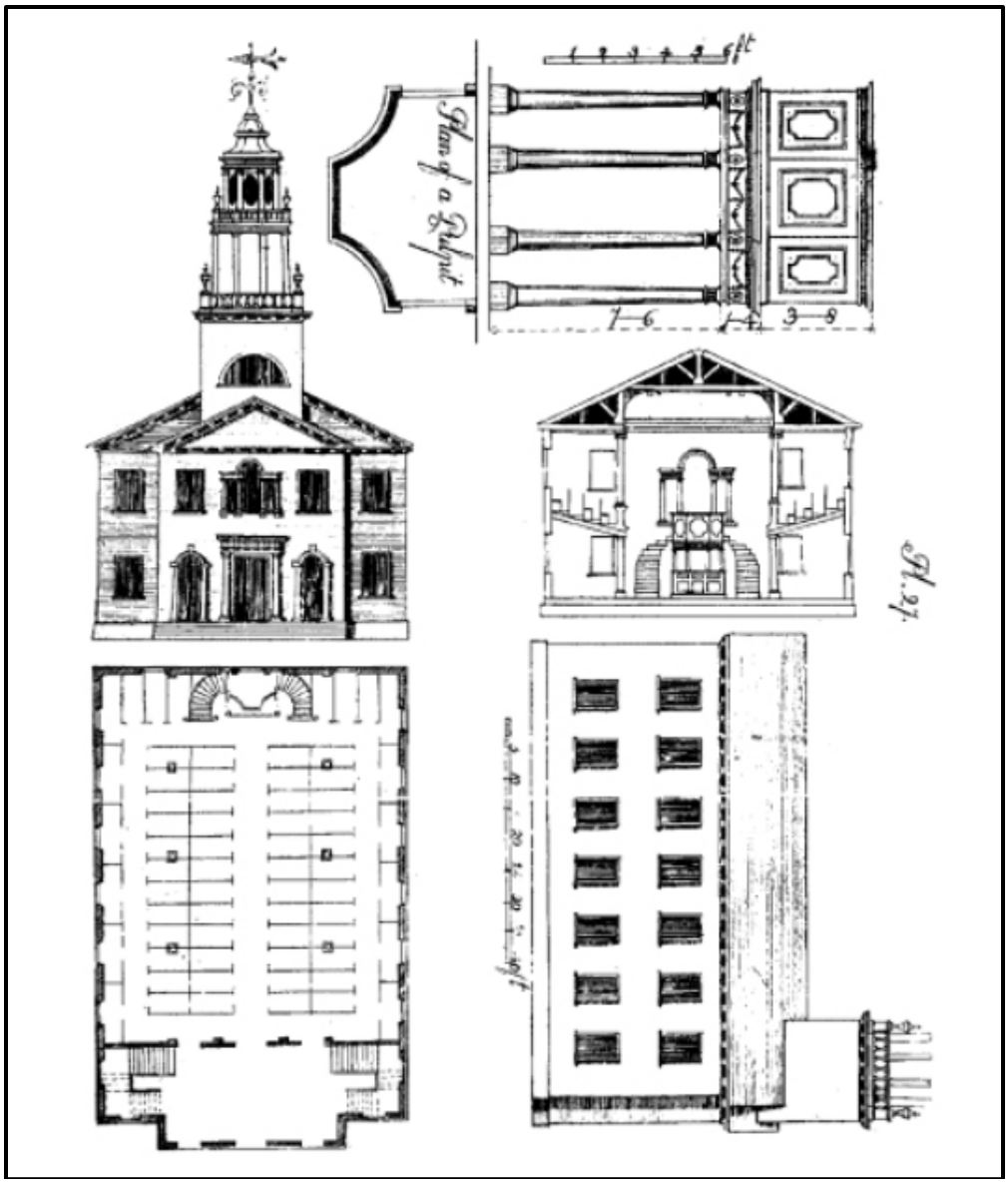
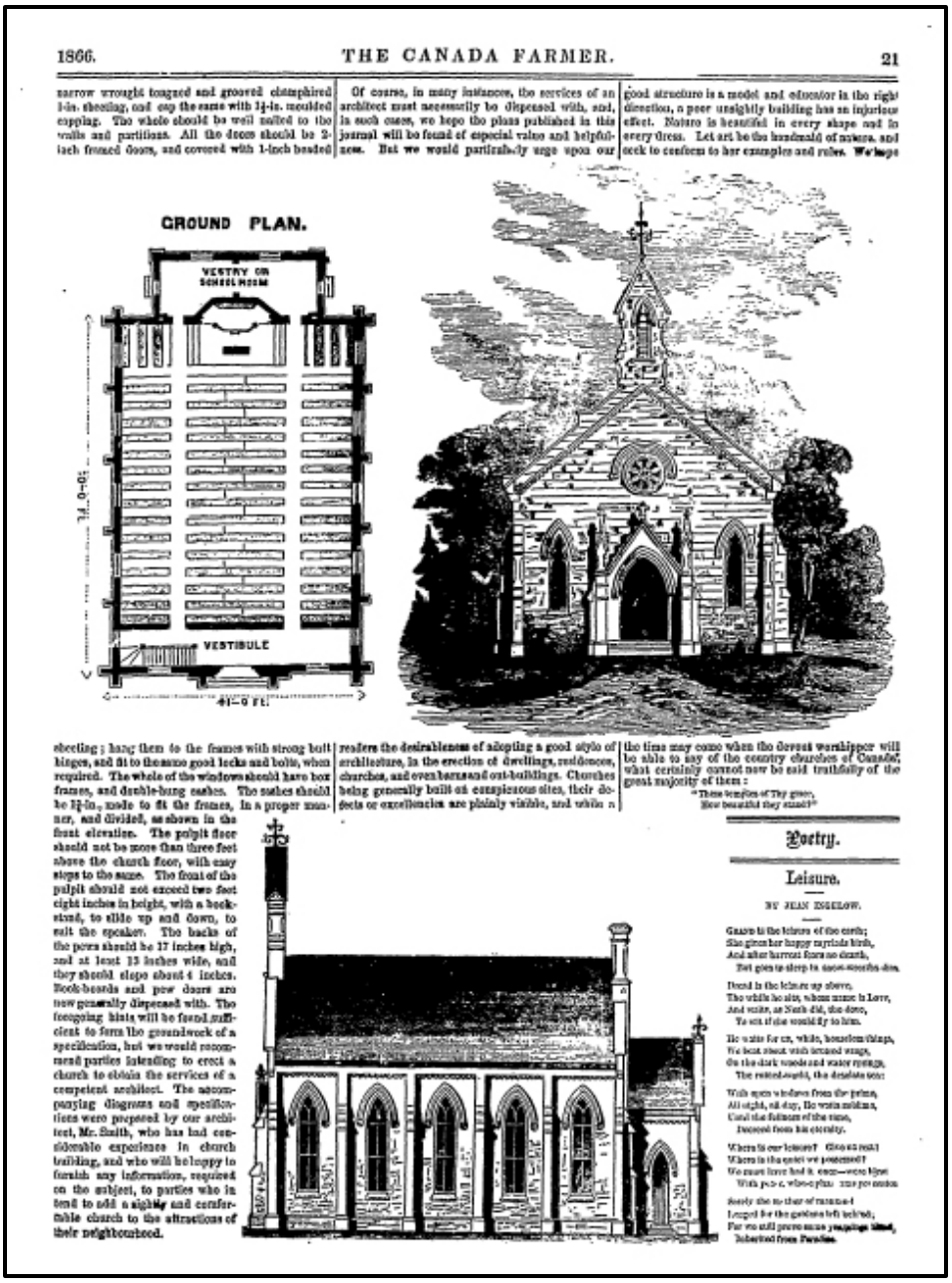


Fig. 6.39. *Plate 27* from, Asher Benjamin's, *The Country Builder's Assistant: containing a collection of new designs of carpentry and architecture, which will be particularly useful, to country workmen in general* (1797).

Benjamin, Asher. "Pl 27." *The Country Builder's Assistant: containing a collection of new designs of carpentry and architecture, which will be particularly useful, to country workmen in general*. Greenfield (Mass): Thomas Dickman, 1797.

Fig. 6.40 "The Model Wesleyan Chapel" from, *Chapel and School Architecture. as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the erection of Chapels and School-houses*.

Jobson, F. J. "The Model Wesleyan Chapel." *Chapel and School Architecture, as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-houses*. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1850, n.pag.



1866. THE CANADA FARMER. 21

narrow wrought tongued and grooved clampshired 1-in. sheeting, and cap the same with 1½-in. moulded capping. The whole should be well nailed to the walls and partitions. All the doors should be 2-inch framed doors, and covered with 1-inch beaded

Of course, in many instances, the services of an architect must necessarily be dispensed with, and, in such cases, we hope the plans published in this journal will be found of especial value and helpfulness. But we would particularly urge upon our

good structure is a model and educator in the right direction, a poor unsightly building has an injurious effect. Nature is beautiful in every shape and in every dress. Let art be the handmaid of nature, and seek to conform to her examples and rules. We hope

GROUND PLAN.

VESTRY OR SCHOOL ROOM

VESTIBULE

34-0 FT.

sheeting; hang them to the frames with strong butt hinges, and fit to the same good locks and bolts, when required. The whole of the windows should have box frames, and double-hung sashes. The sashes should be 1¾-in., made to fit the frames, in a proper manner, and divided, as shown in the front elevation. The pulpit floor should not be more than three feet above the church floor, with easy steps to the same. The front of the pulpit should not exceed two feet eight inches in height, with a book-stand, to slide up and down, to suit the speaker. The backs of the pews should be 17 inches high, and at least 13 inches wide, and they should slope about 4 inches. Book-boards and pew doors are now generally dispensed with. The foregoing hints will be found sufficient to form the groundwork of a specification, but we would recommend parties intending to erect a church to obtain the services of a competent architect. The accompanying diagrams and specifications were prepared by our architect, Mr. Smith, who has had considerable experience in church building, and who will be happy to furnish any information, required on the subject, to parties who intend to add a sightly and comfortable church to the attractions of their neighbourhood.

readers the desirableness of adopting a good style of architecture, in the erection of dwellings, residences, churches, and even barns and out-buildings. Churches being generally built on conspicuous sites, their defects or excellencies are plainly visible, and while a

the time may come when the devout worshipper will be able to say of the country churches of Canada, what certainly cannot now be said truthfully of the great majority of them:

"These temples of Thy grace,
How beautiful they stand!"

Poetry.

Leisure.

BY JEAN INGELOW.

Grace to the leisure of the earth;
She gives her happy carols birth,
And after harvest fears no dearth,
But goes to sleep to snore months due.

Dead is the leisure up above,
The while he sits, whose name is Love,
And waits, as Noah did, the dove,
To see if she would fly to him.

He waits for us, while heaven things,
We beat about with tranced wings,
On the dark woods and water springs,
The rotted world, the desolate sea:

With open windows from the prime,
All night, all day, He waits sublime,
Until the fullness of the time,
Descend from his eternity.

Where is our leisure? Gone as real
Where is the quiet we possessed?
We must have had it, once—were blest
With peace, when [illegible]

Surely the mother remained
Longed for the gardens left behind,
For we still prove some yearnings blind,
Inherited from Paradise.

Fig. 6.41. "A Neat Country Church" from *The Canada Farmer* Vol. 3.2, 15 January 1866, p.21.

"A Neat Country Church." *The Canada Farmer* 3.2 (1866): 20-21. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. 27 July 2016. <http://eco.canadiana.ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/oocihm.8_04206_49/6?r=0&s=1>

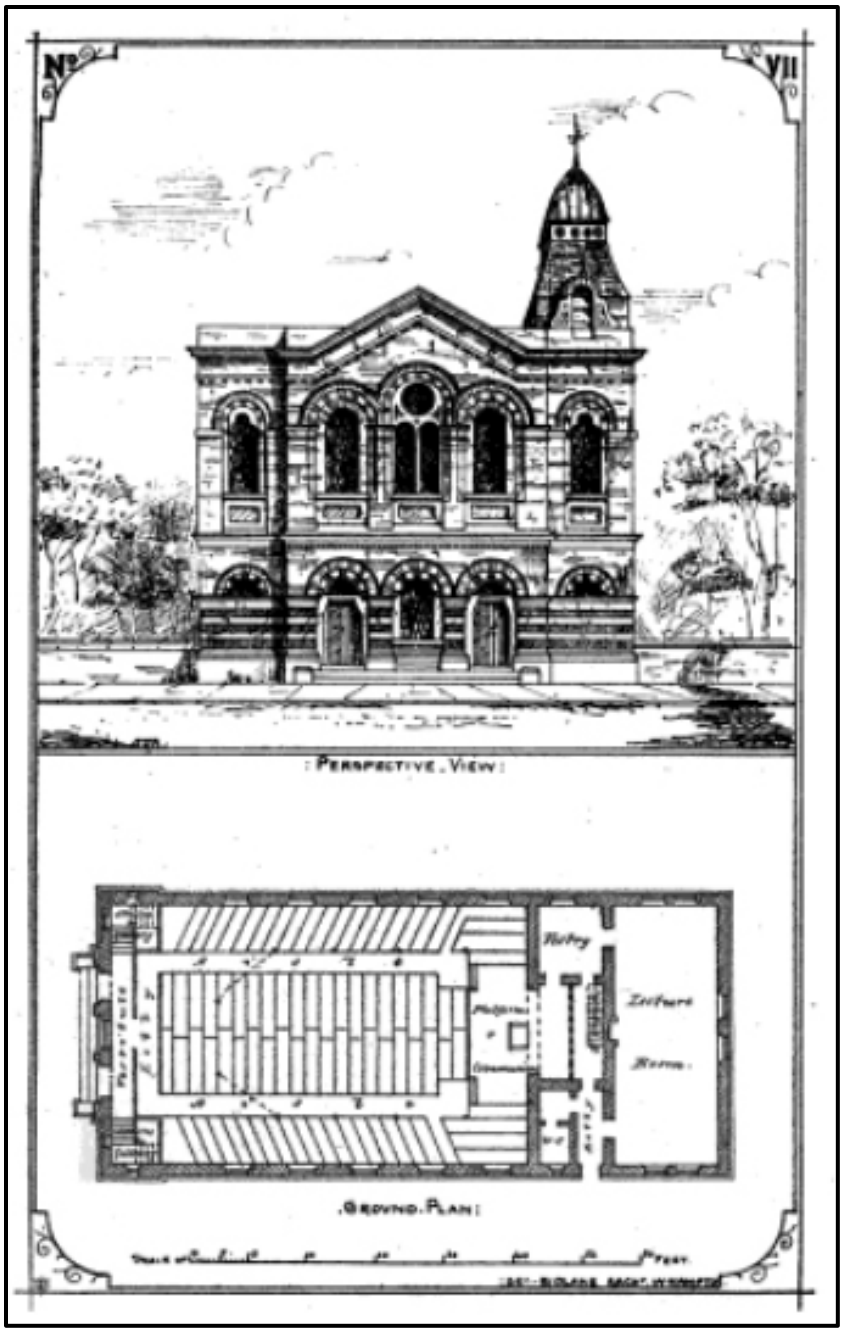


Fig. 6.42. *Design No. 7* from, *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*.

Bidlake, George. “No. VII.” *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.pag.

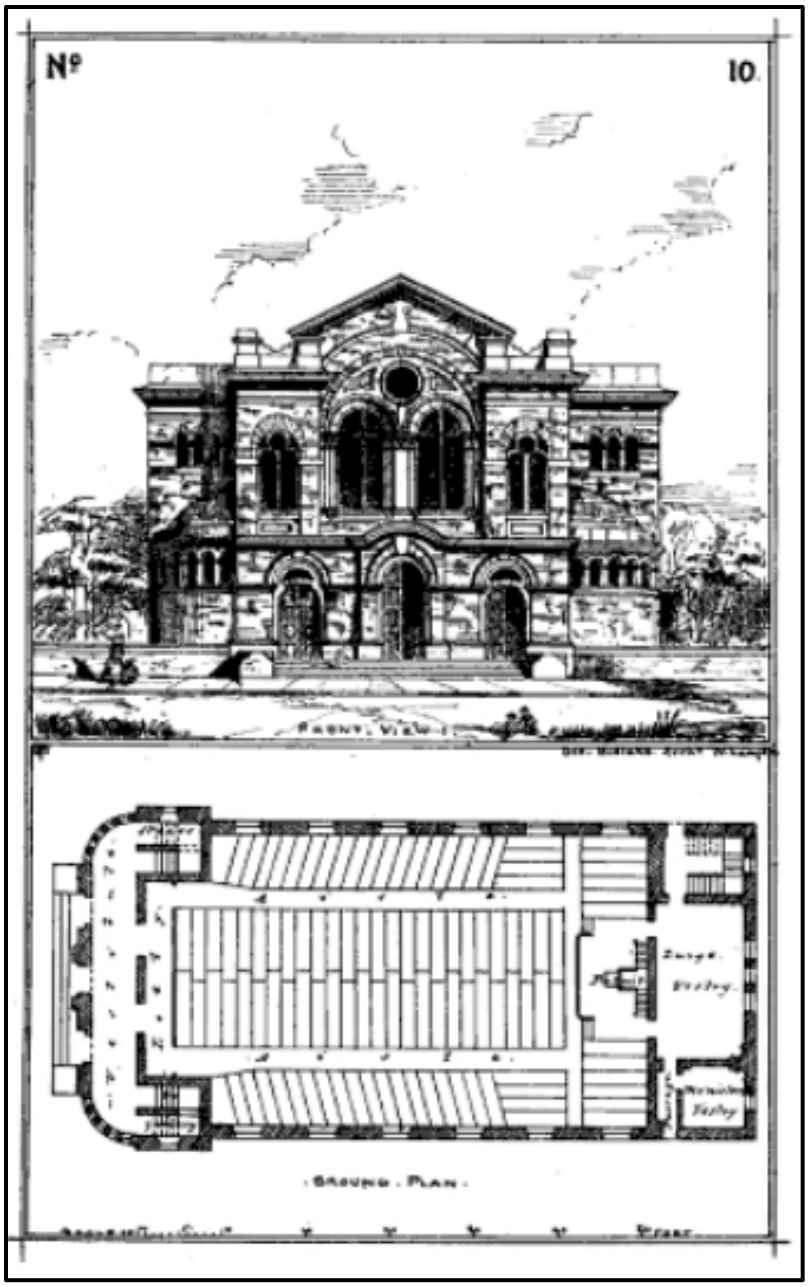


Fig. 6.43. *Design No. 10* from, *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*.

Bidlake, George. “No. 10.” *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.pag.

Fig. 6.44. Simcoe Street Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, Ontario (1867); archival image. Gundry and Langley, architects

Image courtesy of Simcoe Street United Church

Interior of Simcoe Street United Church, Floral Service - Early 1900's. n.d. Photograph. Simcoe Street United Church.

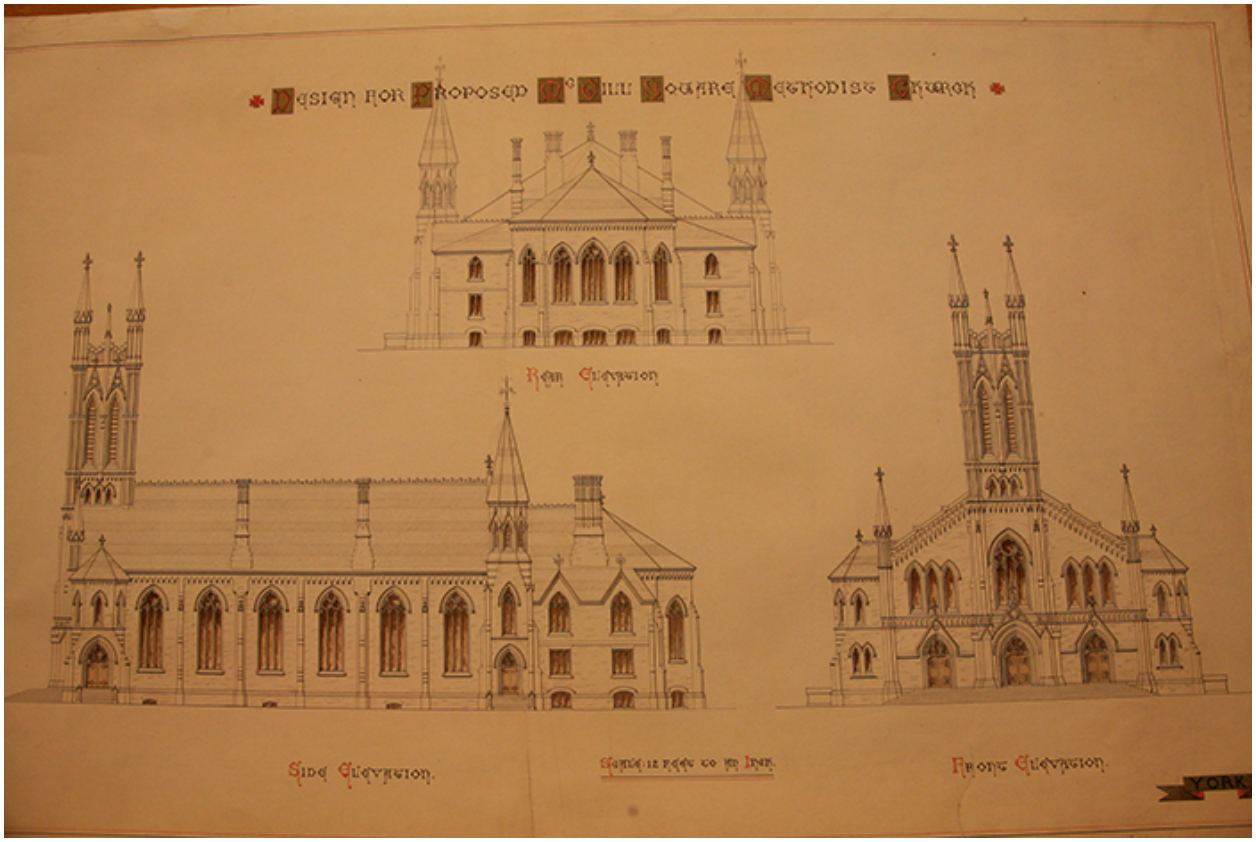


Fig. 6.45. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1870); drawing. Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.46. Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto, Ontario; archival photograph (c. 1870).

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Metropolitan Methodist (United) CHURCH, Queen St. E., n, side, between Bond & Church Sts. 1870. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.47. St George's Parish Church, Doncaster, England; exterior.

Rotatebot. *Church of St George*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 9 December 2009. Web. 17 June 2016. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/df/St_Georges_Doncaster_2.jpg>.

Fig. 6.48. Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto, Ontario; archival photograph (c. 1899).

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Queen St. E., n, side, between Bond & Church Sts.; INTERIOR. 1899. Plate glass copy negative. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.49. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1870); drawing, section of School House.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Section of School House*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

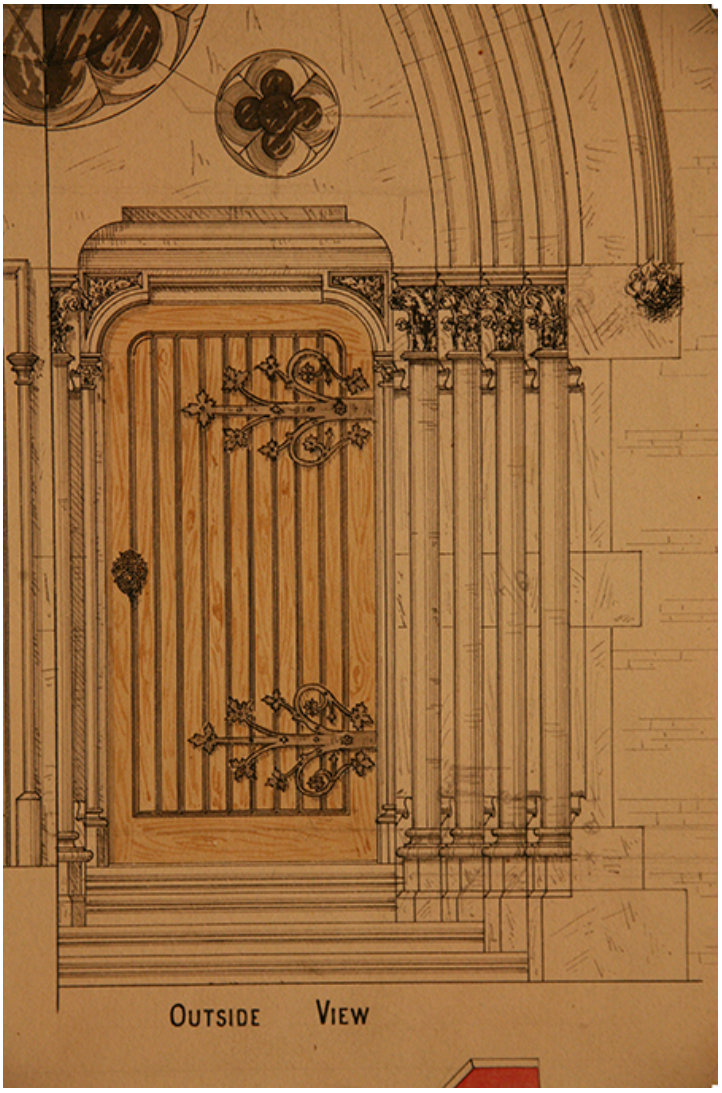


Fig. 6.50. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1870); drawing detail with door hinges.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Outside View*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.51. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1870); drawing detail with bench ends.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Elevation of Seat Ends*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

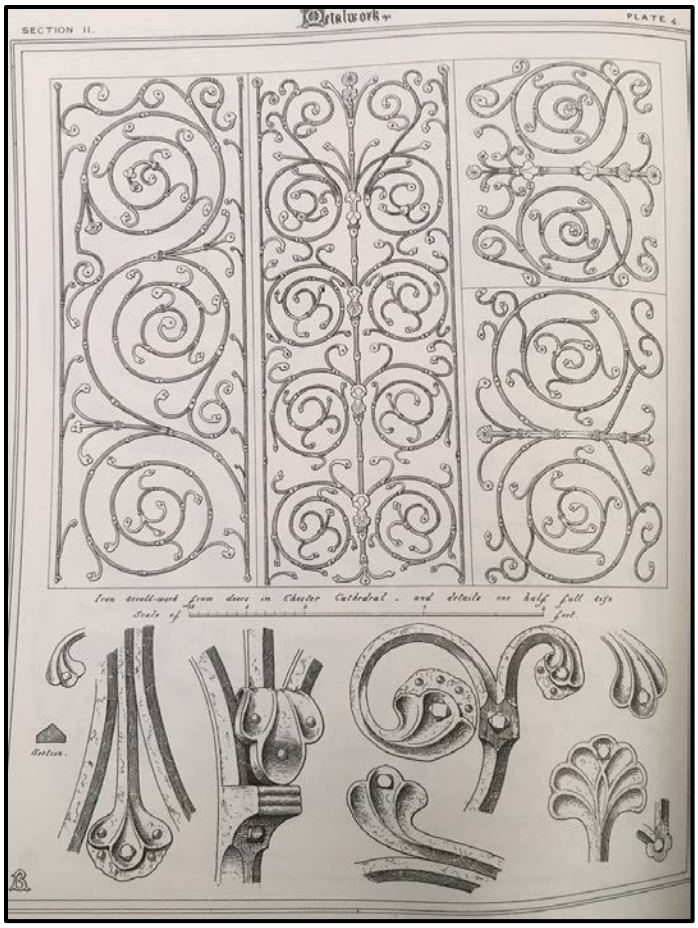


Fig. 6.52. "Plate 4" from, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's, *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice*.

Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. "Plate 4." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice*. London: Pelham Richardson, 1847.

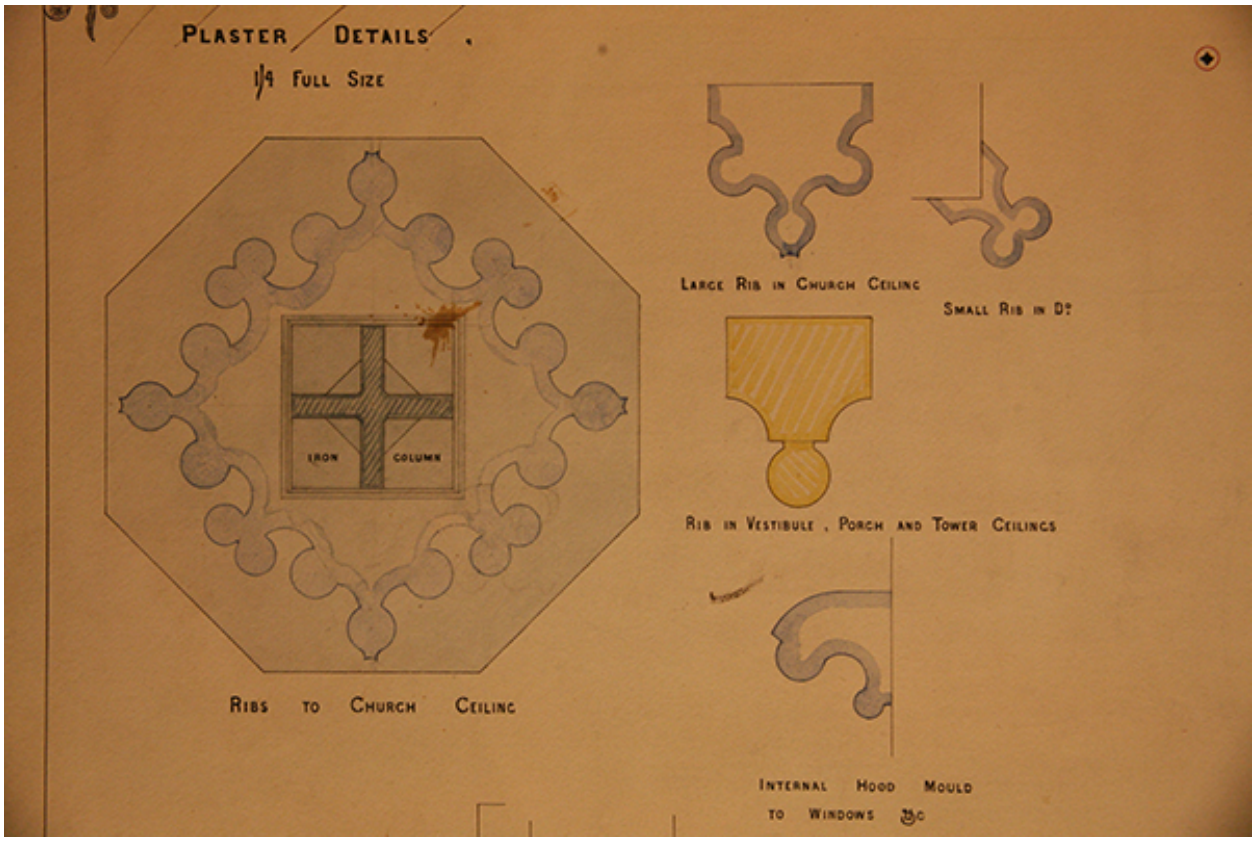


Fig. 6.53. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1870); drawing detail with ribs and mouldings.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Plaster Details*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

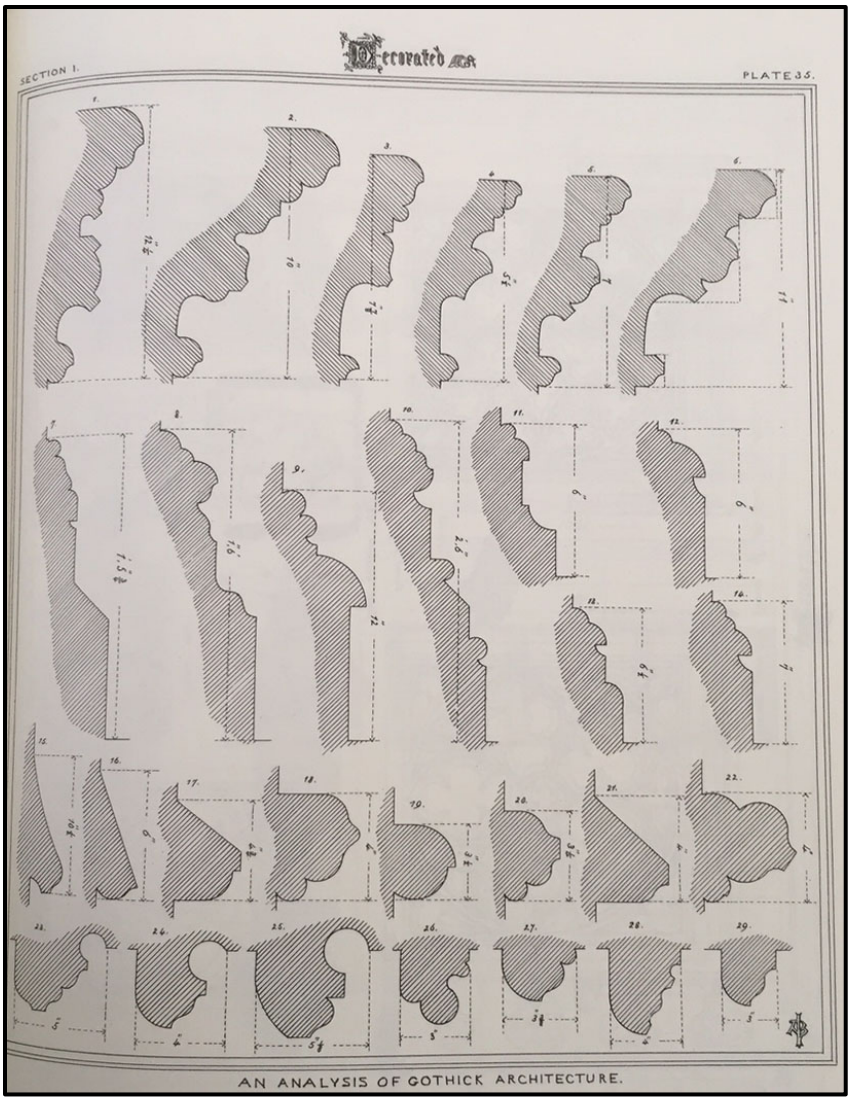


Fig. 6.54. "Plate 35" from, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's, *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice*.

Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. "Plate 36." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice*. London: Pelham Richardson, 1847.

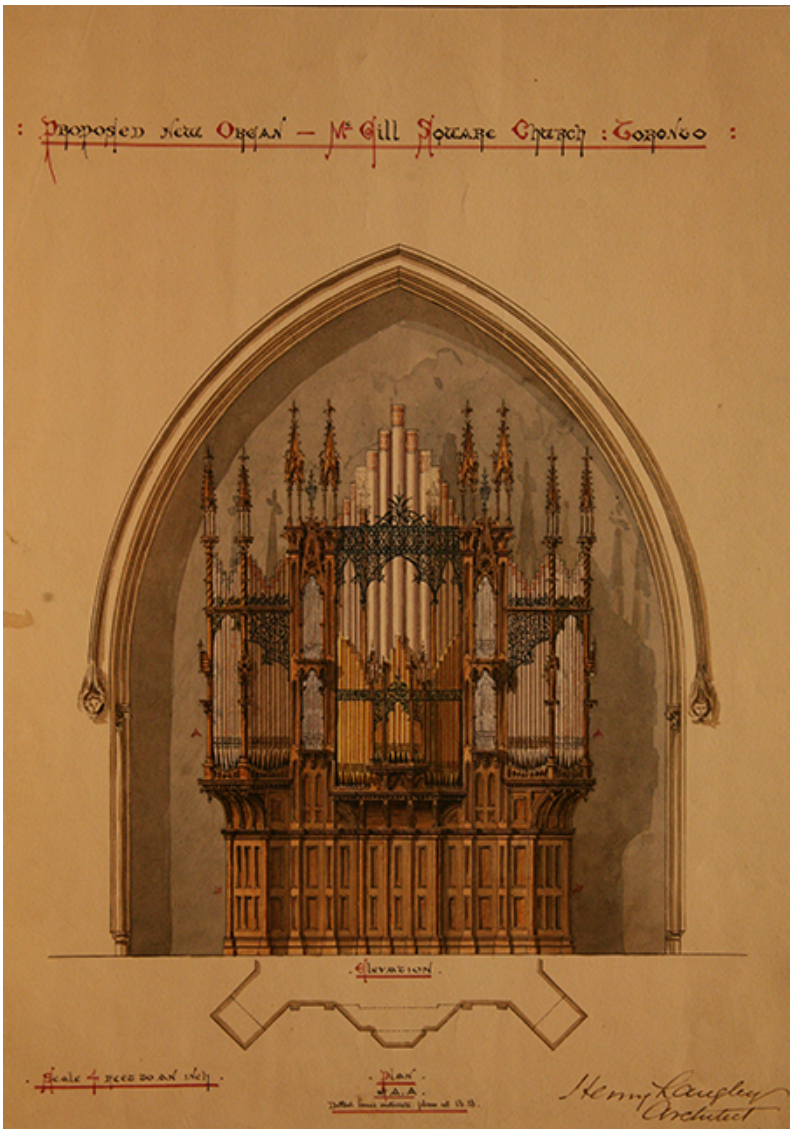


Fig. 6.55. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1870); drawing detail with organ loft.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Proposed New Organ - McGill Square Methodist Church: Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.56. Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1870); drawing detail with organ case.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Henry. *Metropolitan W. M. Church. Detail of Organ Case*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

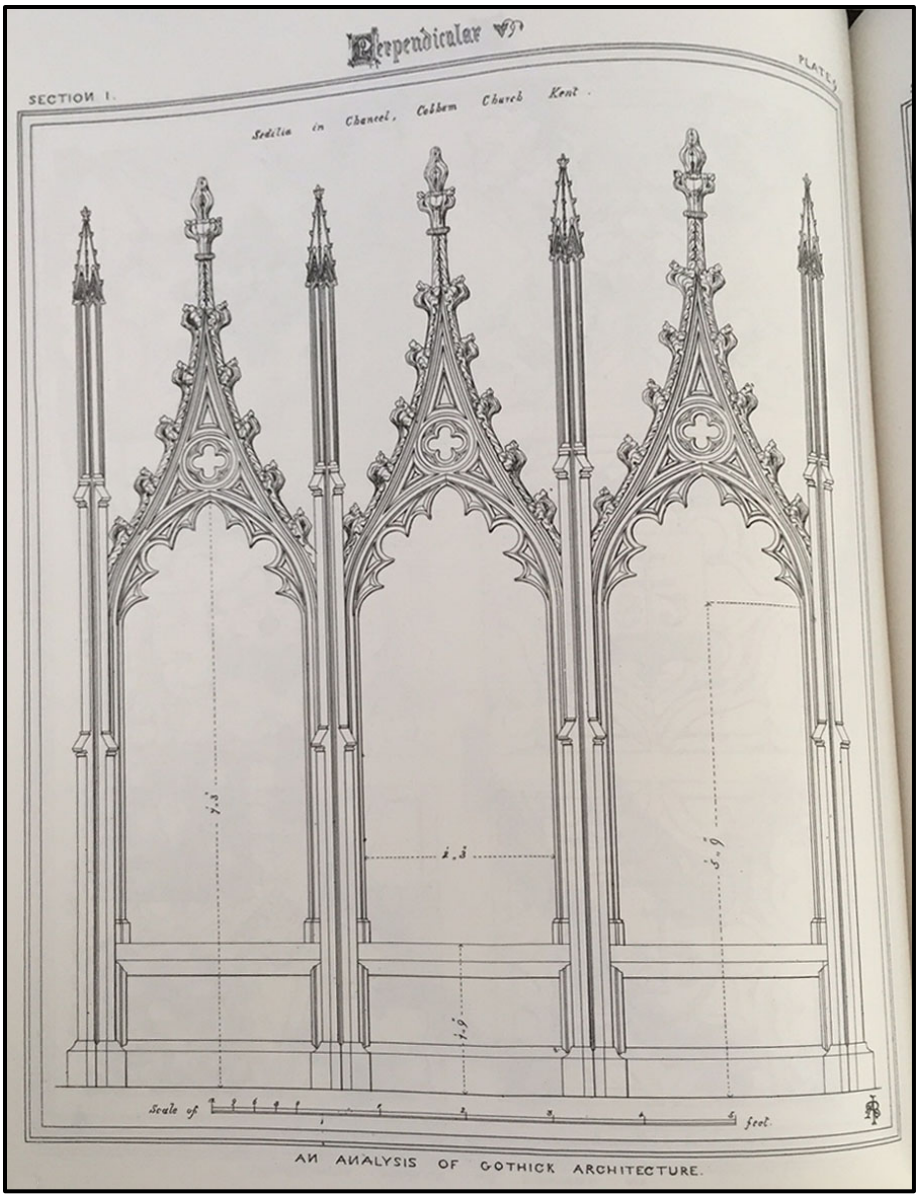


Fig. 6.57. from, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's, *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice.*

Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. "Plate 9." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice.* London: Pelham Richardson, 1847.

Fig. 6.58. Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, Ontario (1872); drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Presbyterian Church Ottawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

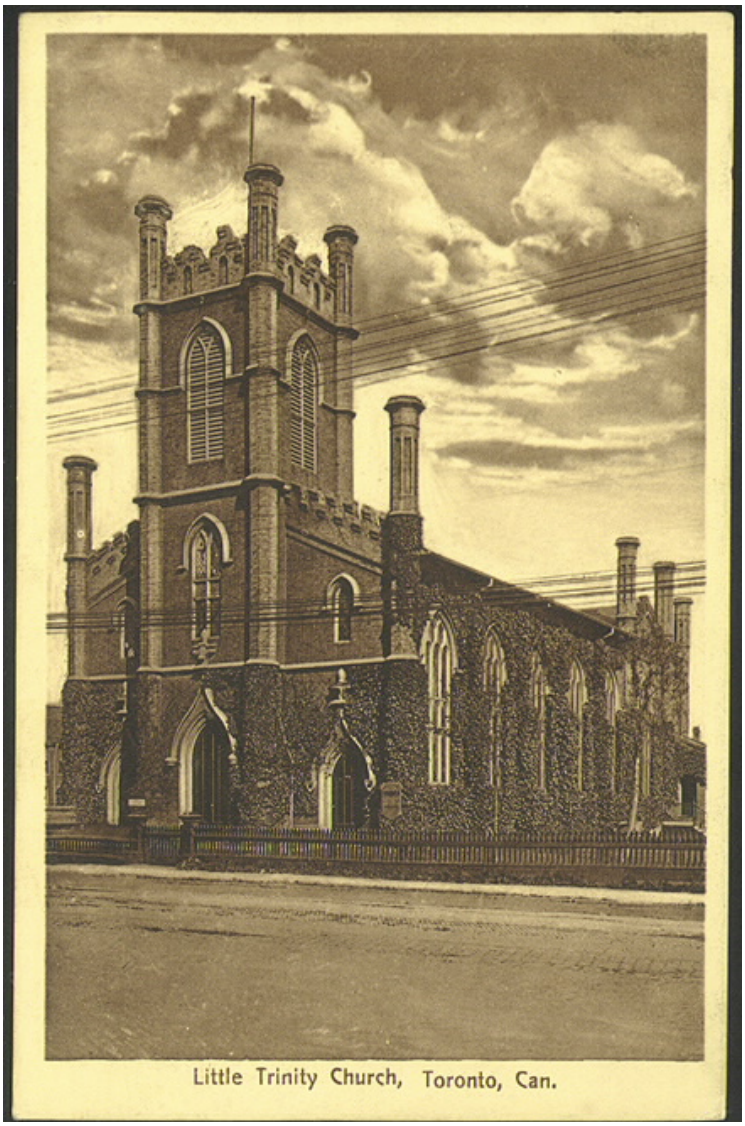


Fig. 6.59. Little Trinity Church, Toronto, Ontario.

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Little Trinity Church, Toronto, Can. 1910. Printed Ephemera. PC 269. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library.

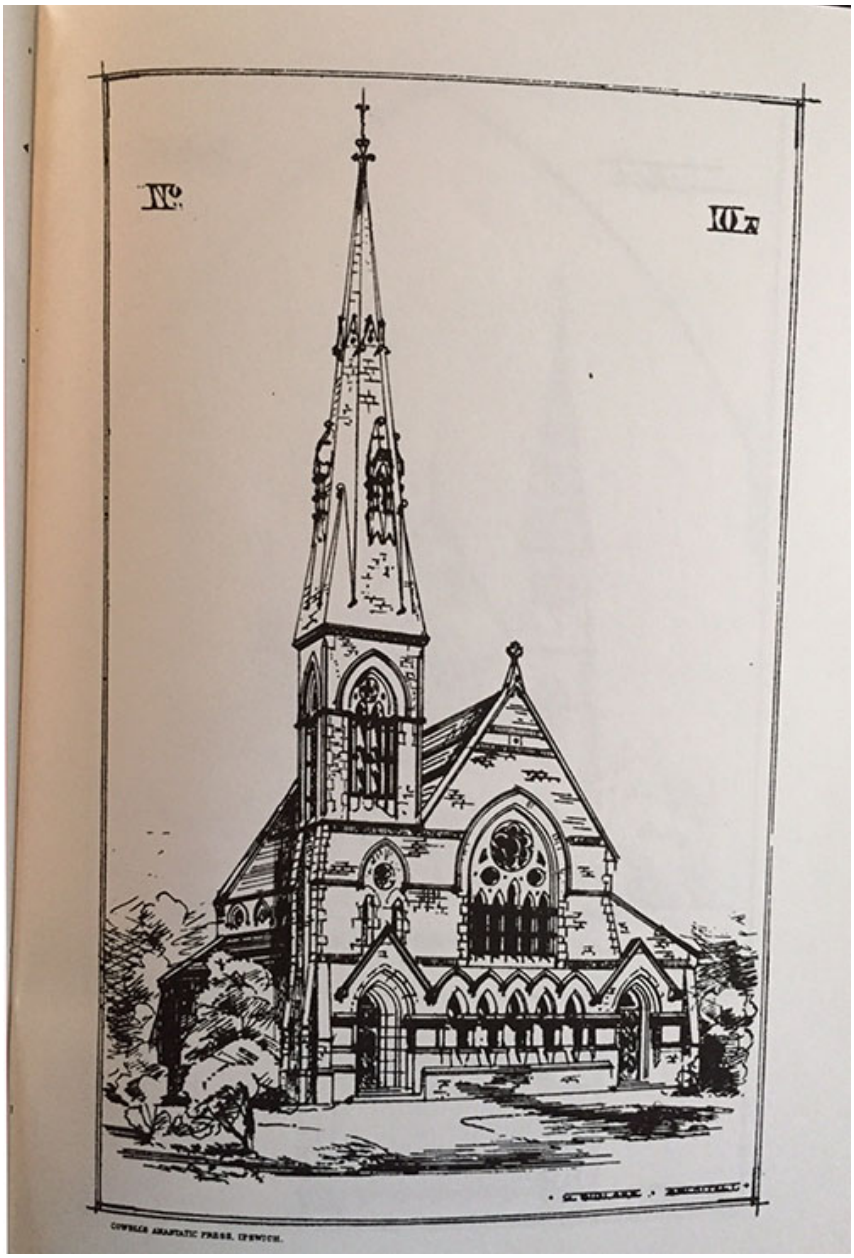


Fig. 6.60. Design 10A from George Bidlake's, *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*.

Bidlake, George. "No. 10A." Bidlake, George. *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1866.

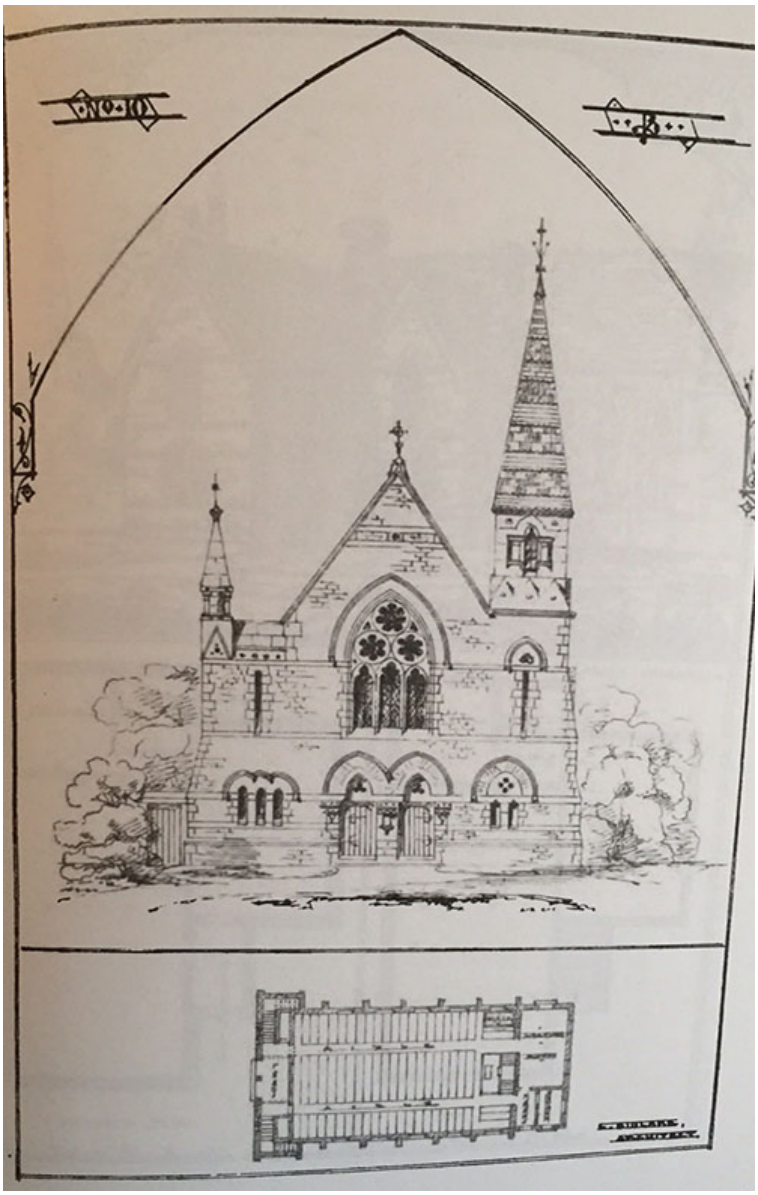


Fig. 6.61. Design 10B from George Bidlake's, *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*.

Bidlake, George. "No. 10B." Bidlake, George. *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1866.

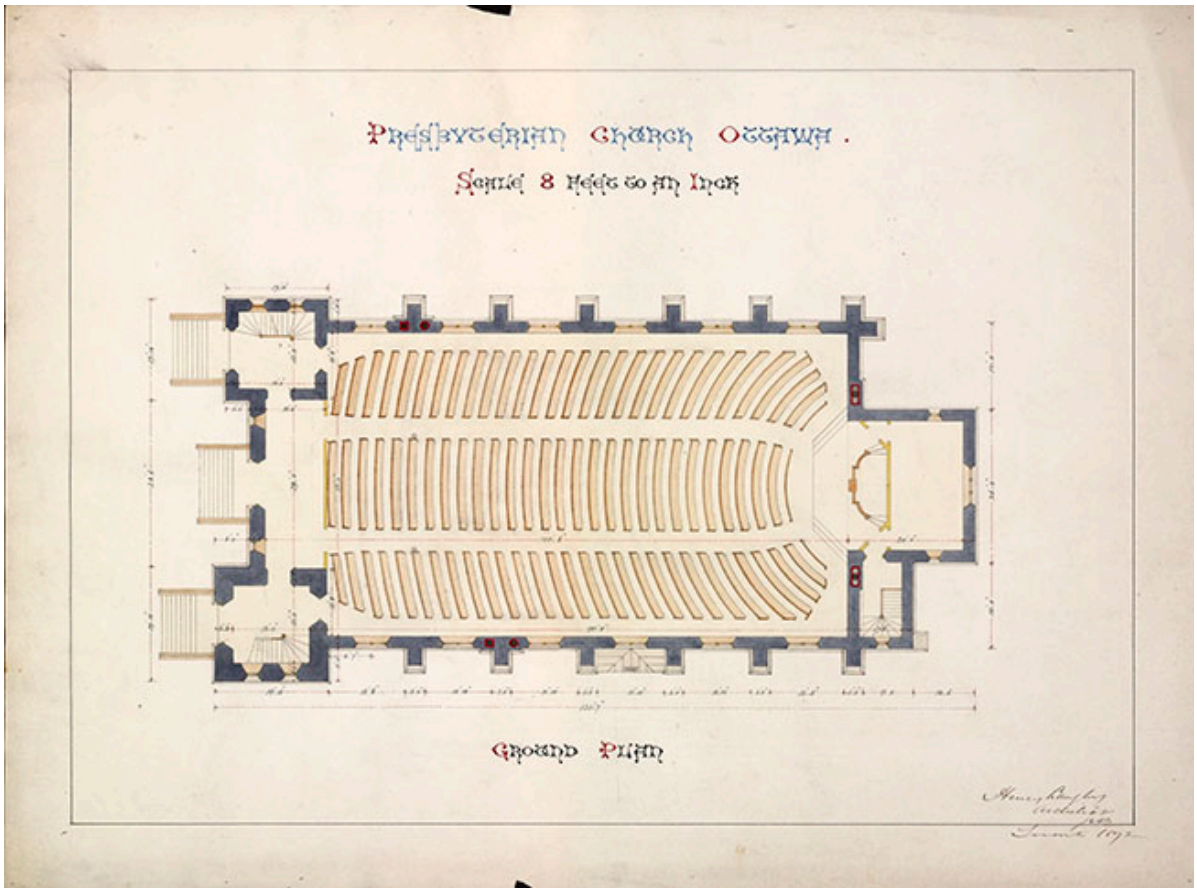


Fig. 6.62. Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, Ontario (1872); ground plan.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Presbyterian Church Ottawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

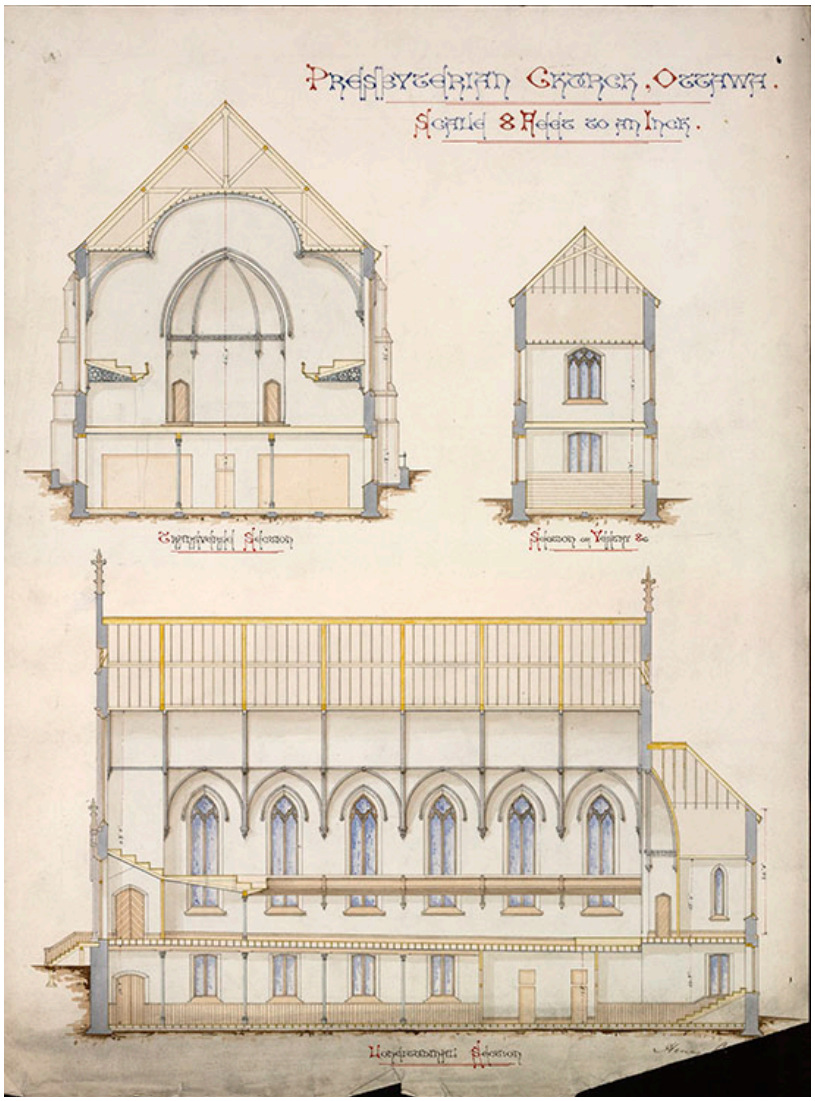


Fig. 6.63. Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, Ontario (1872); sections.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Presbyterian Church Ottawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

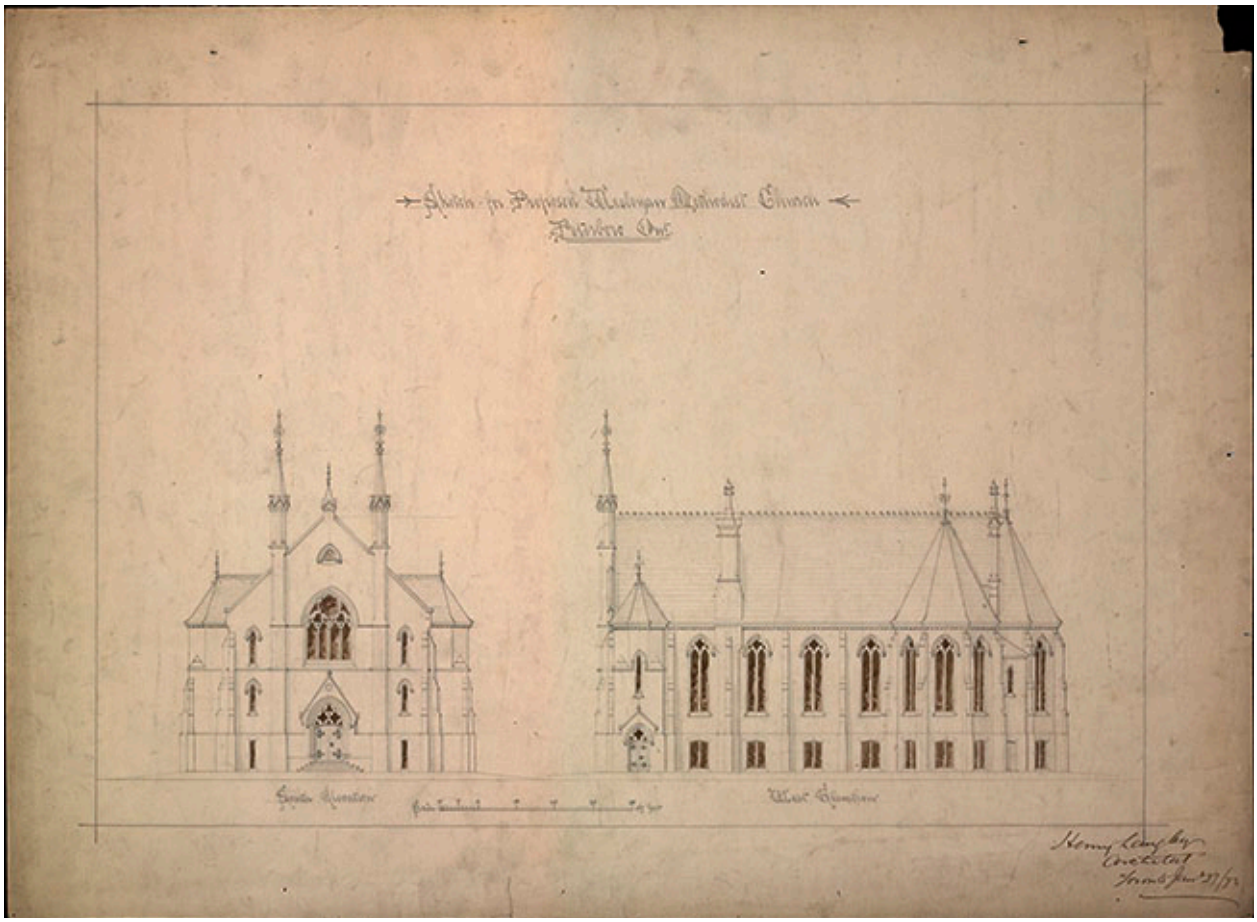


Fig. 6.64. George Street Wesleyan Methodist Church, Peterborough, Ontario (1873); drawing (First Variation).
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Sketch of Proposed Wesleyan Methodist Church Peterboro Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

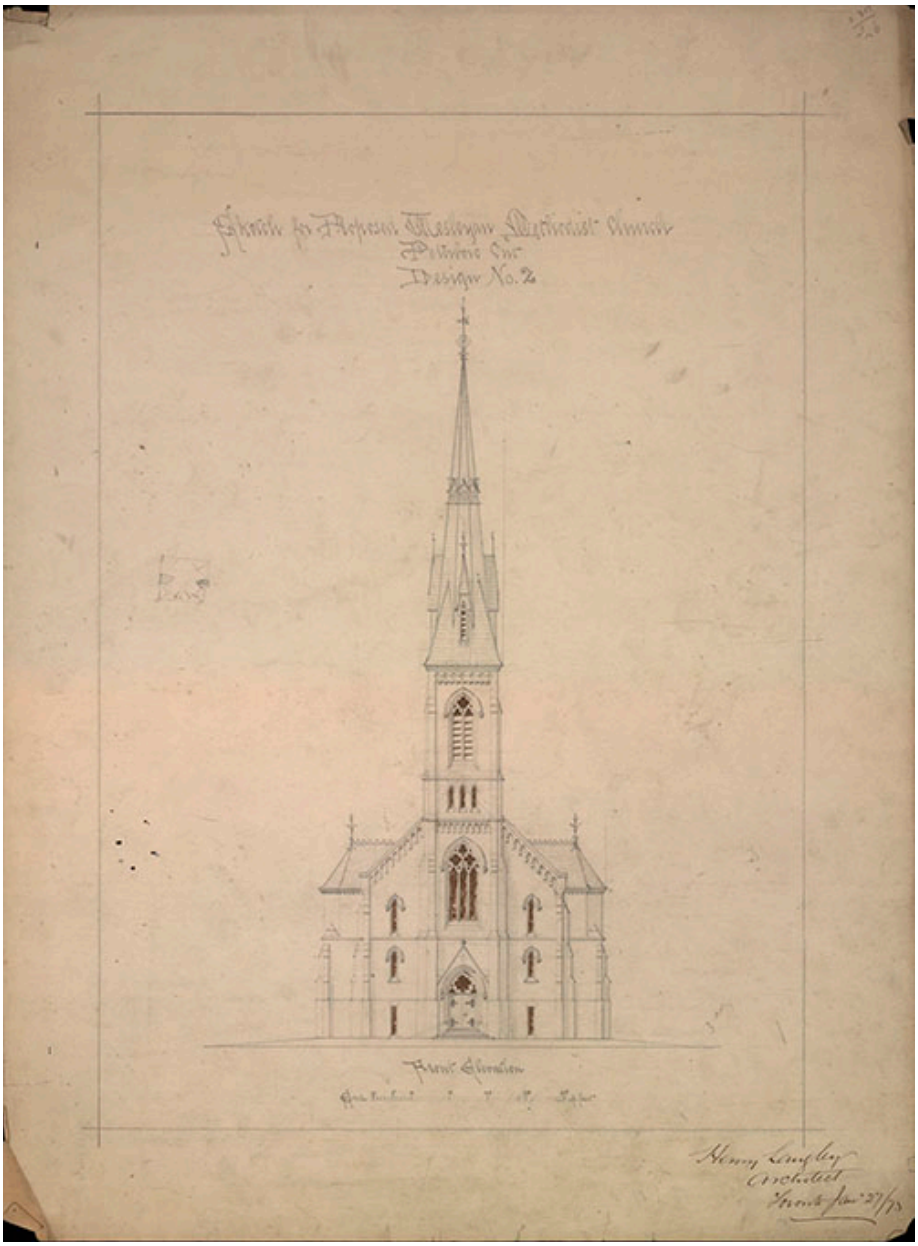


Fig. 6.65. George Street Wesleyan Methodist Church, Peterborough, Ontario (1873); drawing (Second Variation).
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Sketch of Proposed Wesleyan Methodist Church Peterboro Ont Design No. 2.* Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

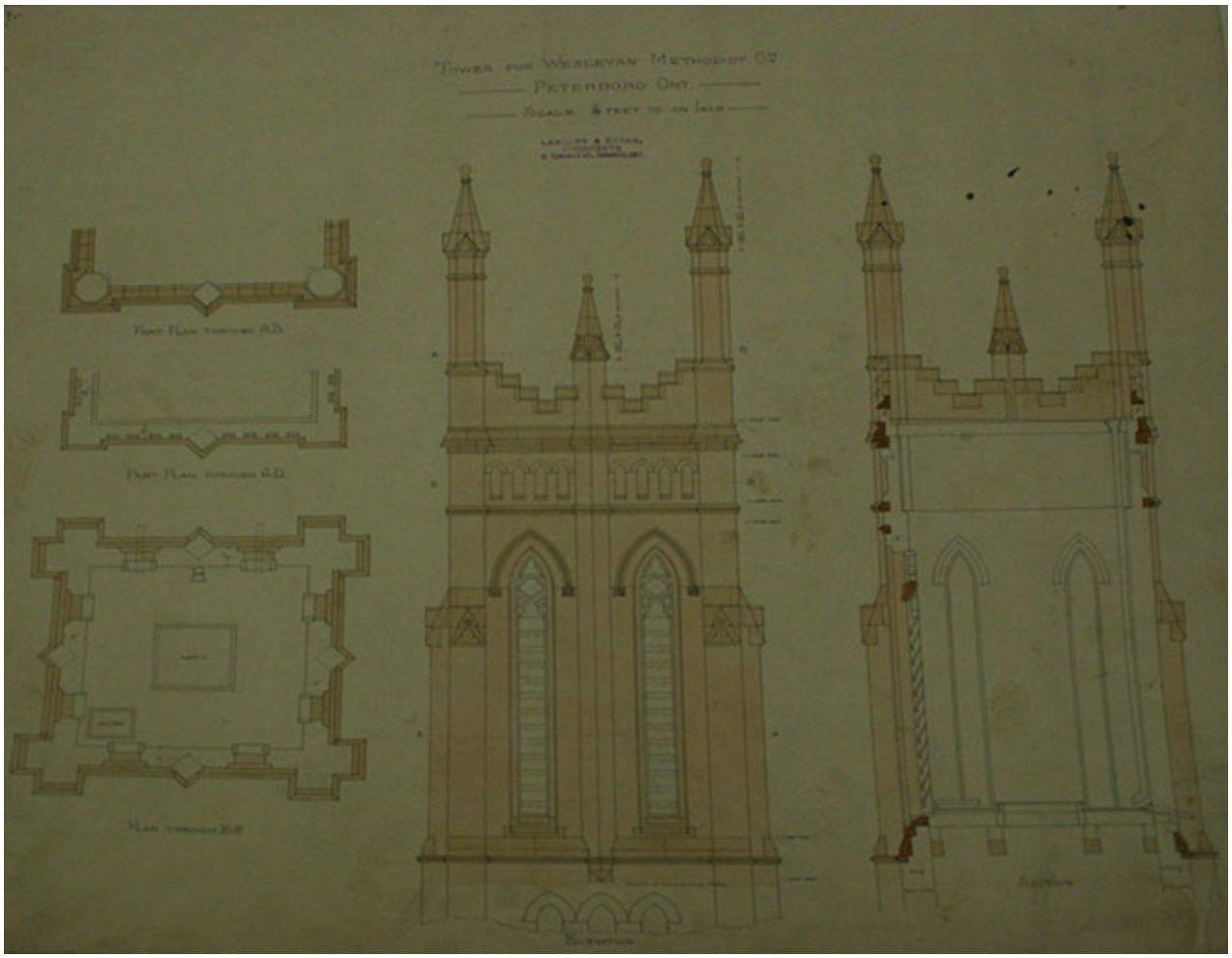


Fig. 6.66. George Street Wesleyan Methodist Church, Peterborough, Ontario (1873); drawing (Third Variation).
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Henry. *Tower for Wesleyan Methodist Ch Peterboro Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.67. George Street Wesleyan Methodist Church, Peterborough, Ontario (1873); façade. Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *George Street Methodist (United) Church, Peterborough*. n.d. Peterborough, Ontario.

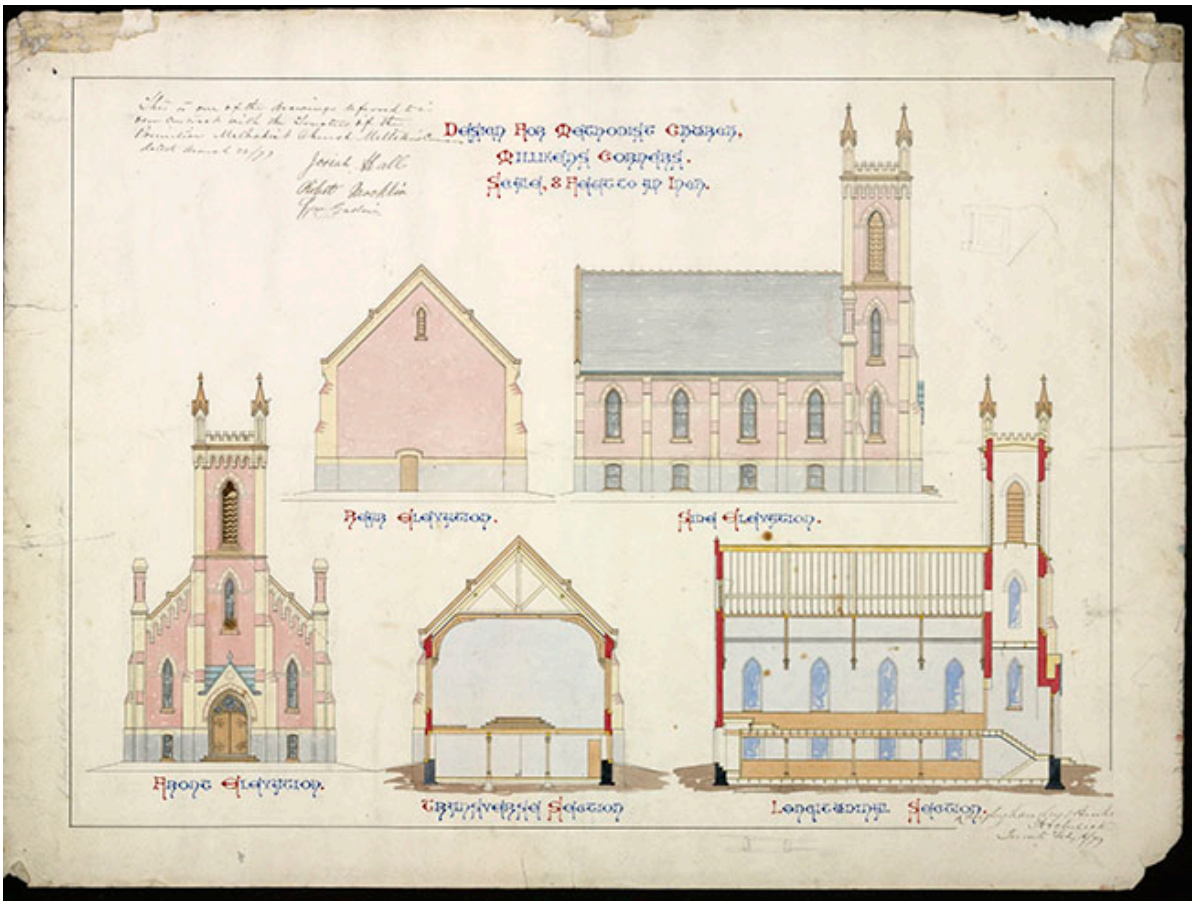


Fig. 6.68. Milliken Primitive Methodist (now Ebenezer United) Church, Markham, Ontario (1877); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Design for Methodist Church Milliken's Corners*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.69. Milliken Primitive Methodist (now Ebenezer United) Church, Markham, Ontario (1877); façade.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Ebenezer United Church, Markham*. n.d. Markham, Ontario.

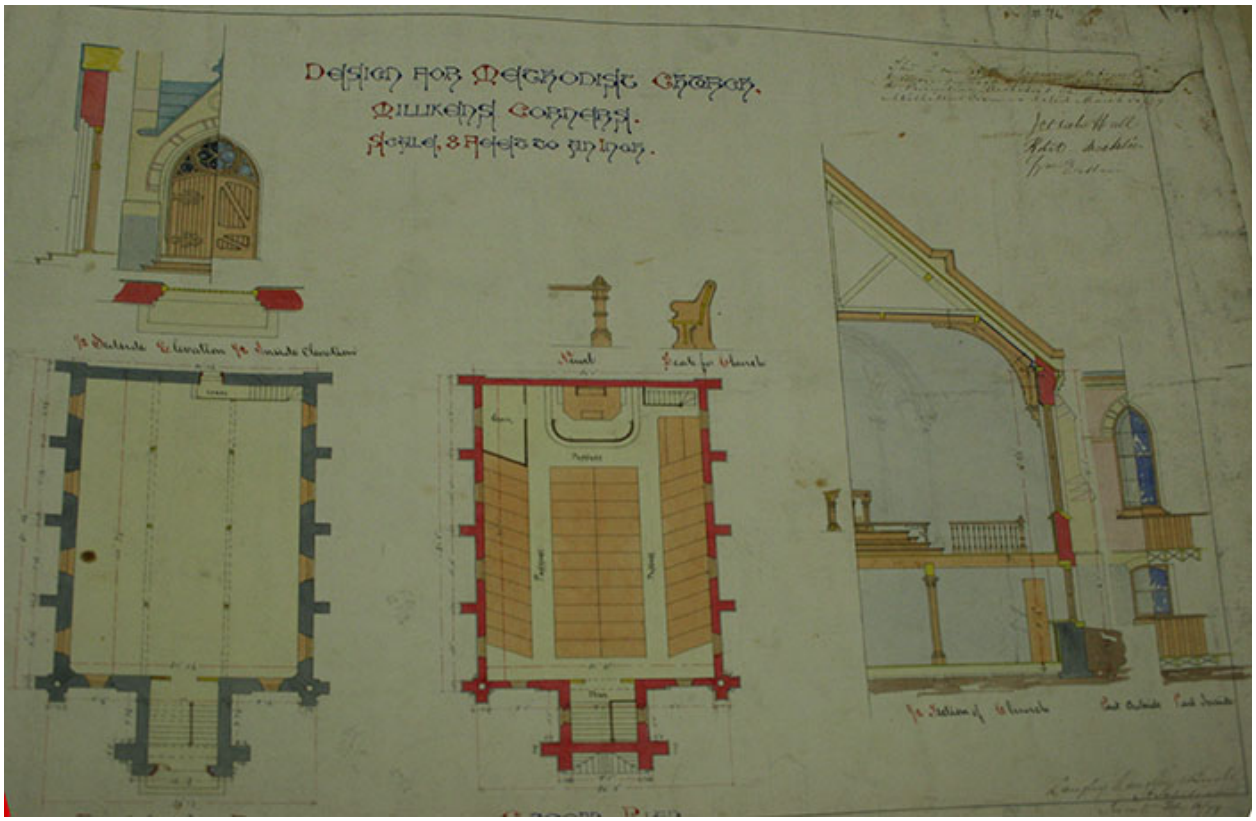


Fig. 6.70. Milliken Primitive Methodist (now Ebenezer United) Church, Markham, Ontario (1877); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Design for Methodist Church Milliken's Corners*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.71. Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church, Richmond Hill, Ontario (1880); drawing. Langley, Langley and Burke

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.72. Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church, Richmond Hill, Ontario (1880); exterior. Langley, Langley and Burke

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church*. n.d. Richmond Hill, Ontario.

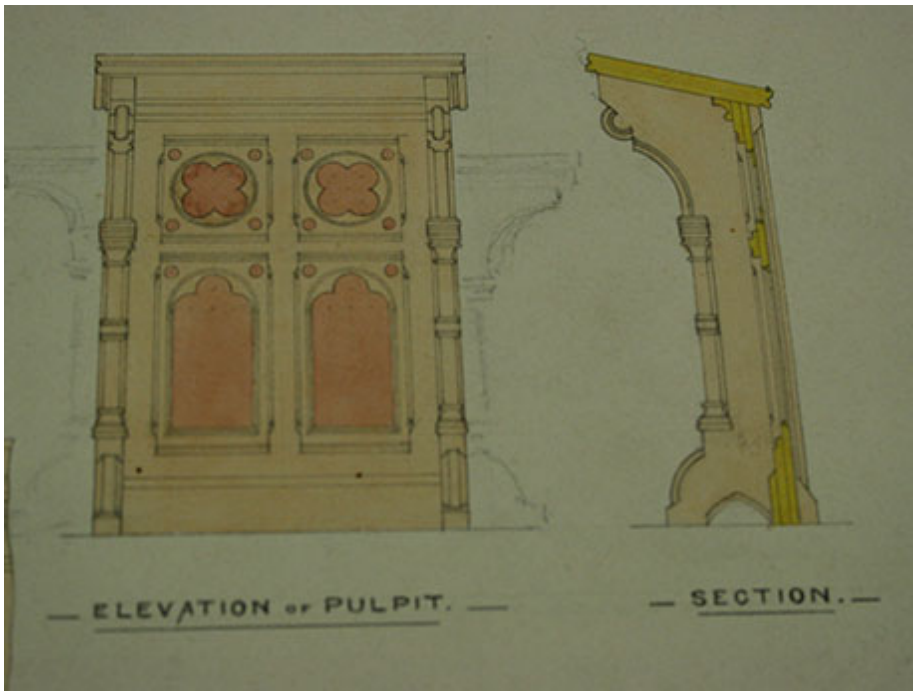


Fig. 6.73. Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church, Richmond Hill, Ontario (1880); elevation of pulpit.
Langley, Langley and Burke

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill; Elevation of Pew*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

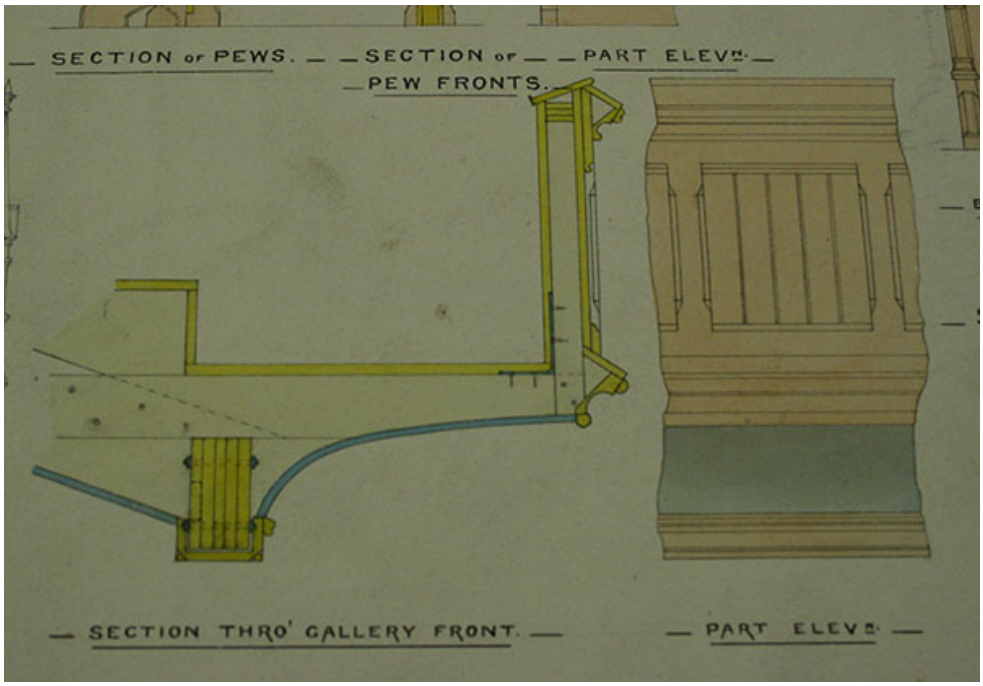


Fig. 6.74. Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church, Richmond Hill, Ontario (1880); gallery section. Langley, Langley and Burke

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill; Section thro Gallery Front.* Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

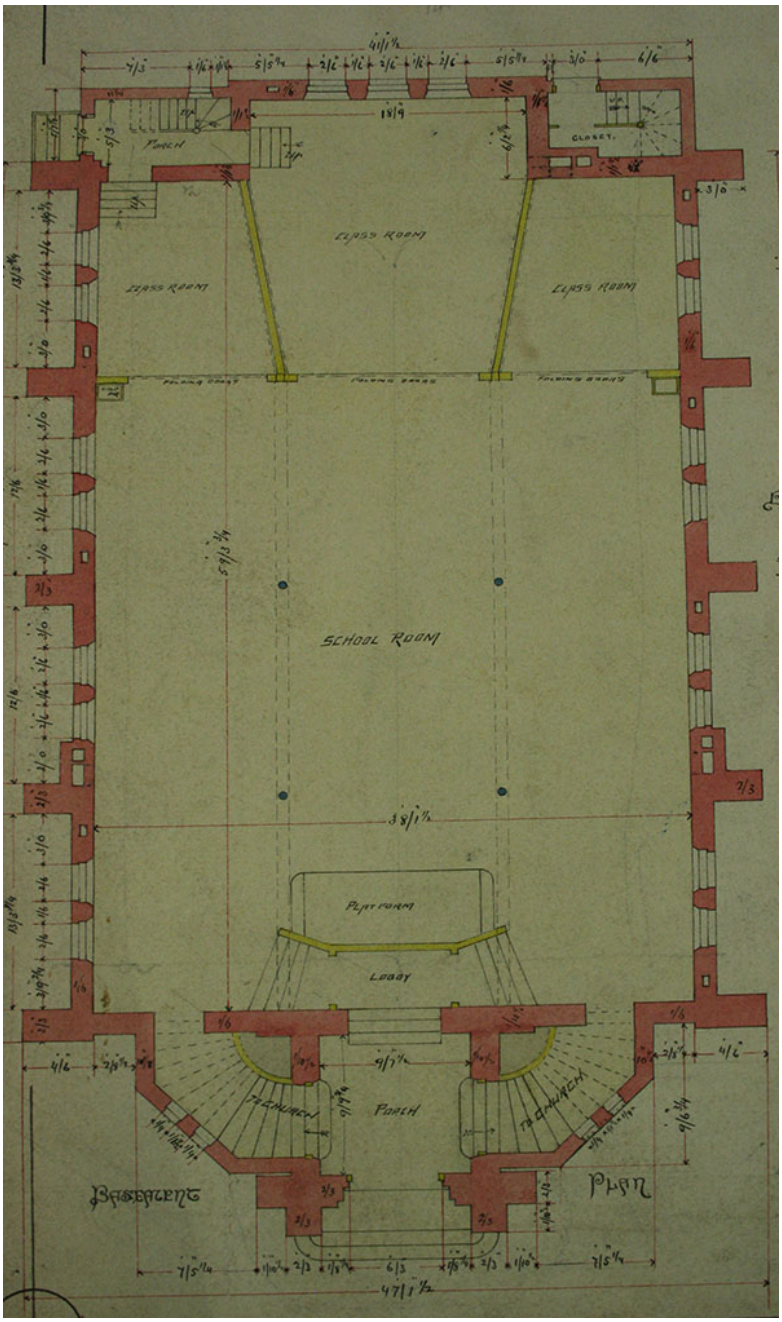


Fig. 6.75. Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church, Richmond Hill, Ontario (1880); Basement Plan. Langley, Langley and Burke

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill; Basement Plan.* Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.76. Tavistock Lutheran Church, Tavistock, Ontario (1884); façade. Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Tavistock Lutheran Church*. n.d. Tavistock, Ontario.

Fig. 6.77. Tavistock Lutheran Church, Tavistock, Ontario (1884); archival photograph.

Tavistock Lutheran Church, interior. n.d. Photograph. Tavistock Lutheran Church.

Fig. 6.78. First Baptist Church, Guelph, Ontario (1871); façade.
Henry Langley, architect

Photo: Candace Iron
Iron, Candace. *First Baptist Church, Guelph*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 6.79. Trenton Methodist (United) Church (1876-77); façade.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *King Street United Church, Trenton*. n.d. Trenton, Ontario.

Fig. 6.80. Trenton Methodist (United) Church (1876-77), Trenton, Ontario; archival photograph. Image courtesy of King Street United Church.

King Street United Church. n.d. Photograph. King Street United Church.

Fig. 6.81. Trenton Methodist (United) Church (1876-77); interior.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *King Street United Church, Trenton, interior*. n.d. Trenton, Ontario.

Fig. 6.82. Trenton Methodist (United) Church (1876-77); interior with gallery. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *King Street United Church, Trenton, gallery*. n.d. Trenton, Ontario.

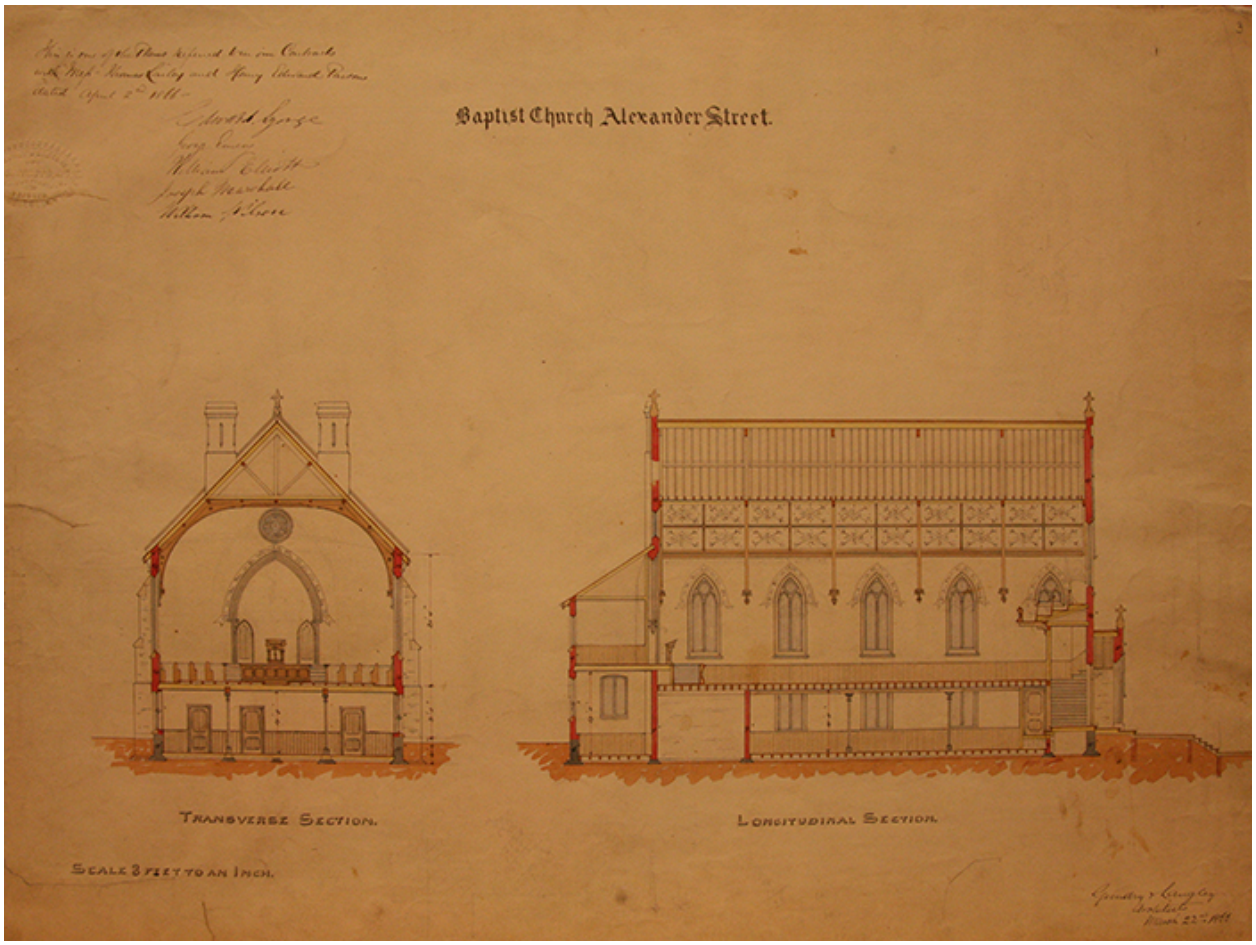


Fig. 6.83. Alexander Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1866); transverse and longitudinal sections. Gundry & Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.84. Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1874); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Aylmer*.Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.85. Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1874); façade.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Paul's Church, Aylmer*. n.d. Aylmer, Ontario.

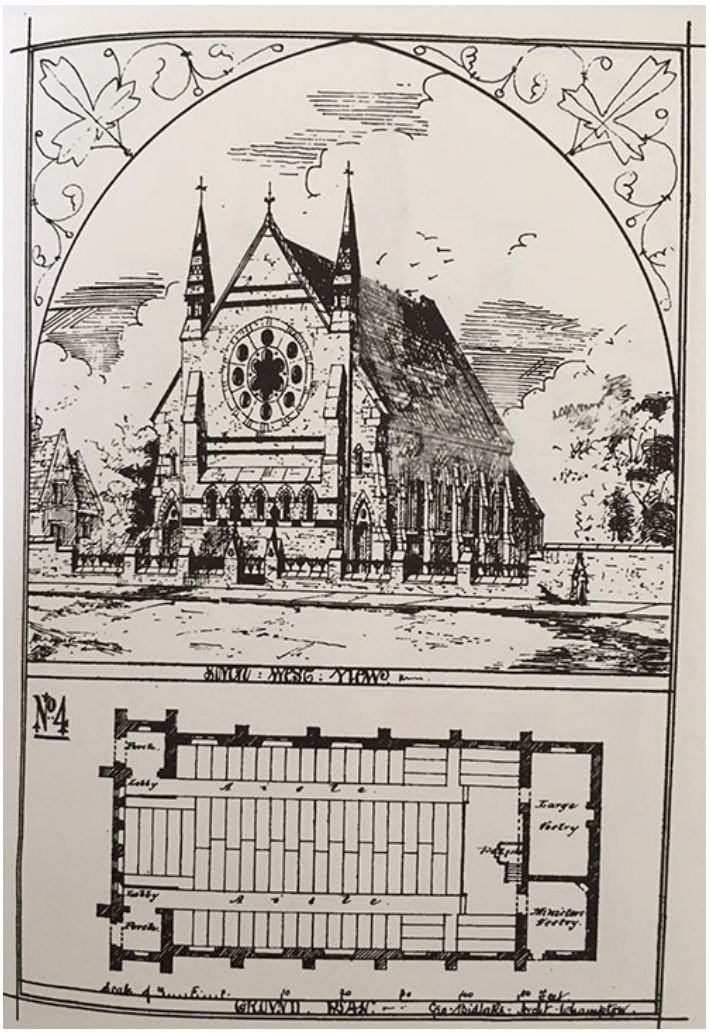


Fig. 6.86. *Design No. 4* from, *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*.

Bidlake, George. “No. 4.” *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.pag.

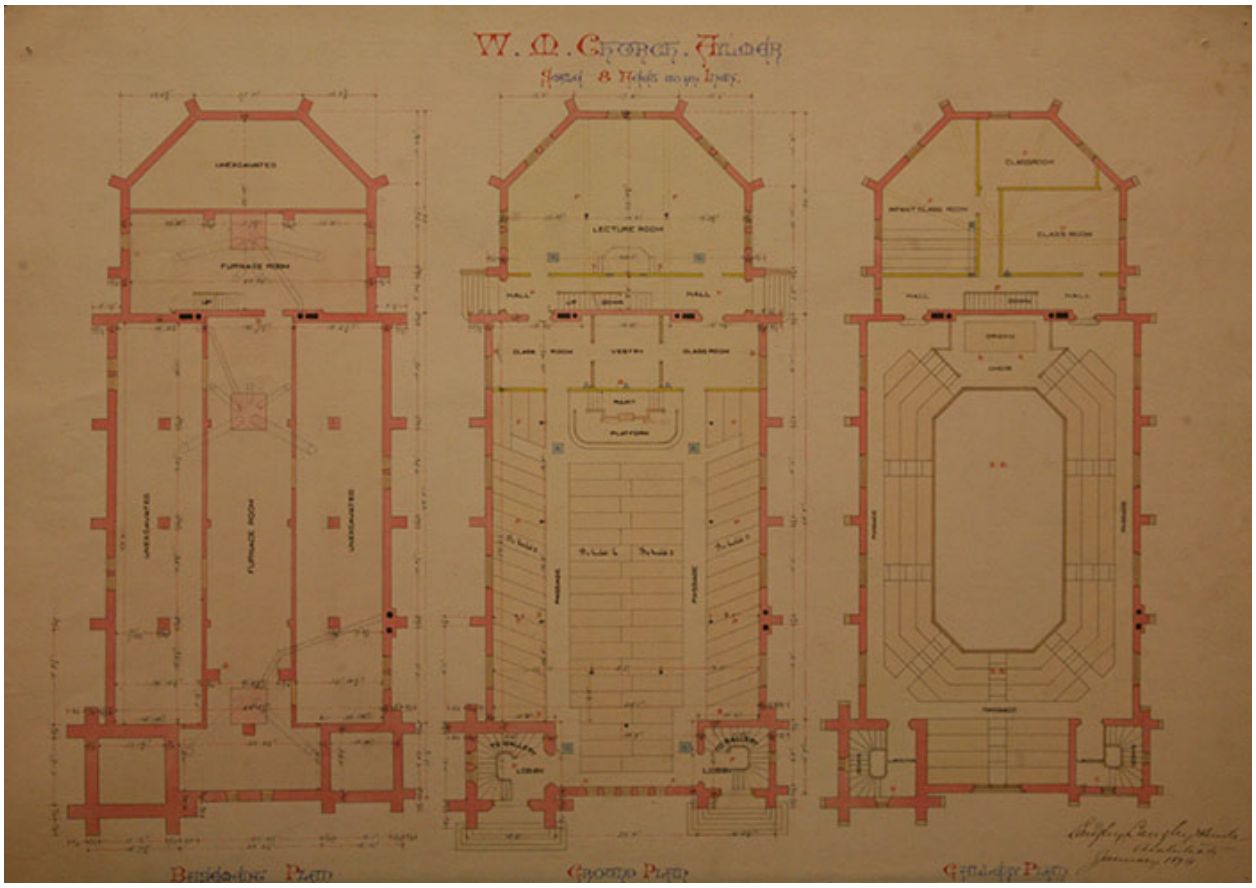


Fig. 6.87 Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1874); plans.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Aylmer*.Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.88. Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1874); archival photograph. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Image courtesy of St Paul’s United Church, Aylmer.

St Paul’s United Church. n.d. Photograph. St Paul’s United Church, Aylmer, Ontario.

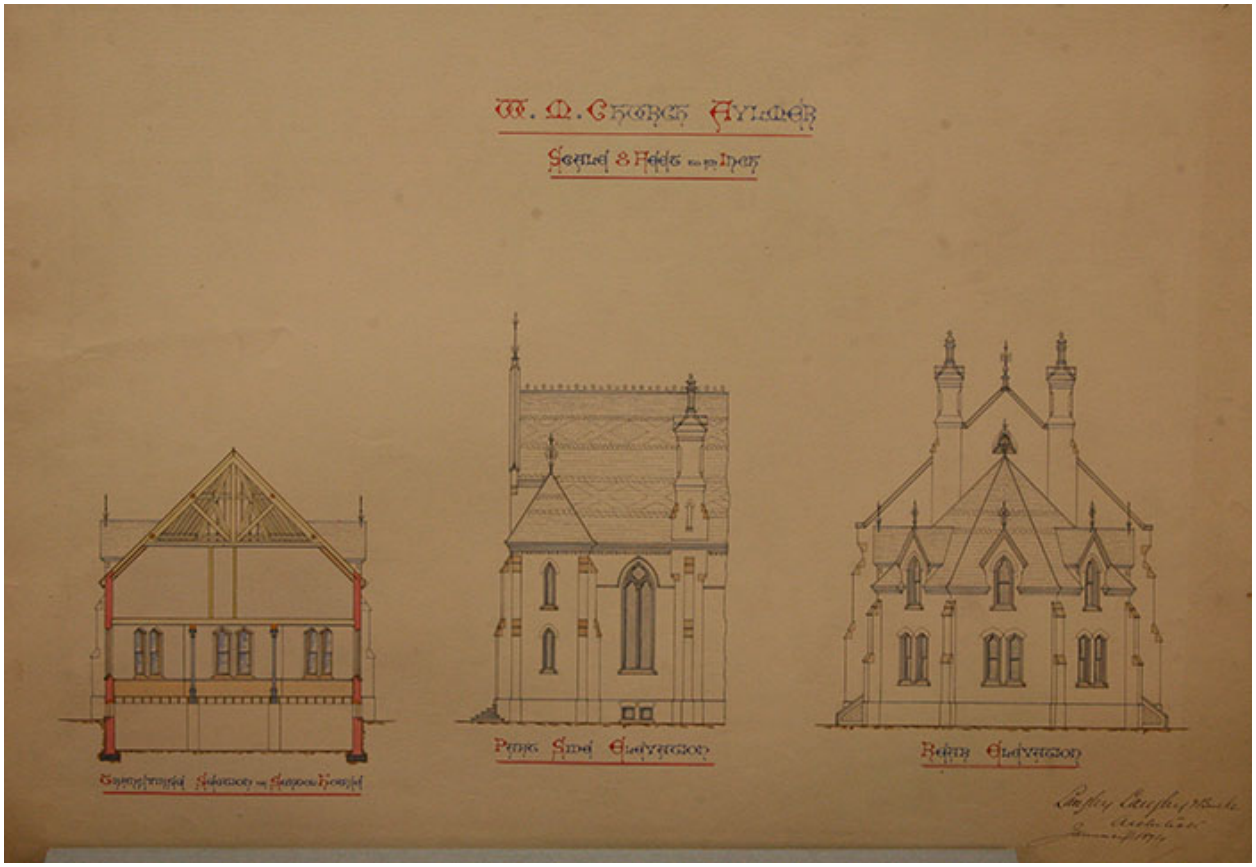


Fig. 6.89. Aylmer Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1874); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Aylmer*.Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

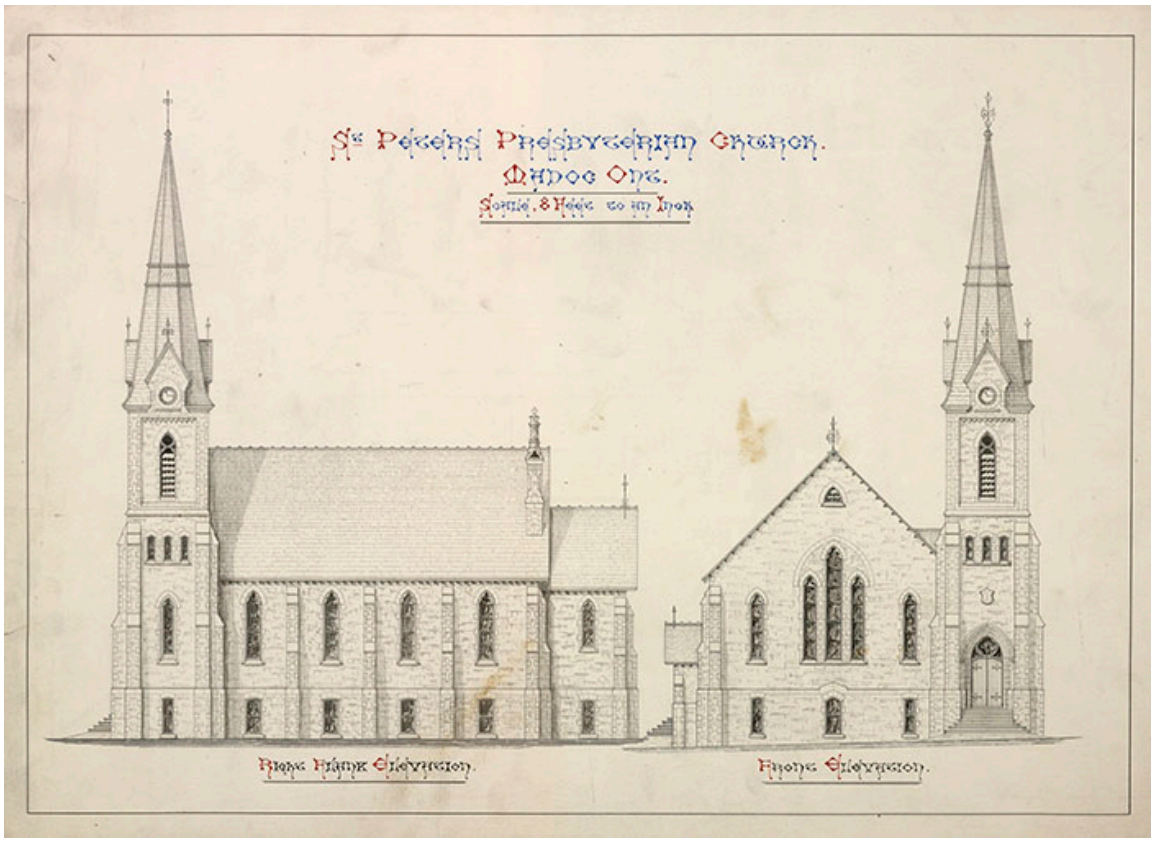


Fig. 6.90. St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ontario (1874); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *St Peters Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.91. St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ontario (1874); façade. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Madoc, exterior*. n.d. Madoc, Ontario.

Fig. 6.92. Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; exterior.
Langley & Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

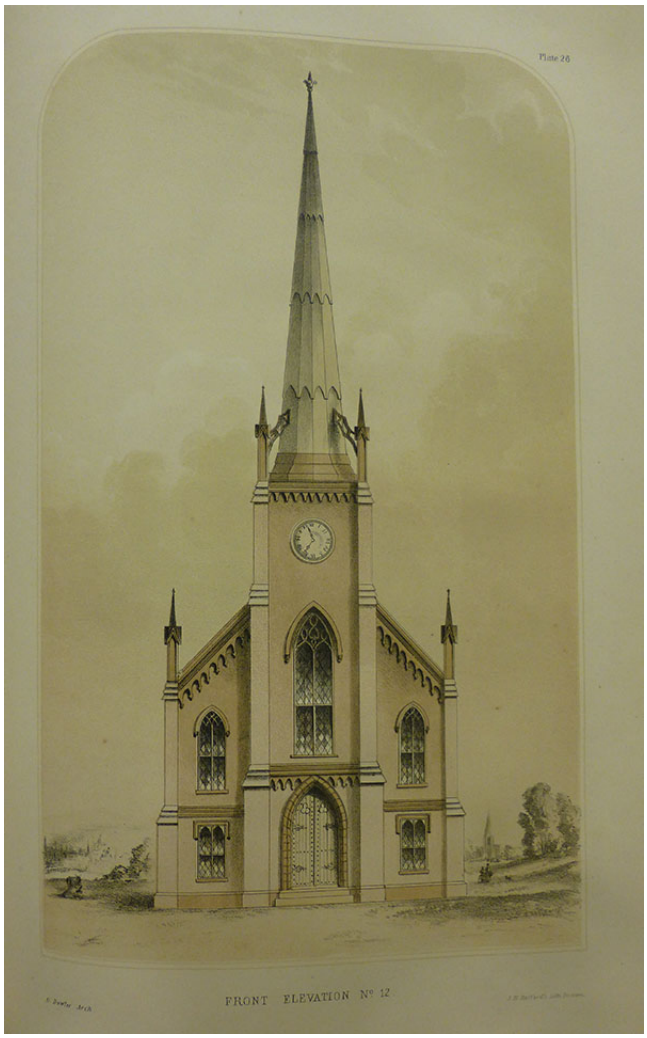


Fig. 6.93. Front Elevation No. 12, from *Chapel and Church architecture with Designs for Parsonages*.

Bowler, Revd George. “Front Elevation No. 17.” *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, pl. 26.

Fig. 6.94. Front Elevation No. 17, from *Chapel and Church architecture with Designs for Parsonages.*

Bowler, Revd George. “Front Elevation No. 17.” *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, n. pag.

Fig. 6.95. St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ontario (1874); interior.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Madoc, interior*. n.d. Madoc, Ontario.

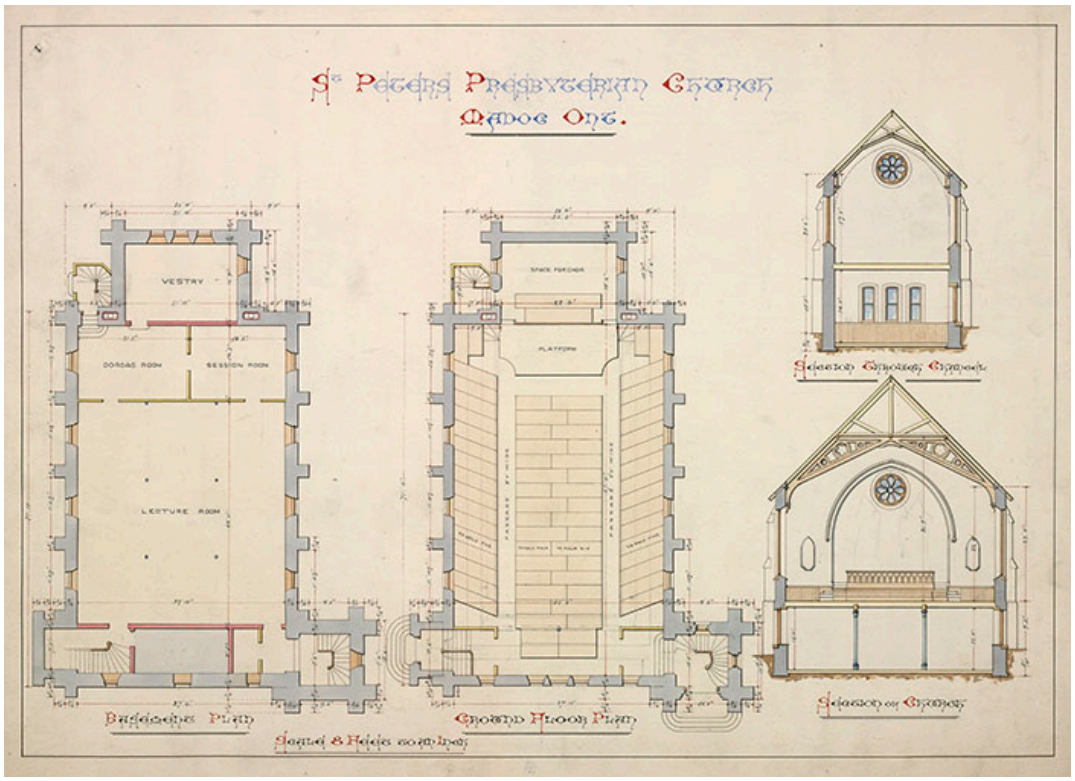


Fig. 6.96. St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ontario (1874); plans.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *St Peters Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

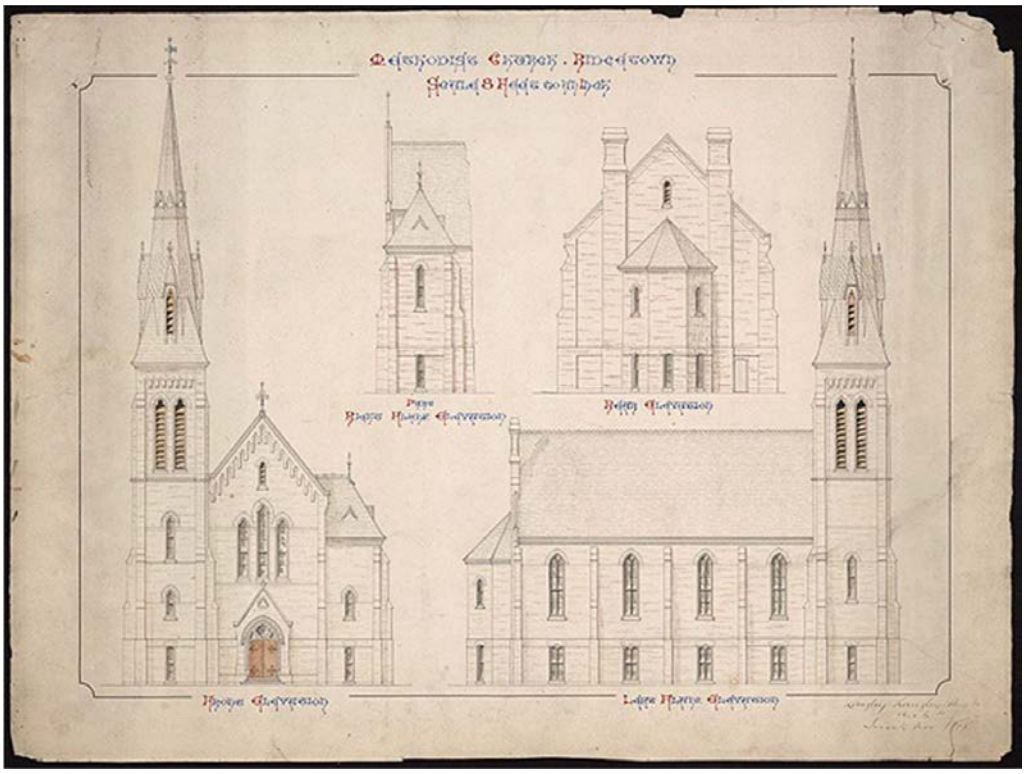


Fig. 6.97. Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, Ontario (1875); drawing. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Ridgetown*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.98. Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, Ontario (1875); façade. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, exterior*. n.d. Ridgetown, Ontario.

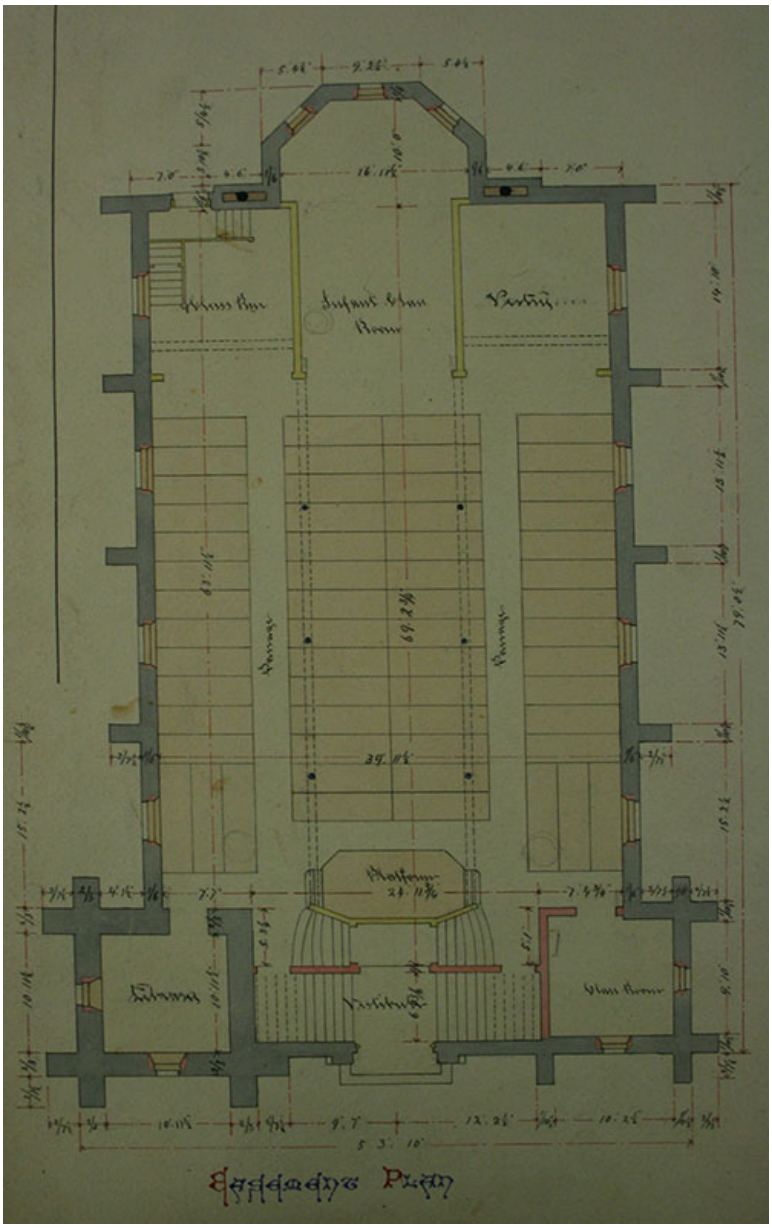


Fig. 6.99. Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, Ontario (1875); basement plan. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Ridgetown*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.100. Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, Ontario (1875); interior. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, interior*. n.d. Ridgetown, Ontario.

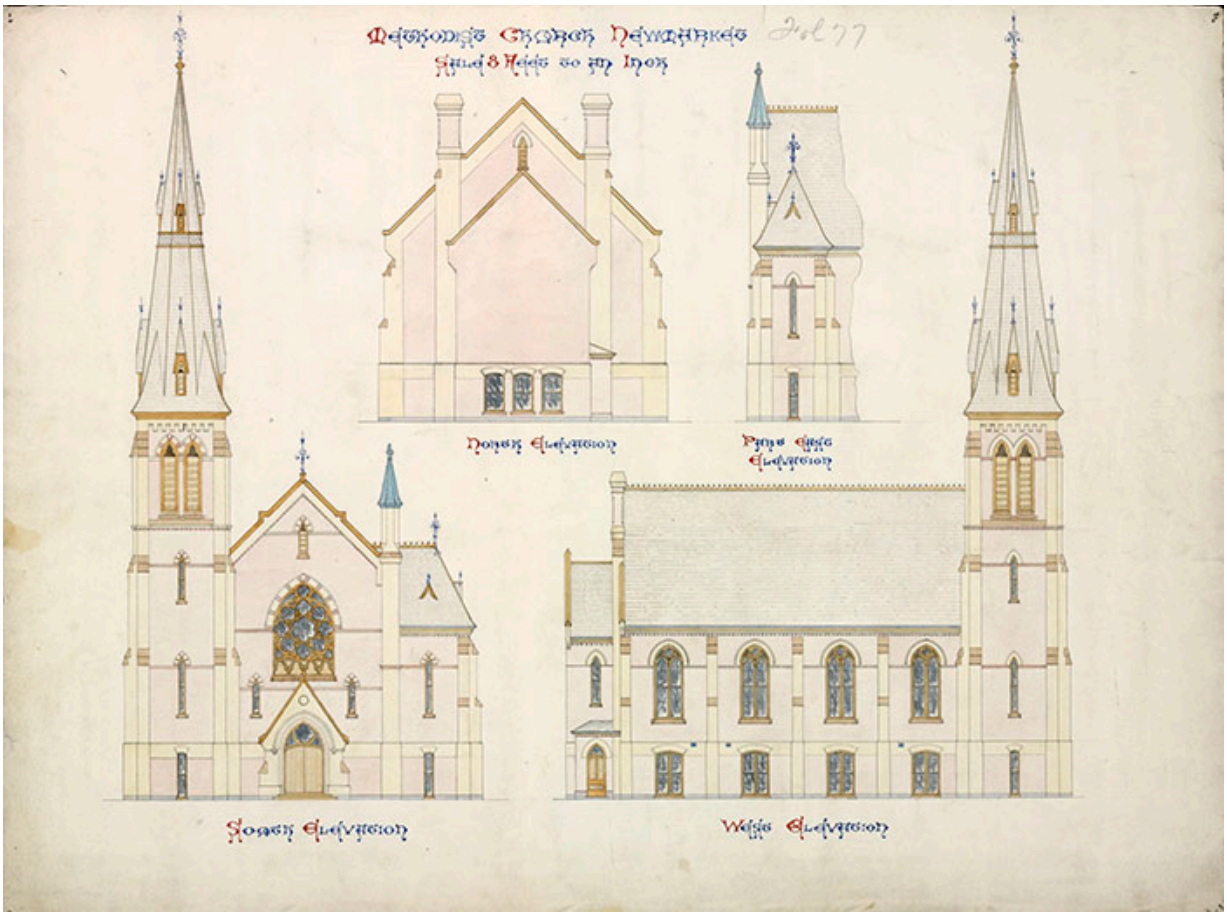


Fig. 6.101. Newmarket Methodist Church, Ontario (1877); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Newmarket*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

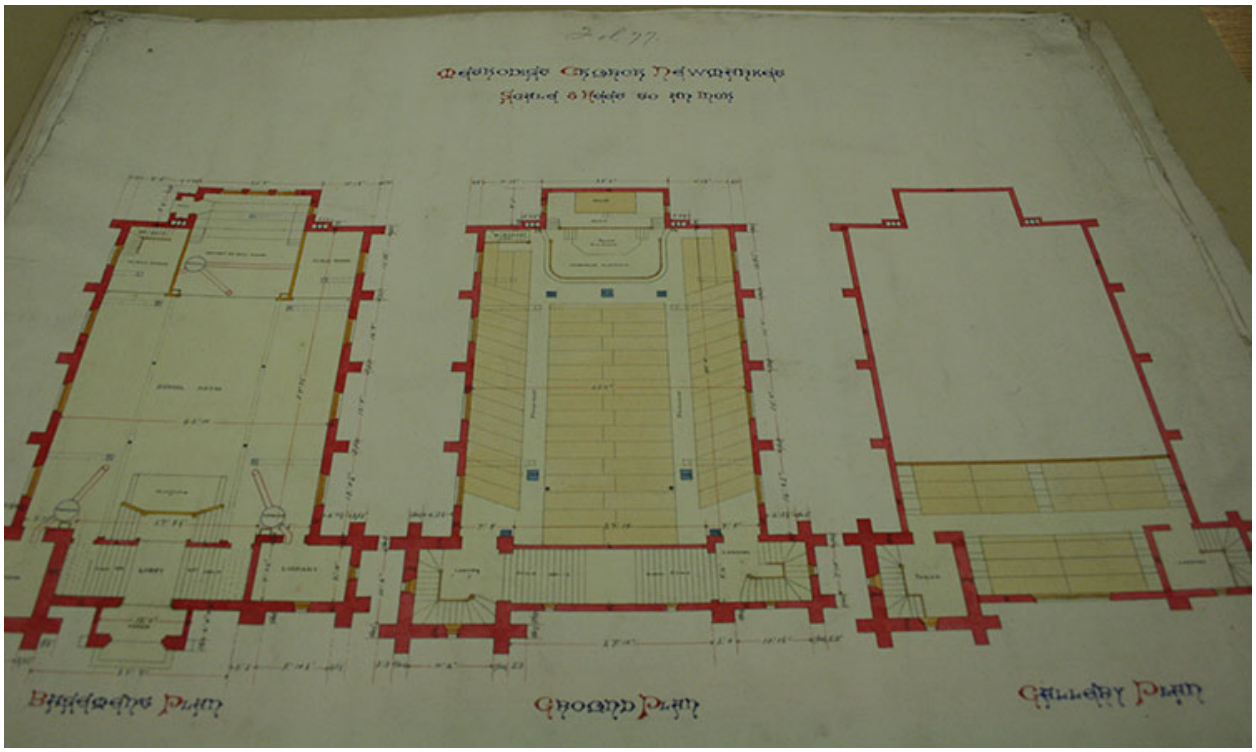


Fig. 6.102. Newmarket Methodist Church, Ontario (1877); plan.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Newmarket*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

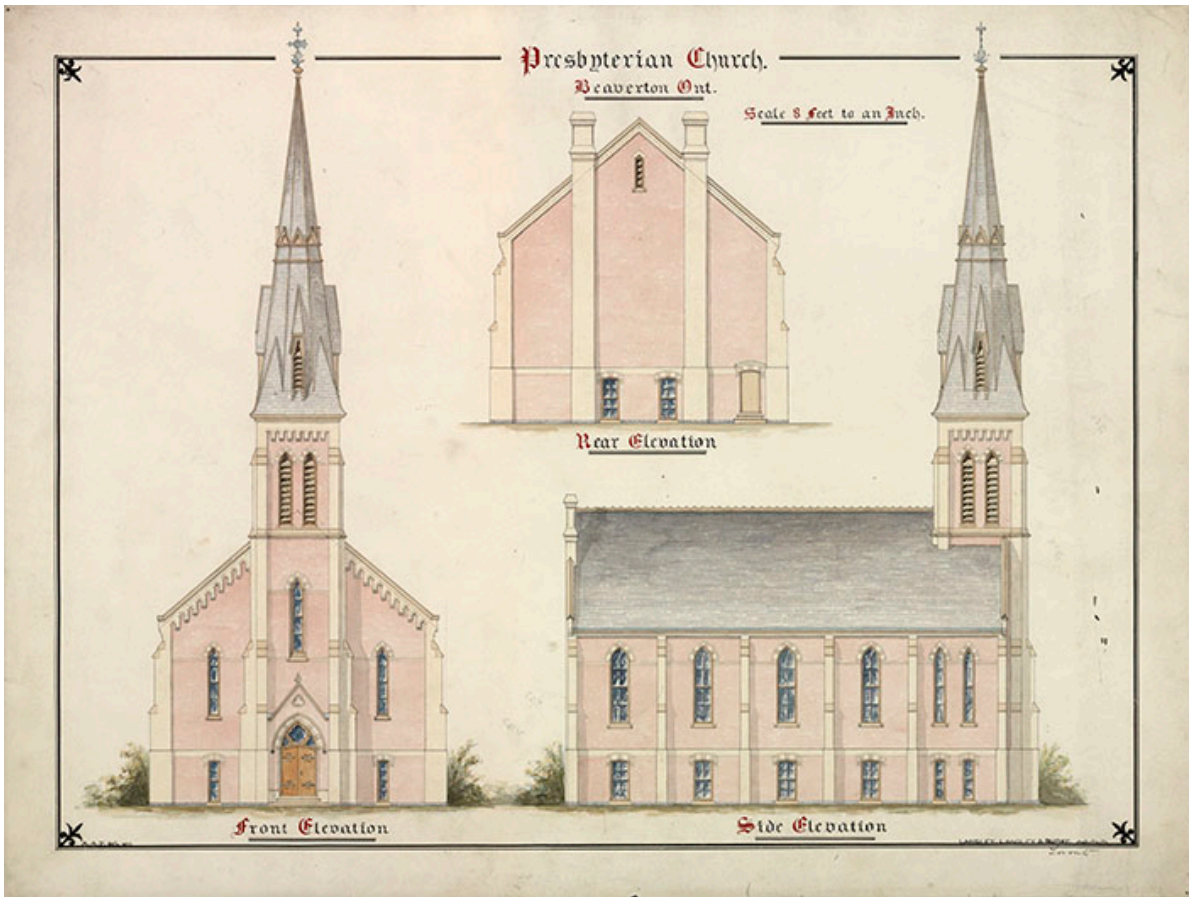


Fig. 6.103. Knox Presbyterian Church, Beaverton, Ontario (1876); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church, Beaverton, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

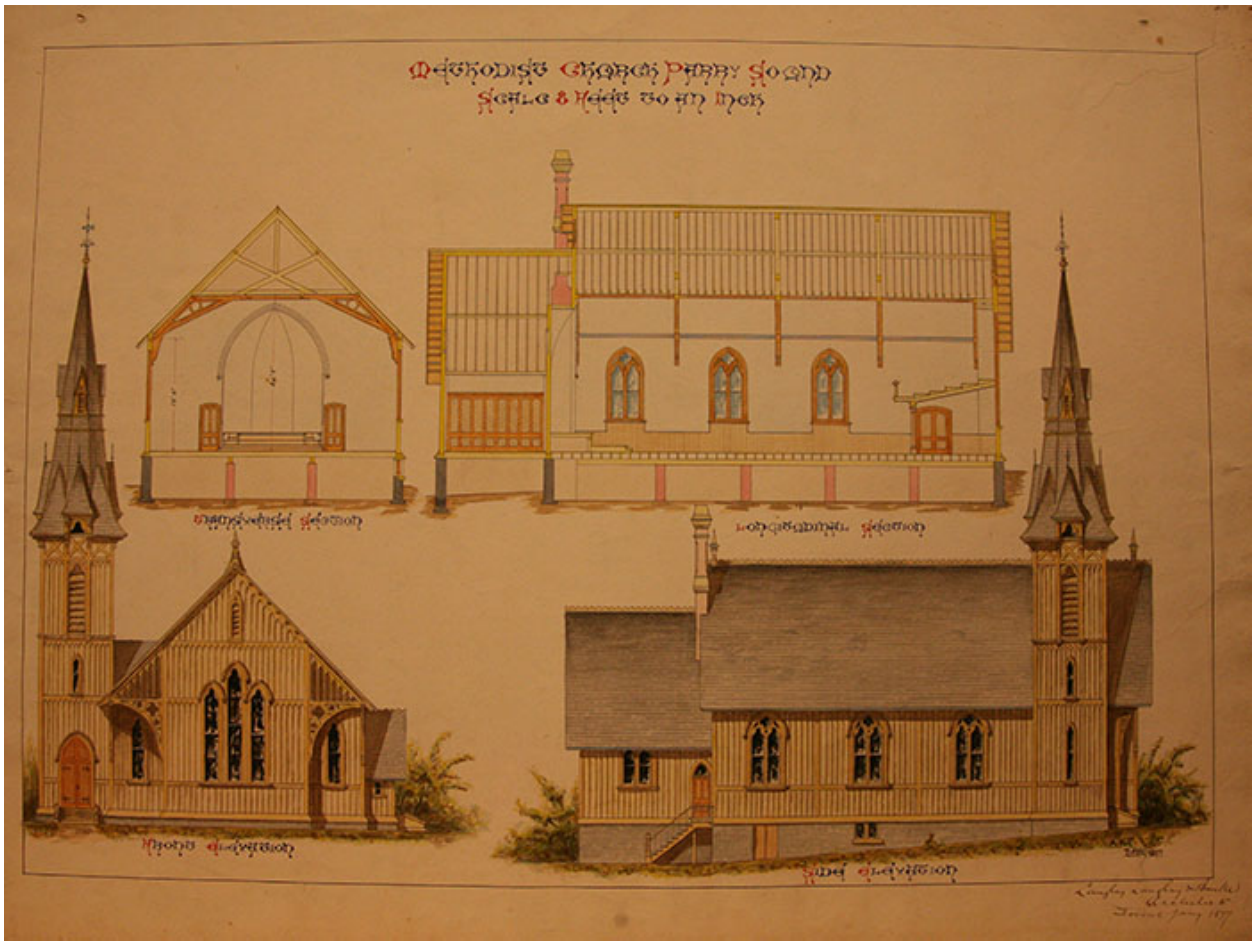


Fig. 6.104. Methodist Church, Parry Sound, Ontario (1877); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Parry Sound*. 1877. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.105. Cookstown Methodist (United) Church, Cookstown, Ontario (1878); façade. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Cookstown United Church*. n.d. Cookstown, Ontario.

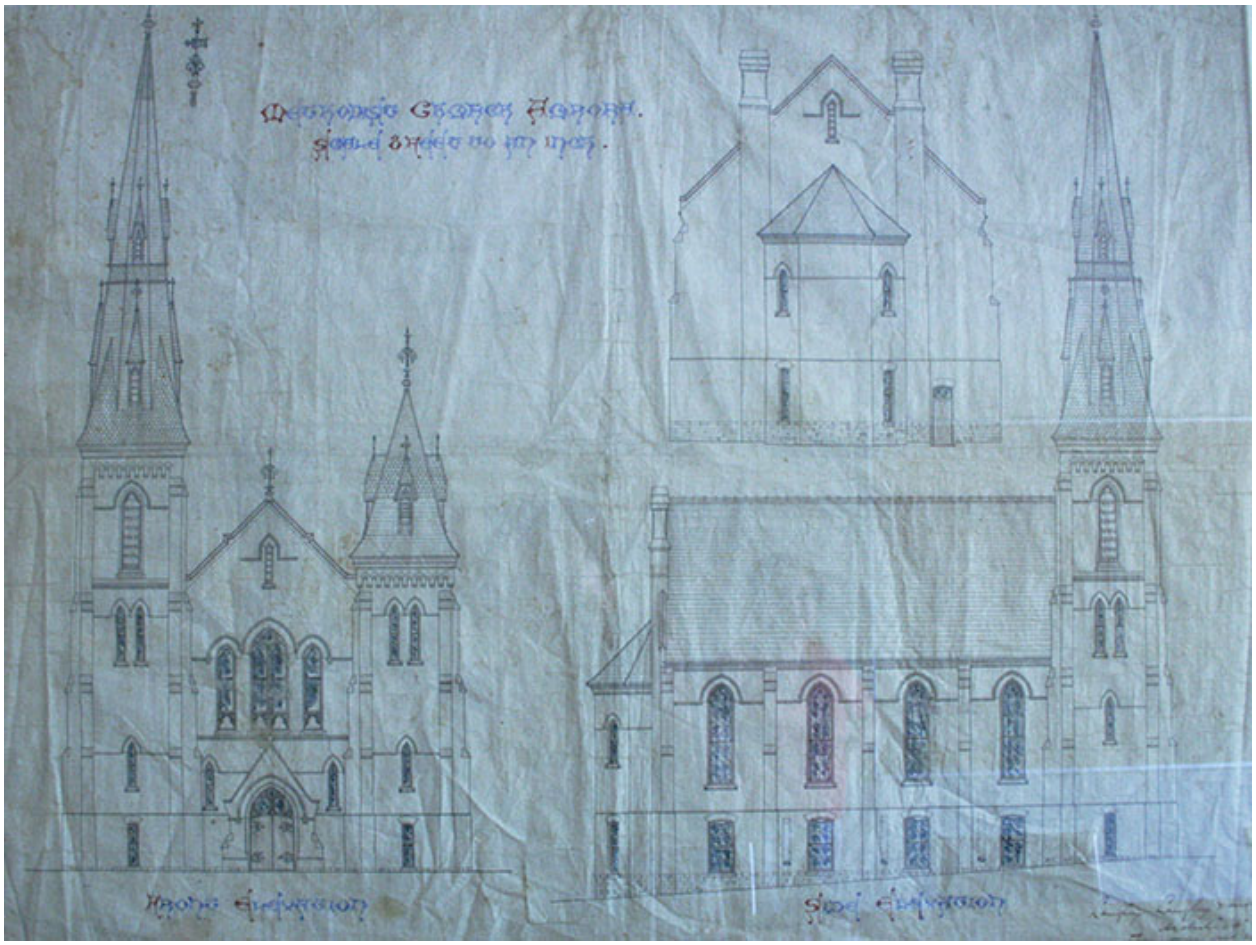


Fig. 6.106. Aurora Methodist (United) Church, Aurora, Ontario (1878); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Aurora United Church.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Aurora*. 1878. Architectural Drawing. Aurora United Church.

Fig. 6.107. United Baptist Church, St Andrew's, New Brunswick (1864-65); façade.

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's United Baptist Church*. 2014. St Andrew's, New Brunswick.

Fig. 6.108. Knox Presbyterian Church, Dundas, Ontario (1874); façade.

Photo courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby

Thurlby, Malcolm. *Knox Presbyterian Church, Dundas*. n.d. Dundas, Ontario.

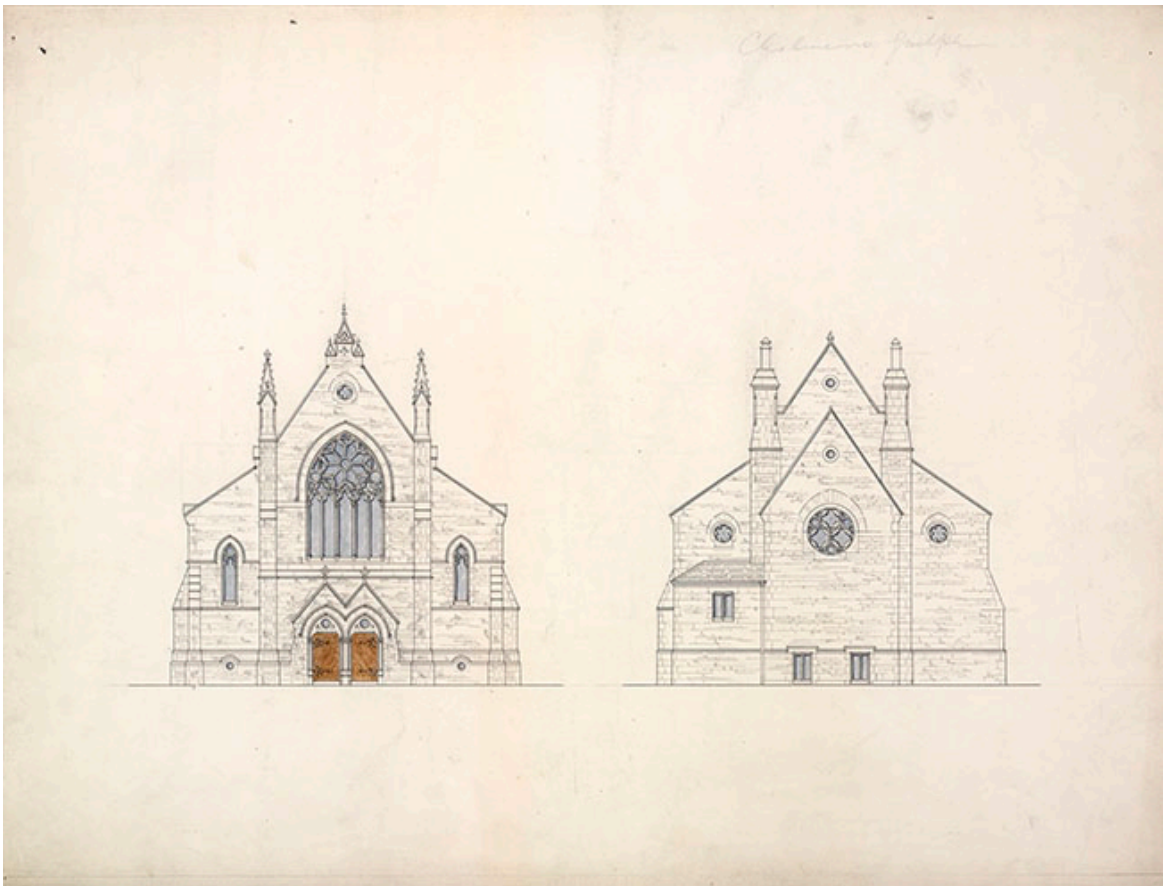


Fig. 6.109. Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); drawing.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.110. Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); façade.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

Fig. 6.111. Knox Presbyterian Church, Montreal, Quebec (1865).

Image courtesy of: *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. V, No. 2, Page 21.

Reproduced from Library and Archives Canada's website Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News.

"Knox Church, Dorchester St, Montreal." *Canadian Illustrated News* 6.2 (1872): 21. Rpt. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web.
<http://eco.canadiana.ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/oocihm.8_06230_115/6?r=0&s=1>.

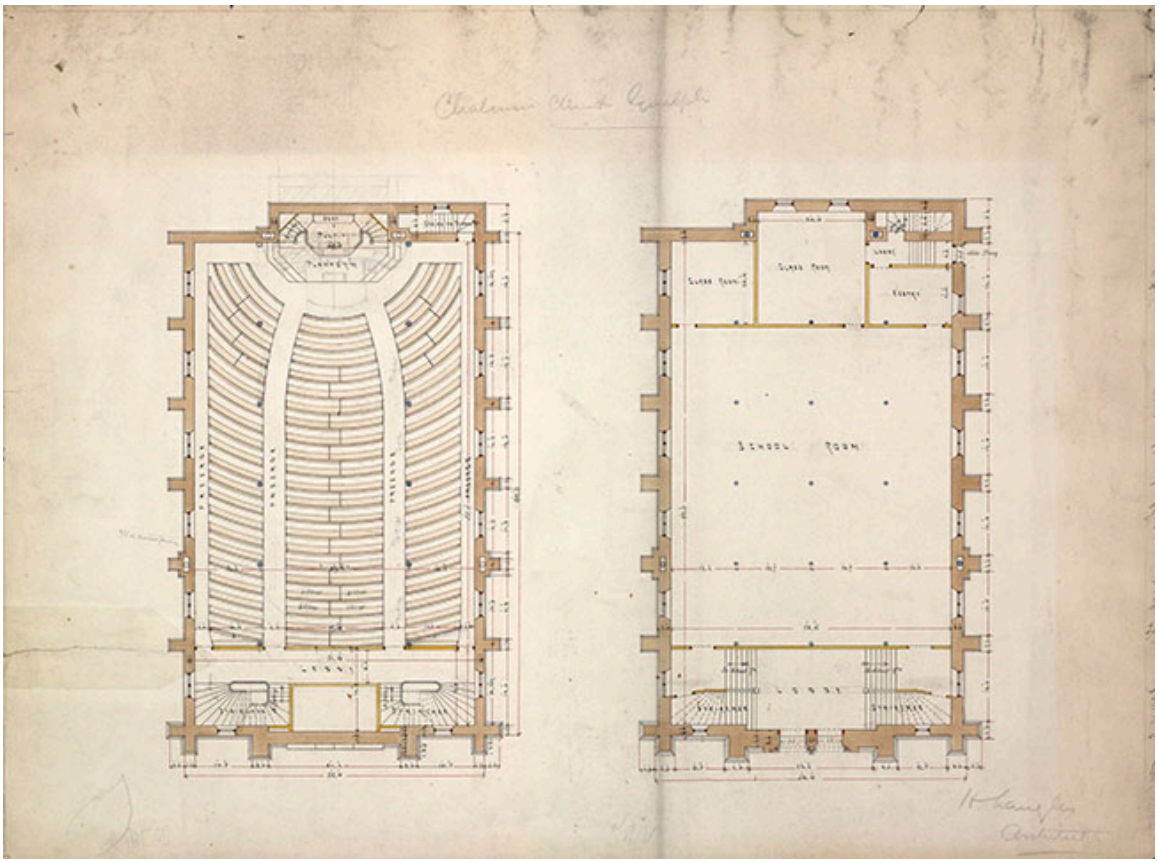


Fig. 6.112. Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario (1869); plan.
Gundry and Langley, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Gundry and Langley. *Chalmer's Church, Guelph*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

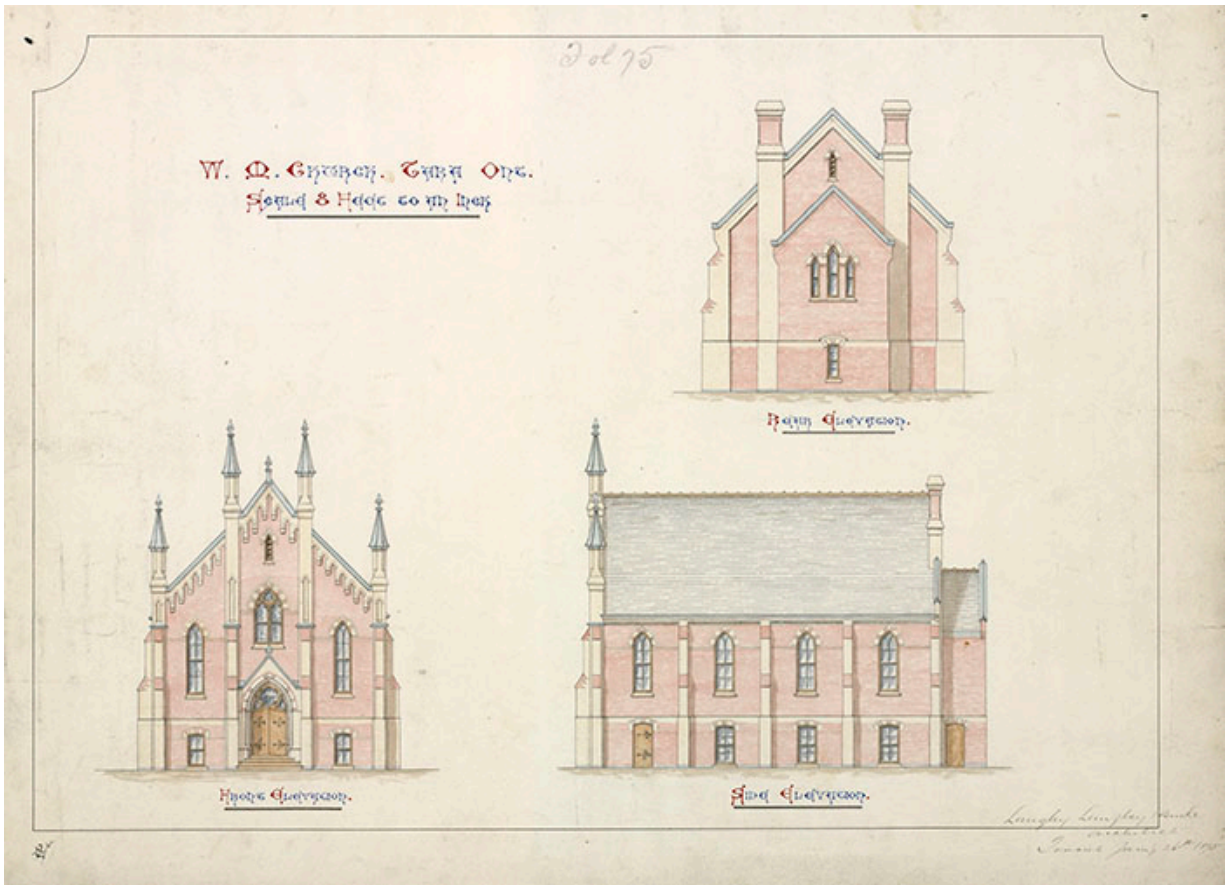


Fig. 6.113. Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1875); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Tara, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.114. Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1875); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Tara Methodist (United) Church*. n.d. Tara, Ontario.

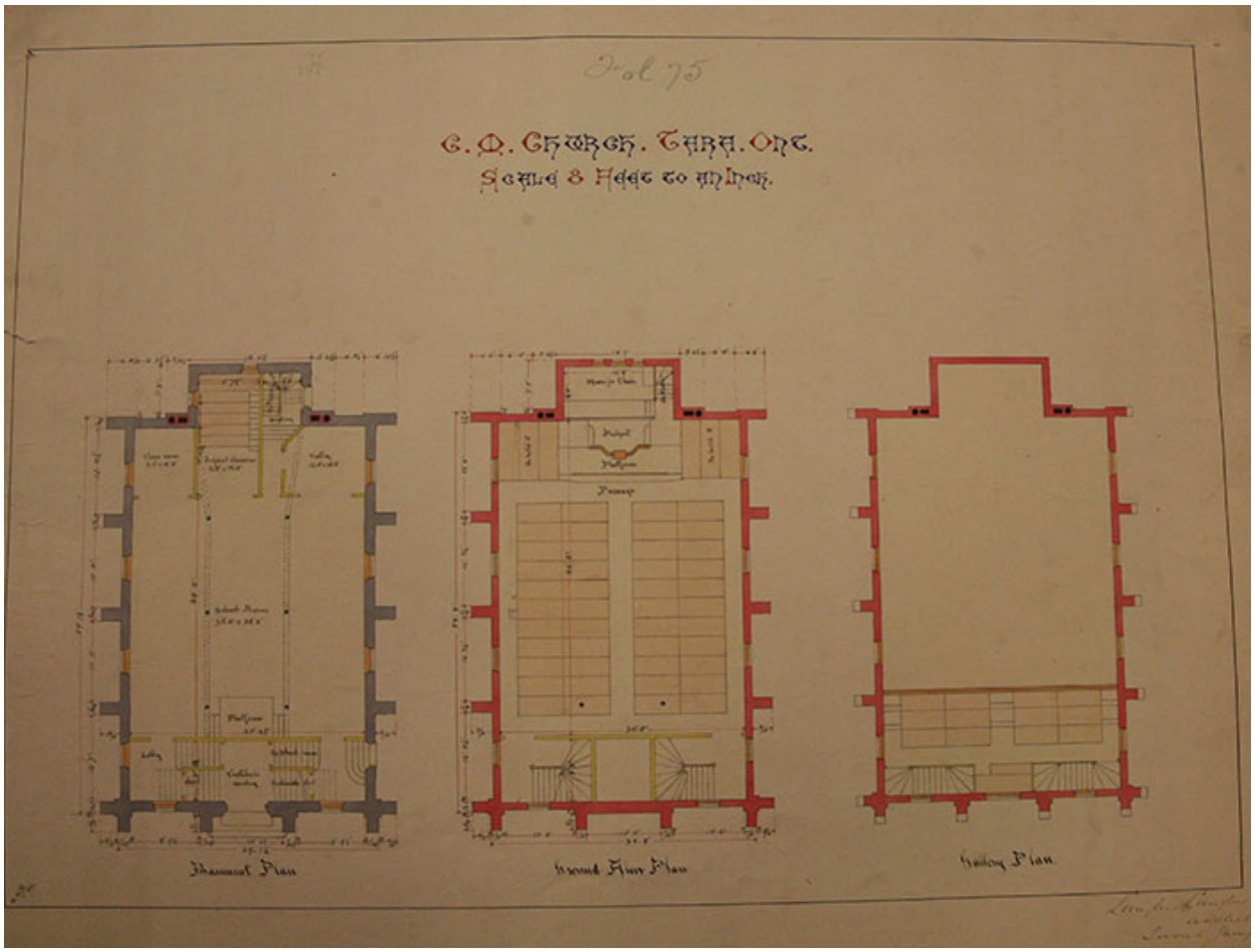


Fig. 6.115. Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1875); plan.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *C.M. Church, Tara, Ont.* Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

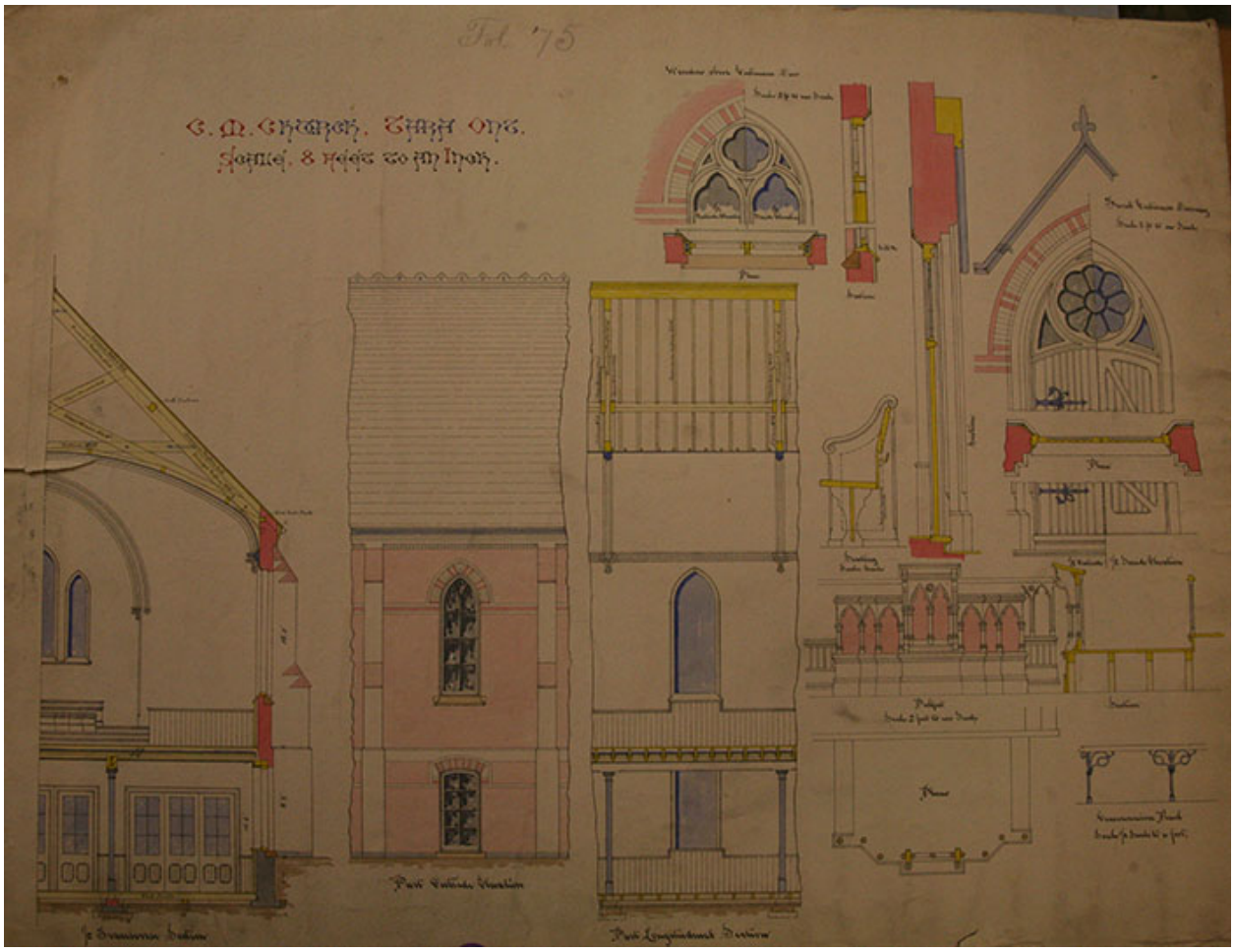


Fig. 6.116. Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1875); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *C.M. Church, Tara, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.117. Tara Wesleyan Methodist (United) Church (1875); basement.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Tara Methodist (United) Church, basement*. n.d. Tara, Ontario.

Fig. 6.118. Kincardine Methodist (United) Church, Kincardine, Ontario (1876); drawing. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church Kincardine*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.119. Kincardine Methodist (United) Church, Kincardine, Ontario (1876); southwest exterior.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Kincardine United Church*. n.d. Kincardine, Ontario.

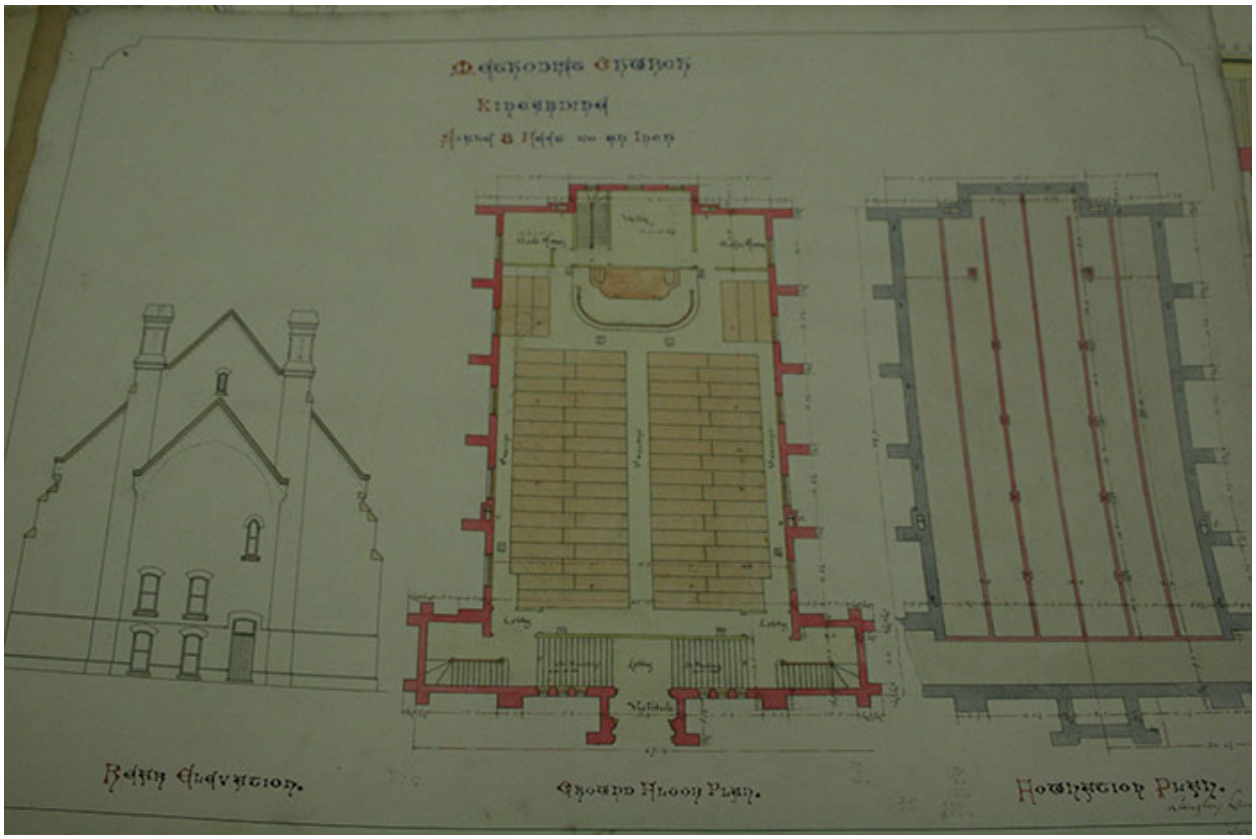


Fig. 6.120. Kincardine Methodist (United) Church, Kincardine, Ontario (1876); plan. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church Kincardine*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

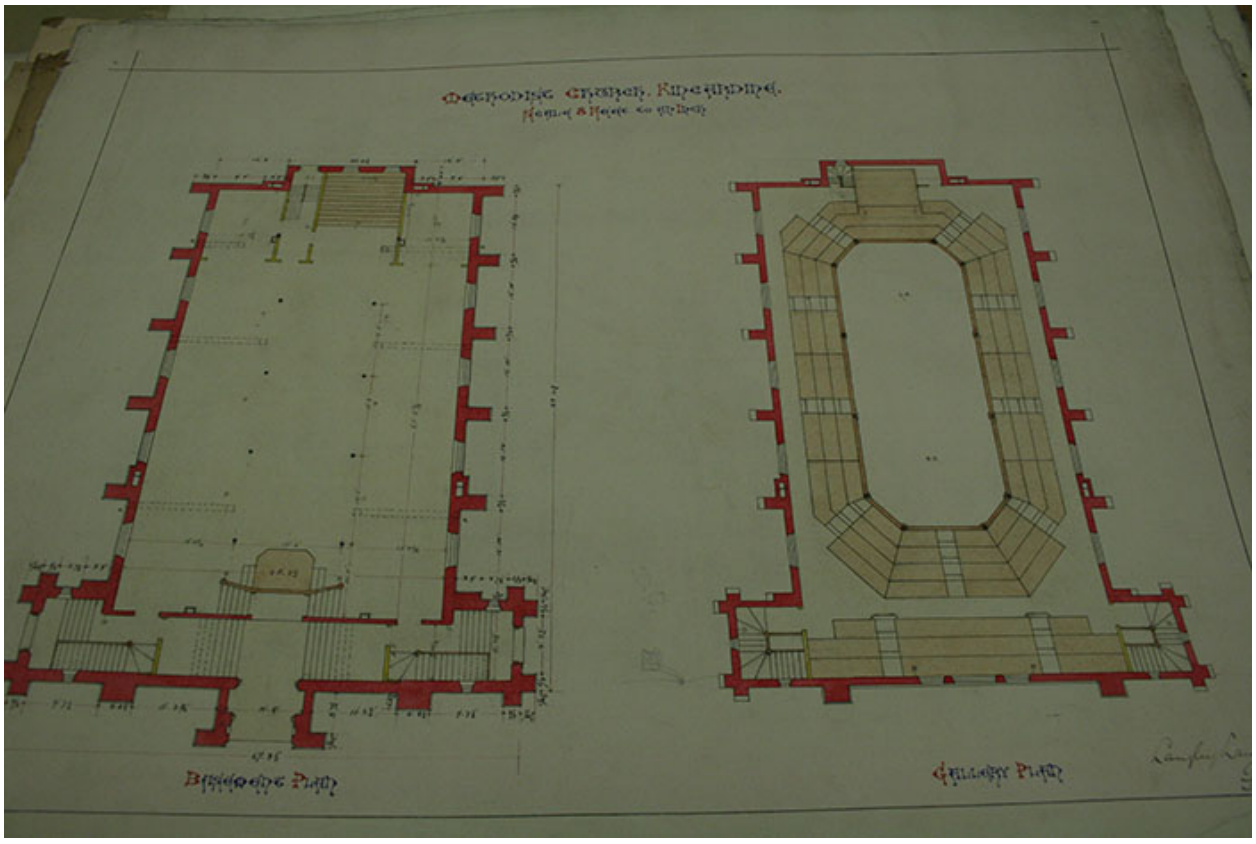


Fig. 6.121. Kincardine Methodist (United) Church, Kincardine, Ontario (1876); plan. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church Kincardine*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.122. Kincardine Methodist (United) Church, Kincardine, Ontario (1876); archival photograph.

Image courtesy of Kincardine United Church.

Kincardine United Church. n.d. Photograph. Kincardine United Church, Kincardine, Ontario.

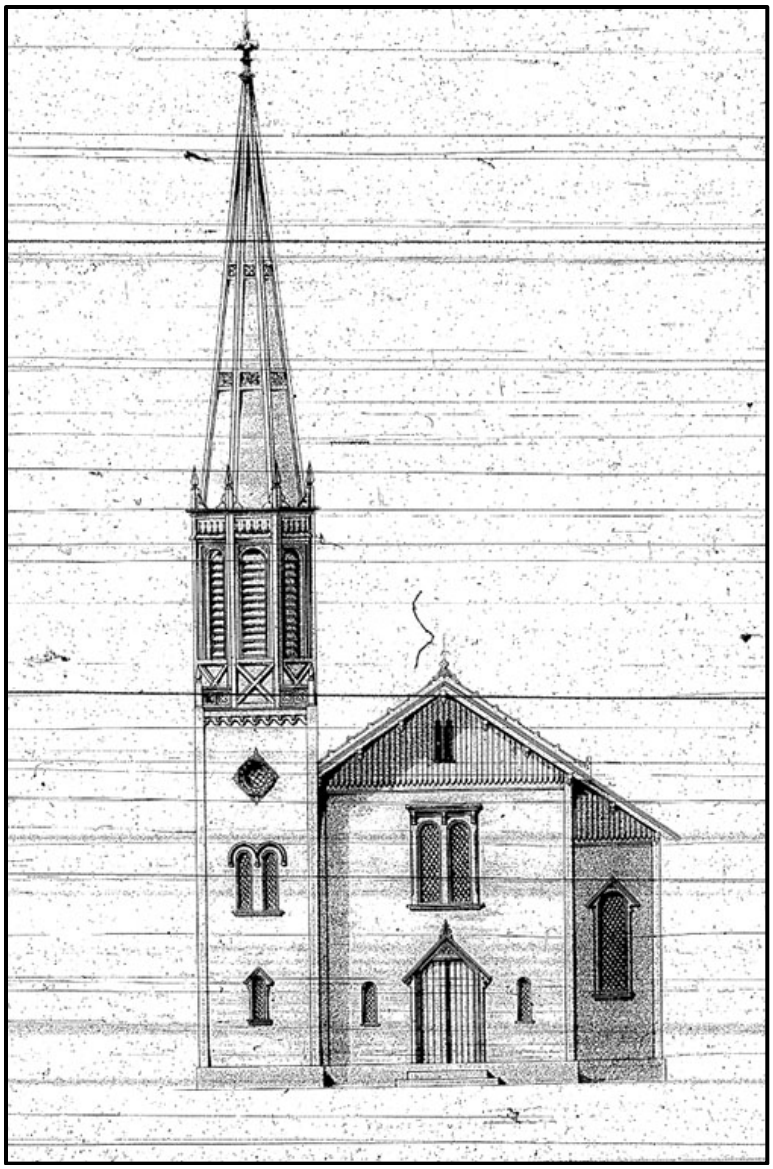


Fig. 6.123. Design III, from *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages*.

"Design III." *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages. published under the direction of the Central Committee, appointed by the General Congregational Convention, October 1852. Comprising Designs by Upjohn, Downing, Renwick, Wheeler, Wells, Austin, Stone, Cleveland, Backus, and Reeve.* New York: Daniel Burgess & Company, 1853. n.pag.

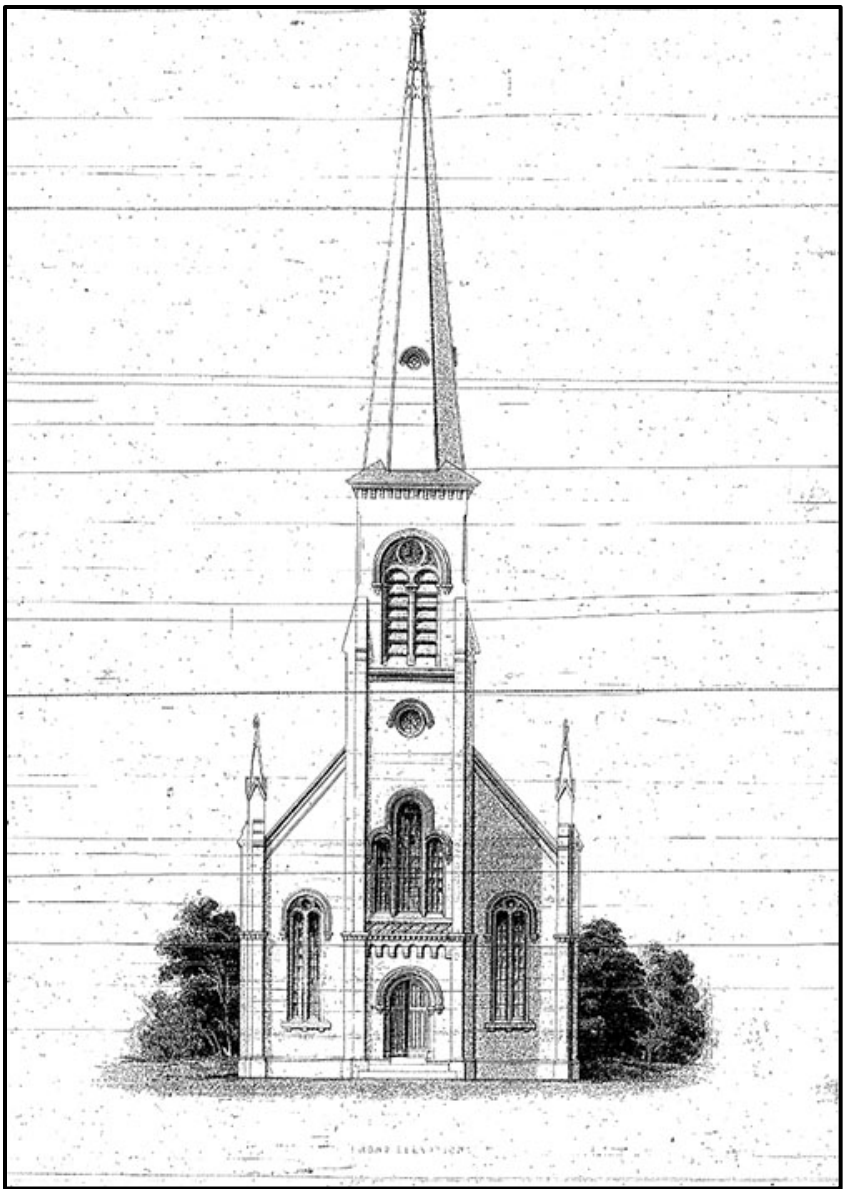


Fig. 6.124. Design V, from *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages*.

"Design V." *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages. published under the direction of the Central Committee, appointed by the General Congregational Convention, October 1852. Comprising Designs by Upjohn, Downing, Renwick, Wheeler, Wells, Austin, Stone, Cleveland, Backus, and Reeve.* New York: Daniel Burgess & Company, 1853. n.pag.

Fig. 6.125. Front Elevation No. 10, from *Chapel and Church architecture with Designs for Parsonages.*

Bowler, Revd George. “Front Elevation No. 10.” *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, n. pag.

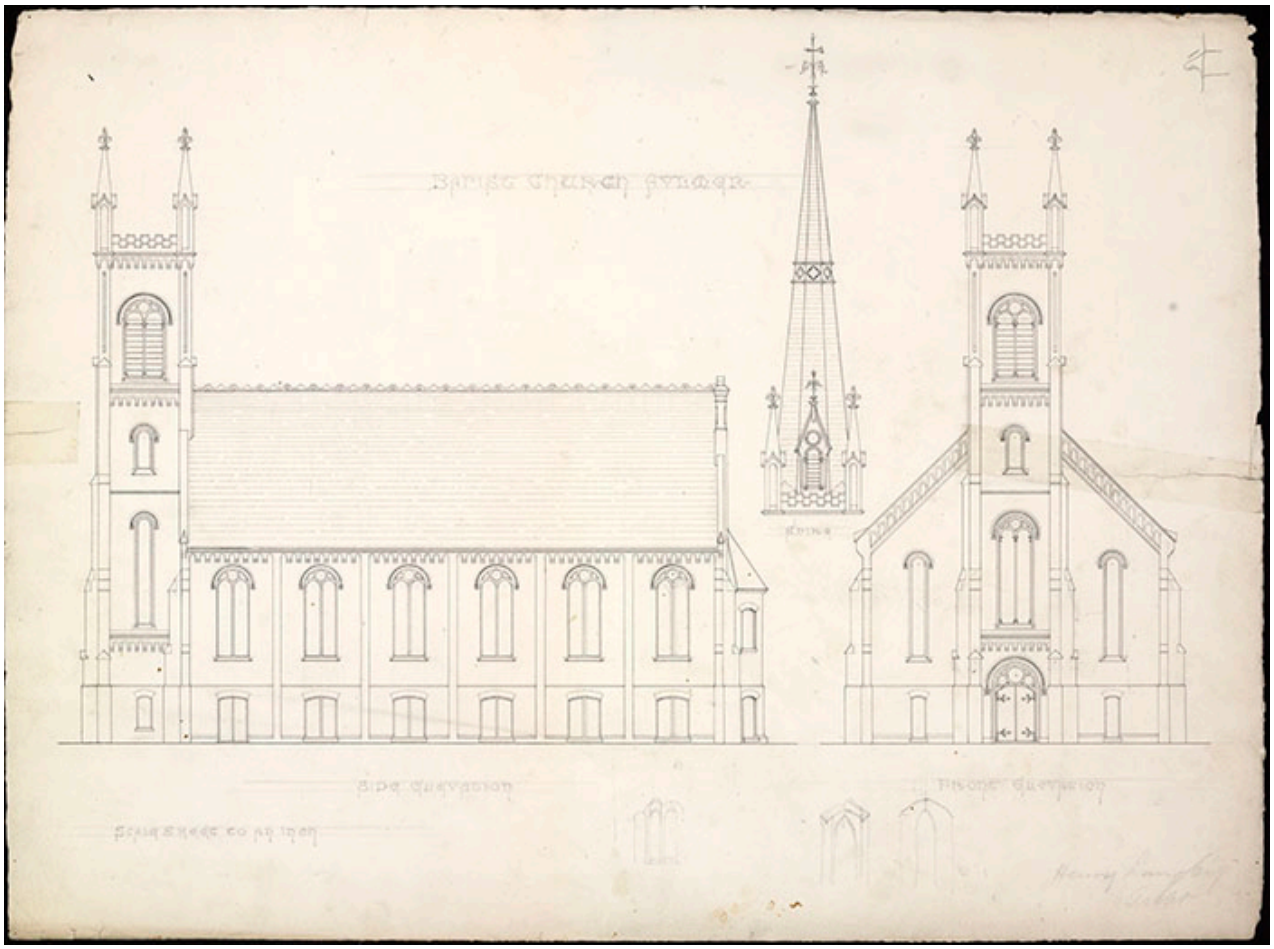


Fig. 6.126. Aylmer Baptist Church, Aylmer, Ontario (1870);drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Henry Langley. *Baptist Church Aylmer*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.127. Oshawa Baptist Church, Oshawa, Ontario; drawing.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Henry Langley. *Baptist Chapel, Oshawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

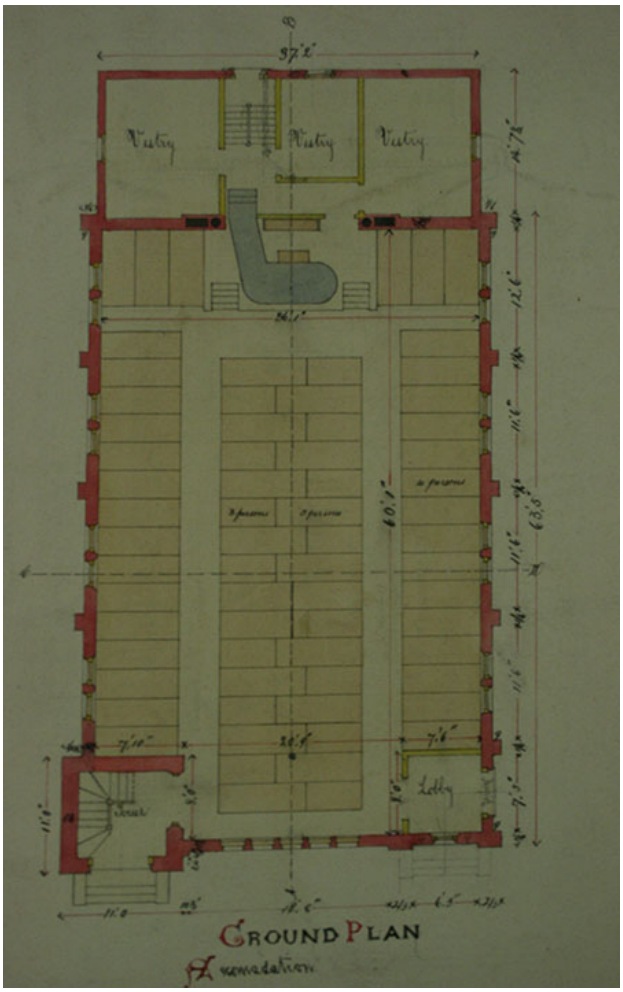


Fig. 6.128. Oshawa Baptist Church, Oshawa, Ontario; plan.
Henry Langley, architect

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Henry Langley. *Baptist Chapel, Oshawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

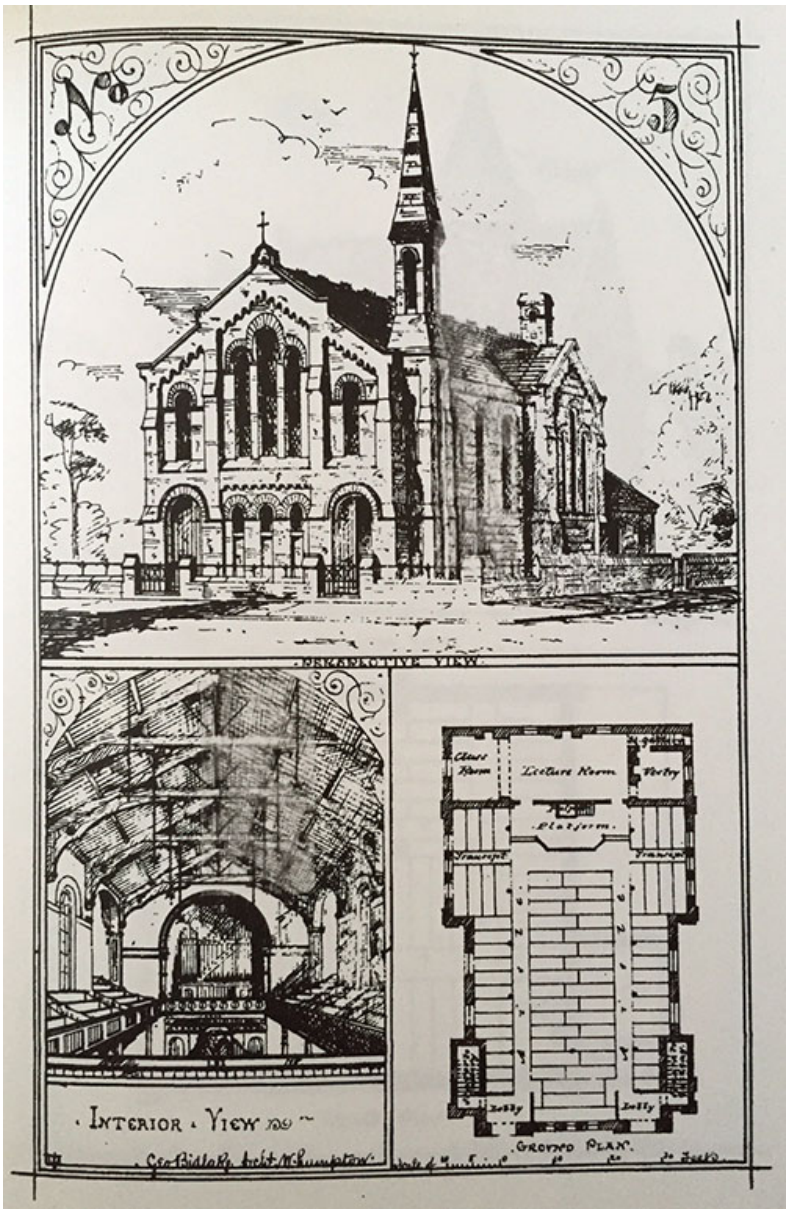


Fig. 6.129. “Design No. 5” from, *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*.

Bidlake, George. “No. 6.” *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.pag.

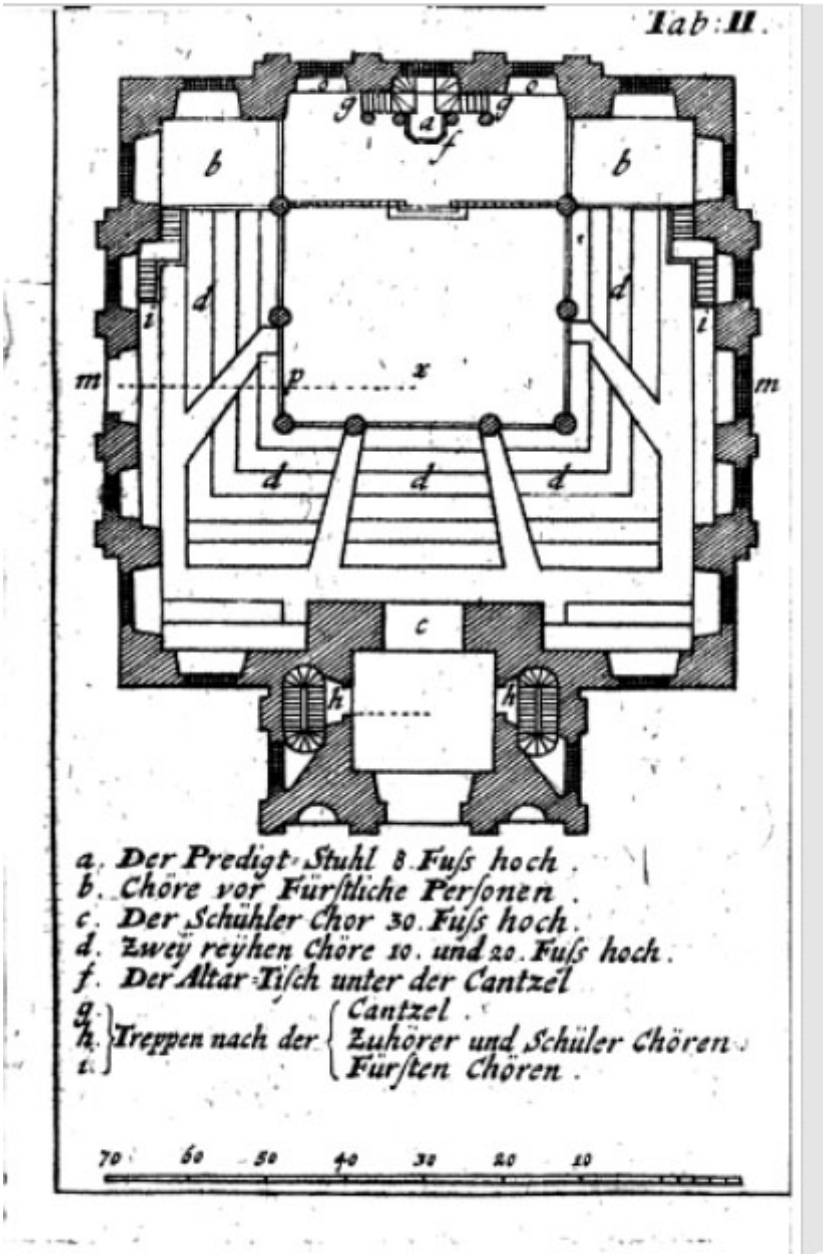


Fig. 6.130. "Tab. II" from *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung.*

Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. "Tab. II." *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung*. n.pag., 1712. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2016. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=vuRQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

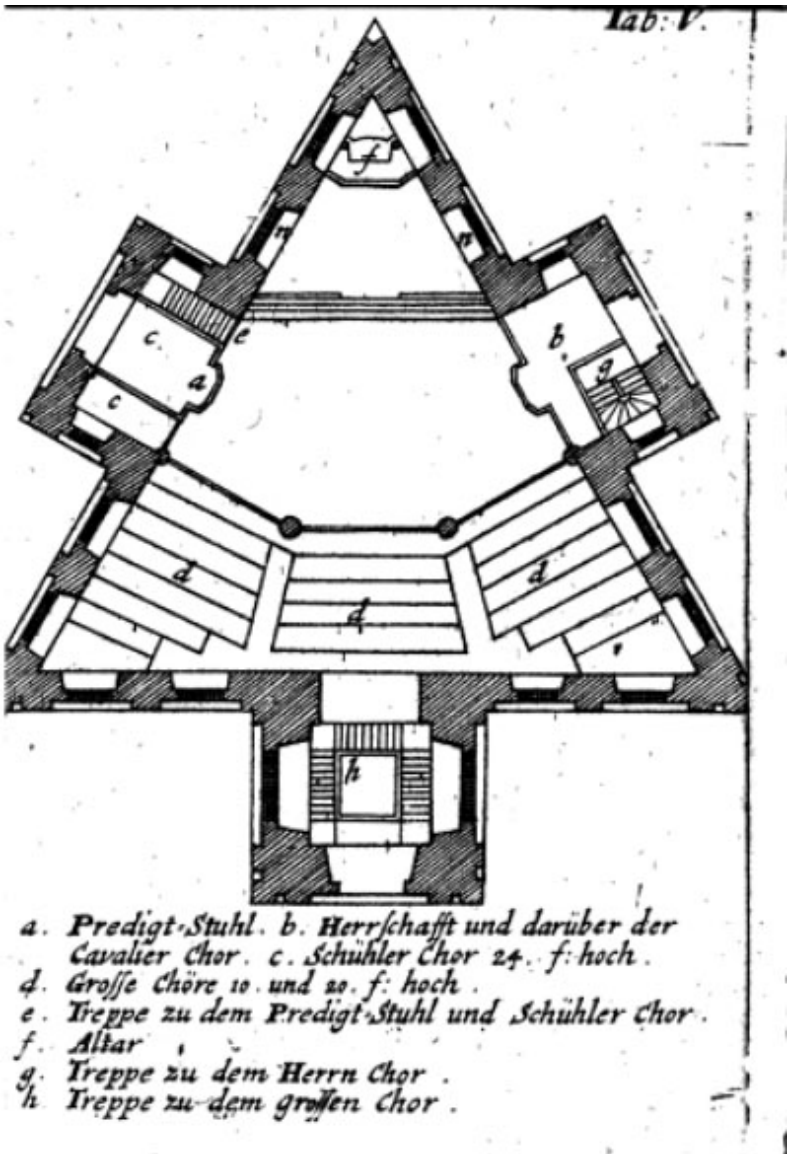


Fig. 6.131. "Tab. V" from *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung.*

Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. "Tab. V." *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung*. n.pag., 1712. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2016. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=vuRQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

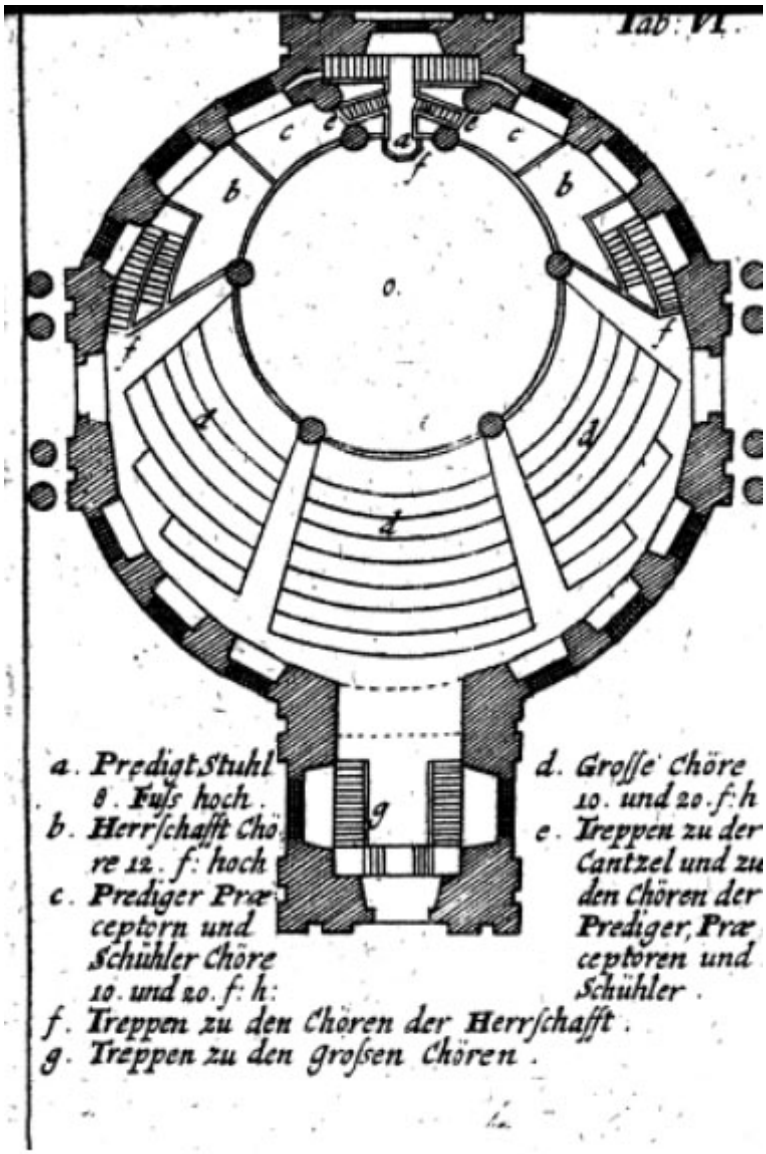


Fig. 6.132. "Tab. VI" from *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung.*

Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. "Tab. VI." *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung*. n.pag., 1712. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2016. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=vuRQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

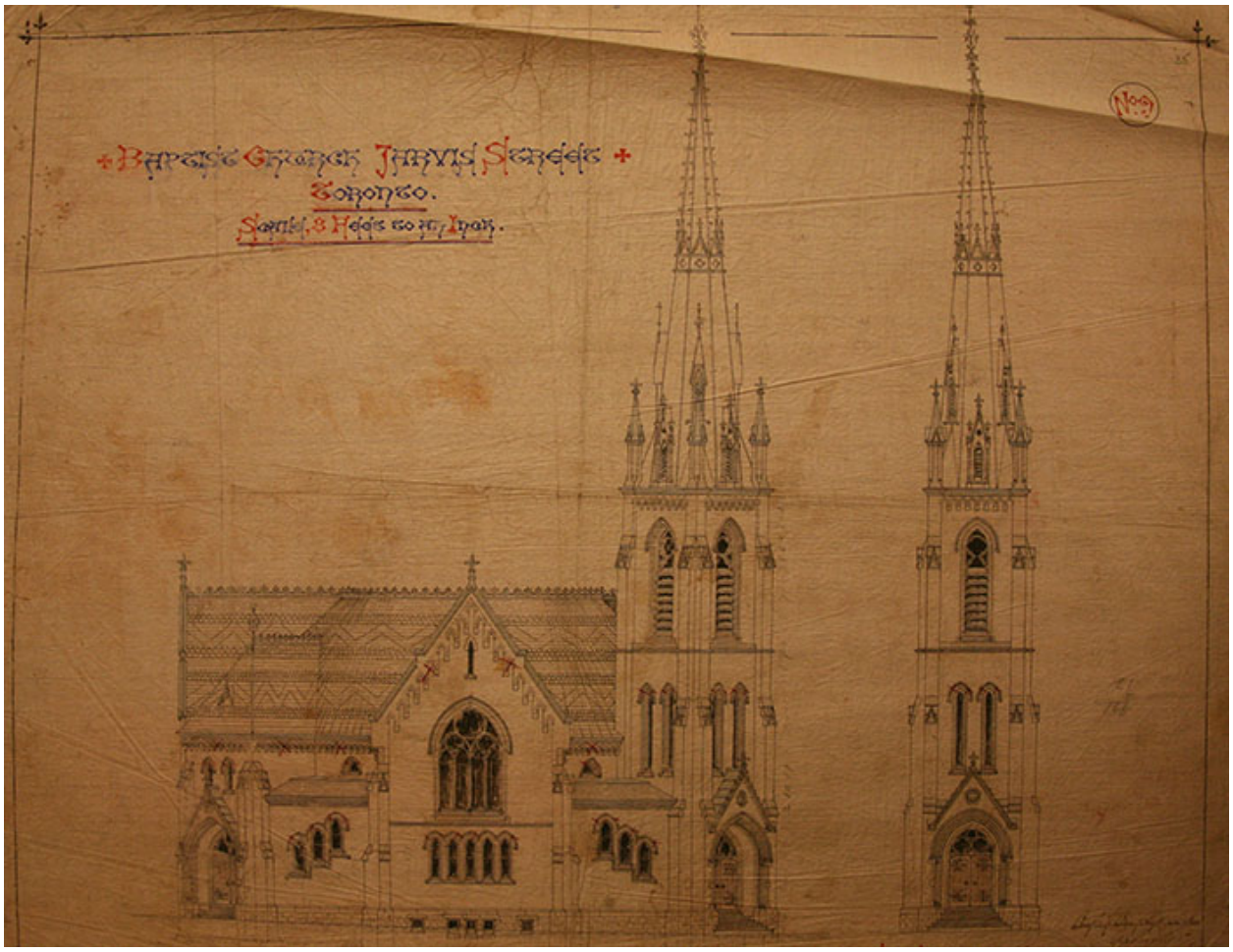


Fig. 6.133. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.134. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); general exterior. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

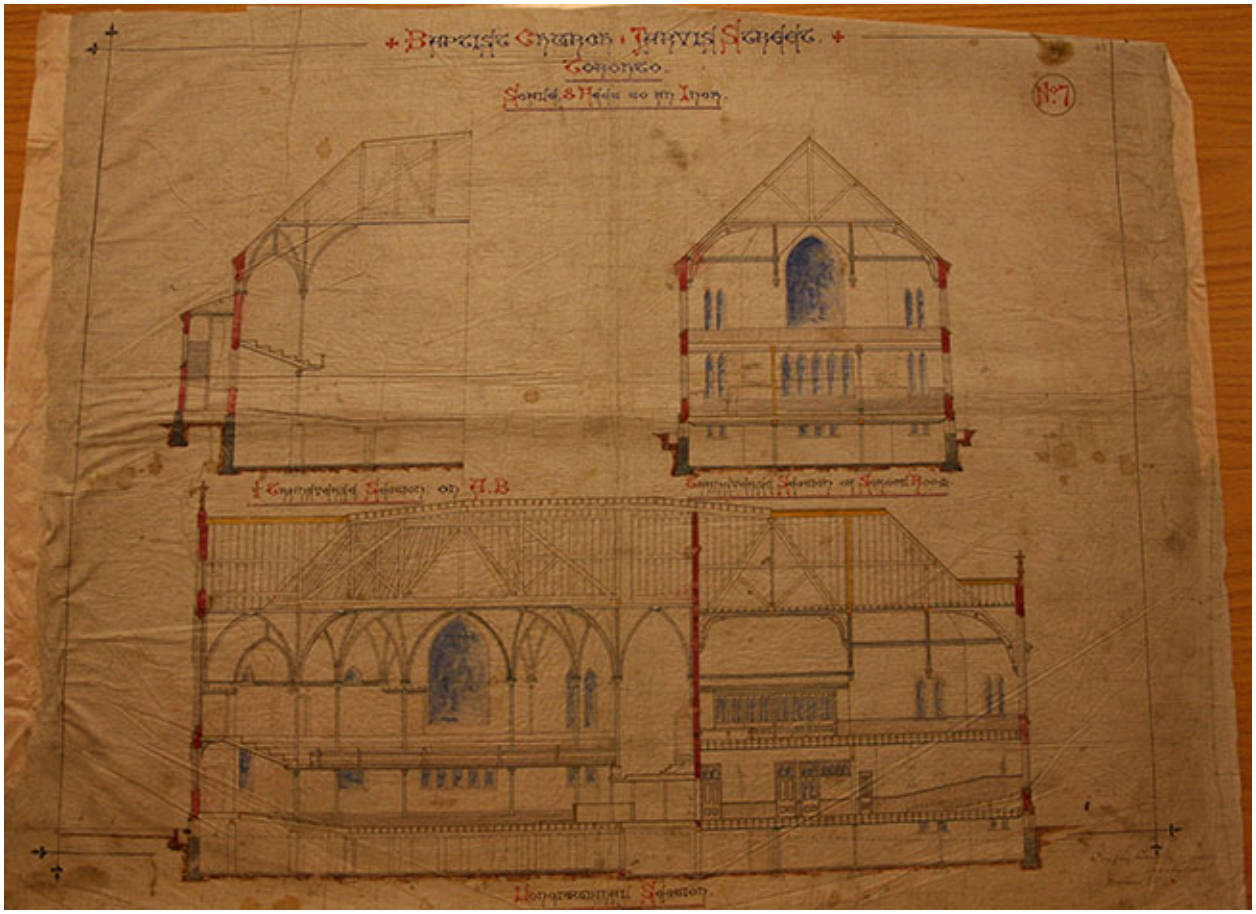


Fig. 6.135. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); longitudinal section. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

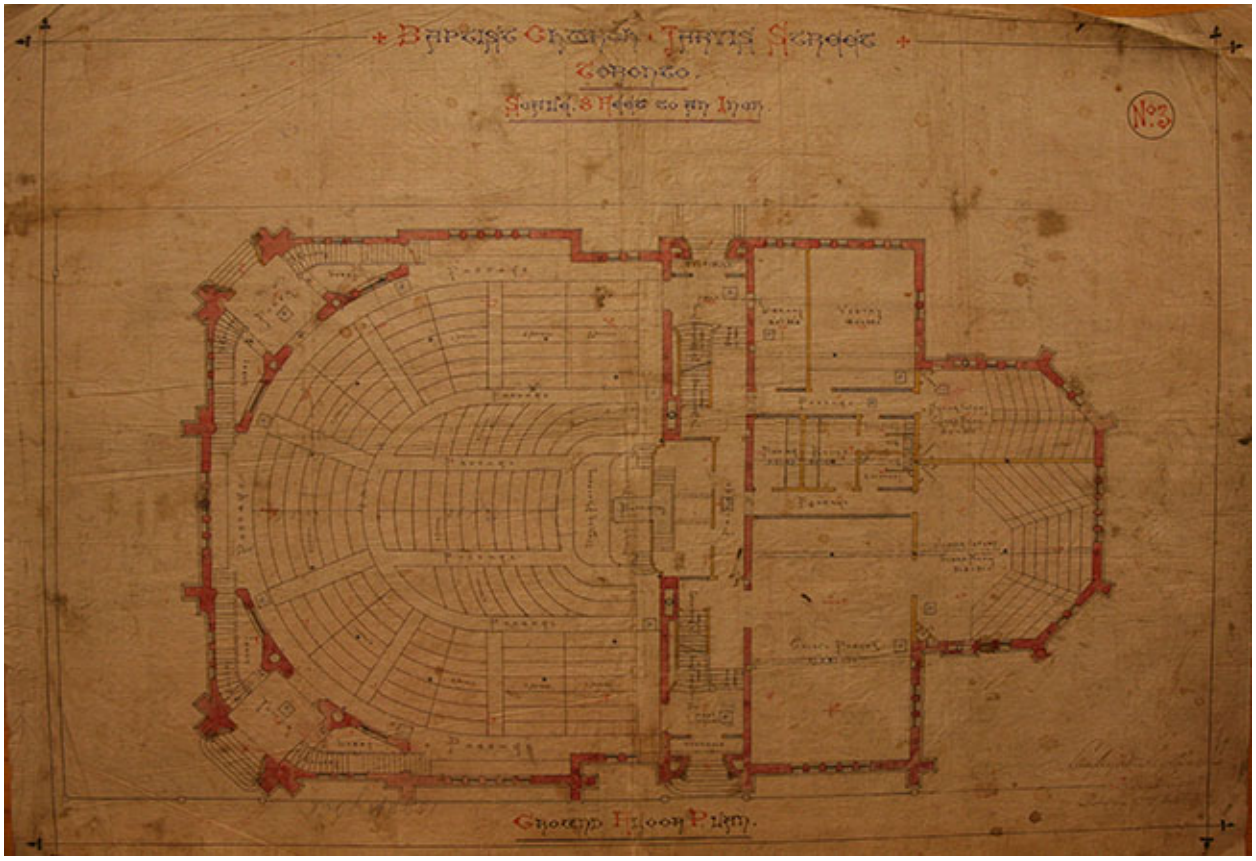


Fig. 6.136. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); ground floor plan. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

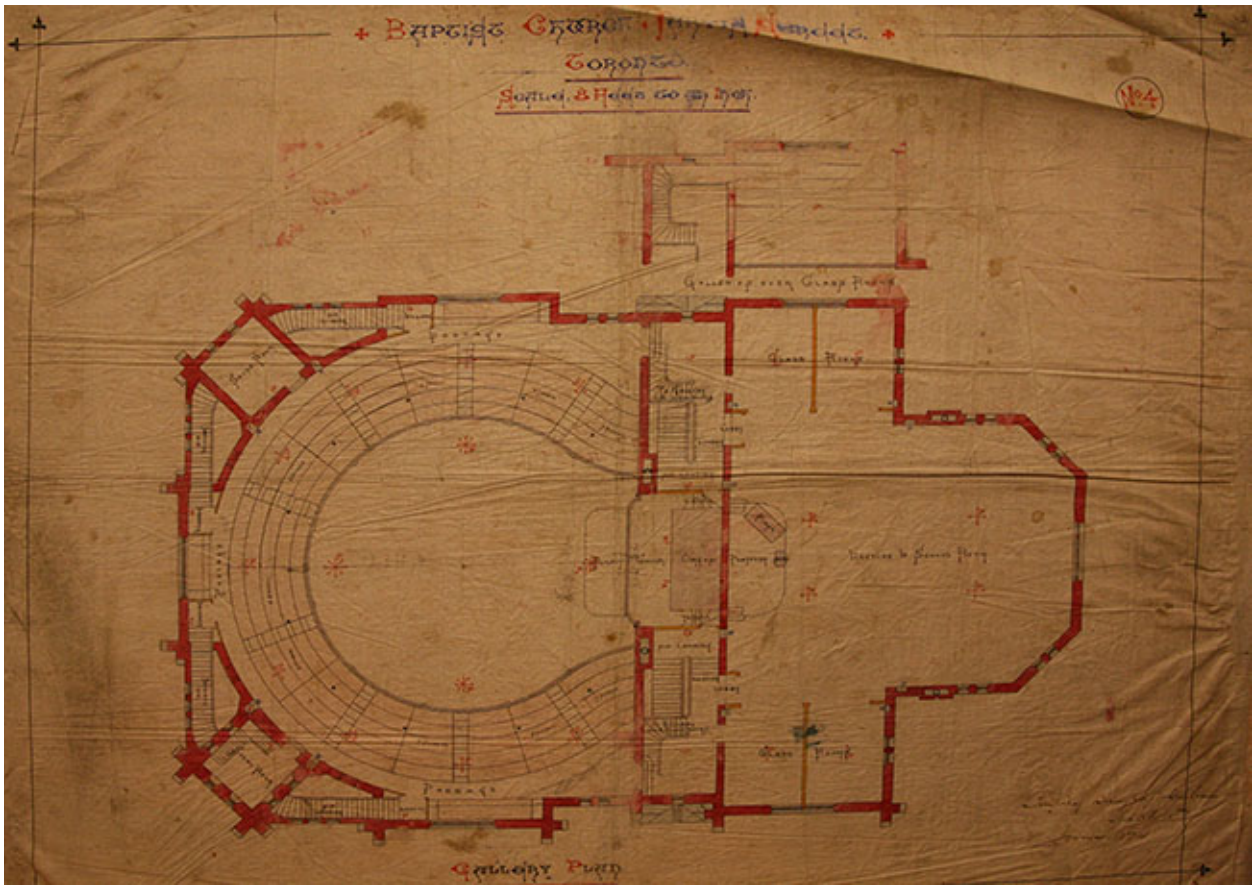


Fig. 6.137. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); gallery plan.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.138. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); interior.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church, interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

Fig. 6.139. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); interior with pulpit platform.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church, interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

Fig. 6.140. Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario (1874-75); gallery level.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church, interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

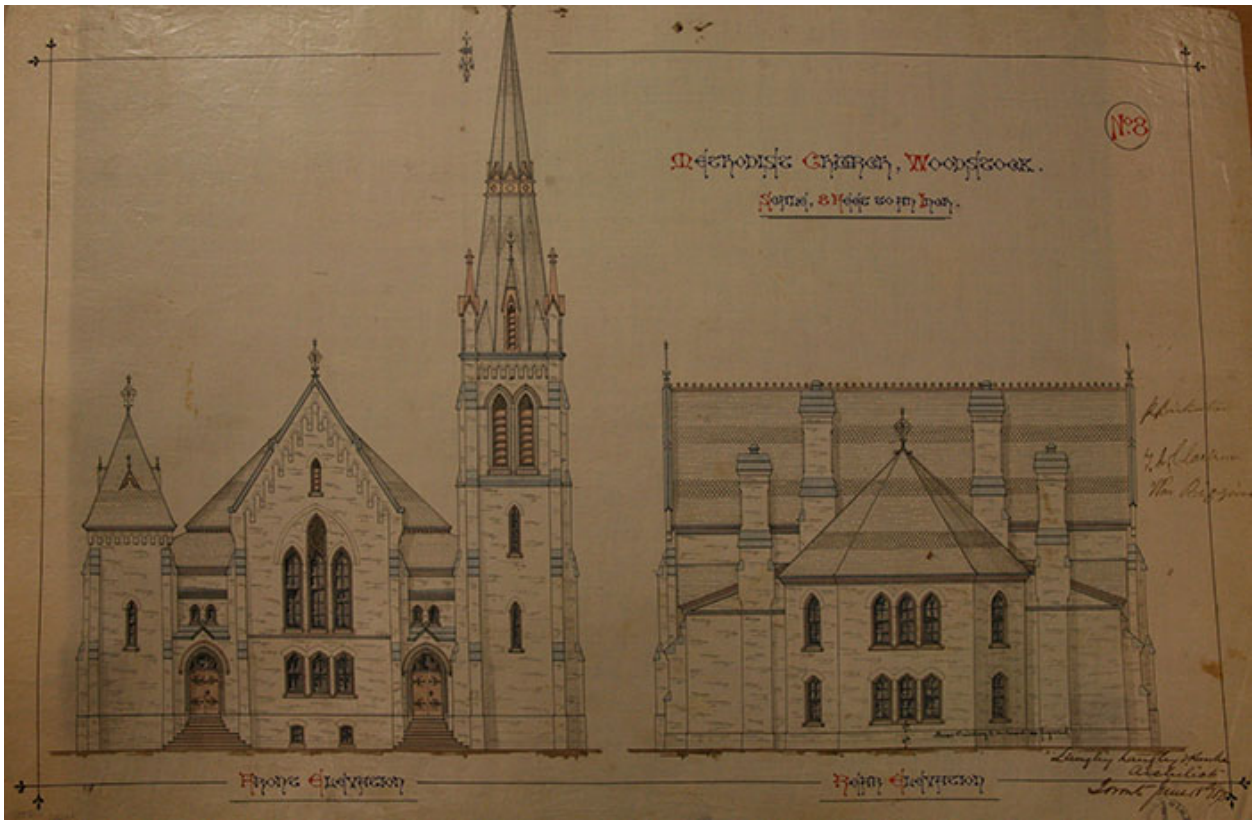


Fig. 6.141. Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario (1875); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.142. Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario (1875); exterior. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Central Methodist Church, Woodstock*. n.d. Woodstock, Ontario.

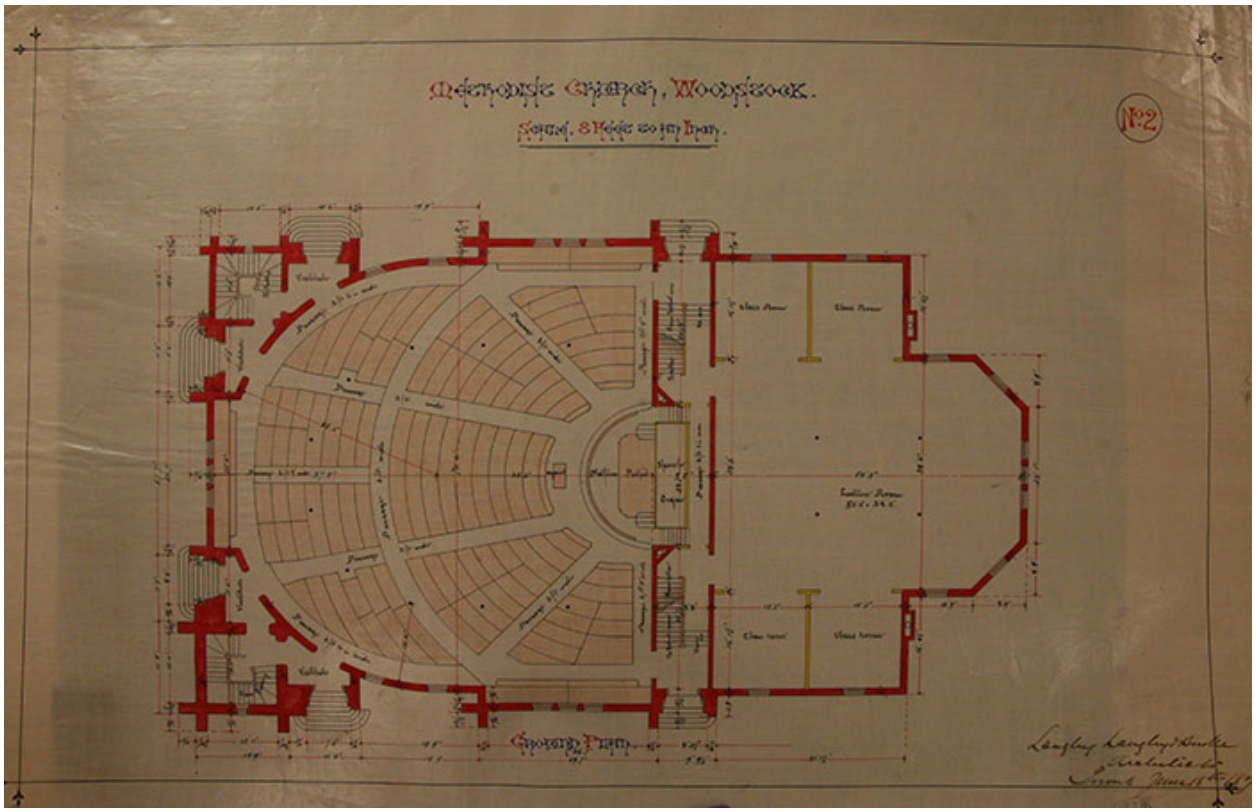


Fig. 6.143. Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario (1875); plan.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

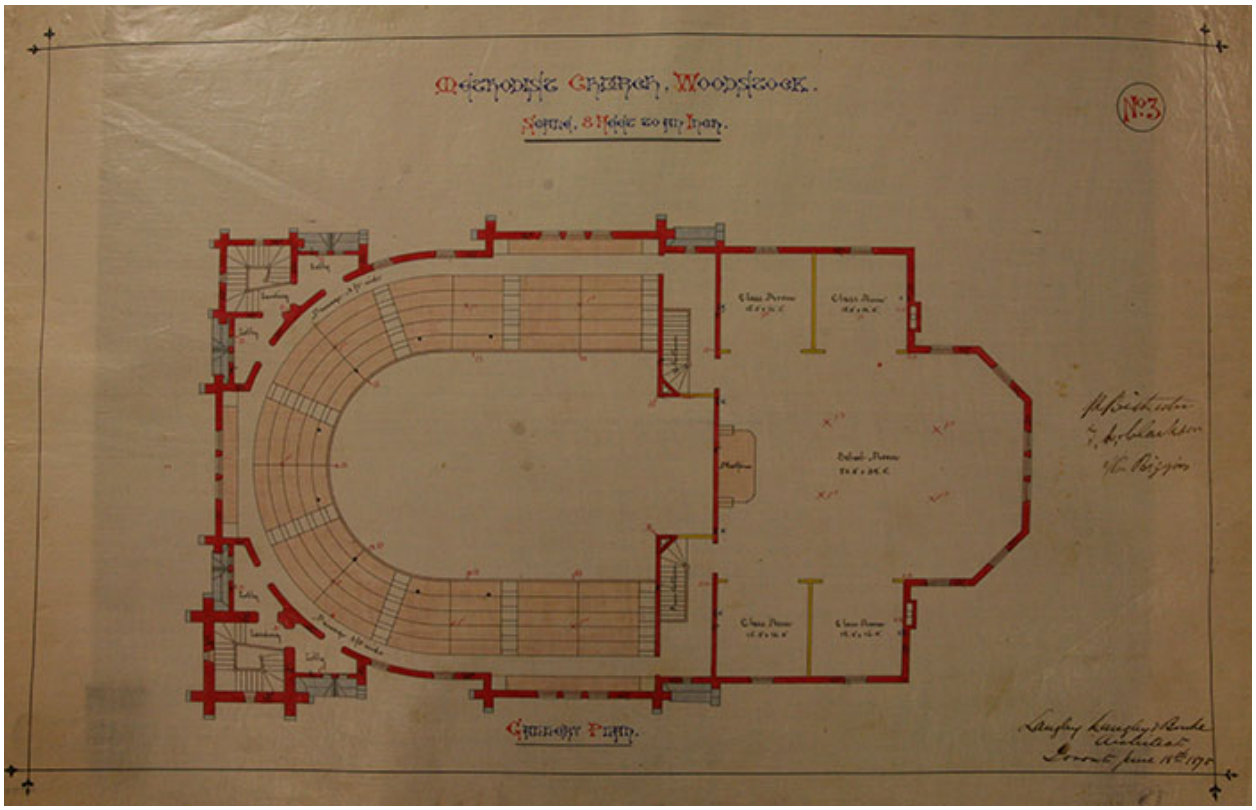


Fig. 6.144. Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario (1875); gallery plan.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.145. Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario (1875); interior.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, interior*. n.d. Woodstock, Ontario.

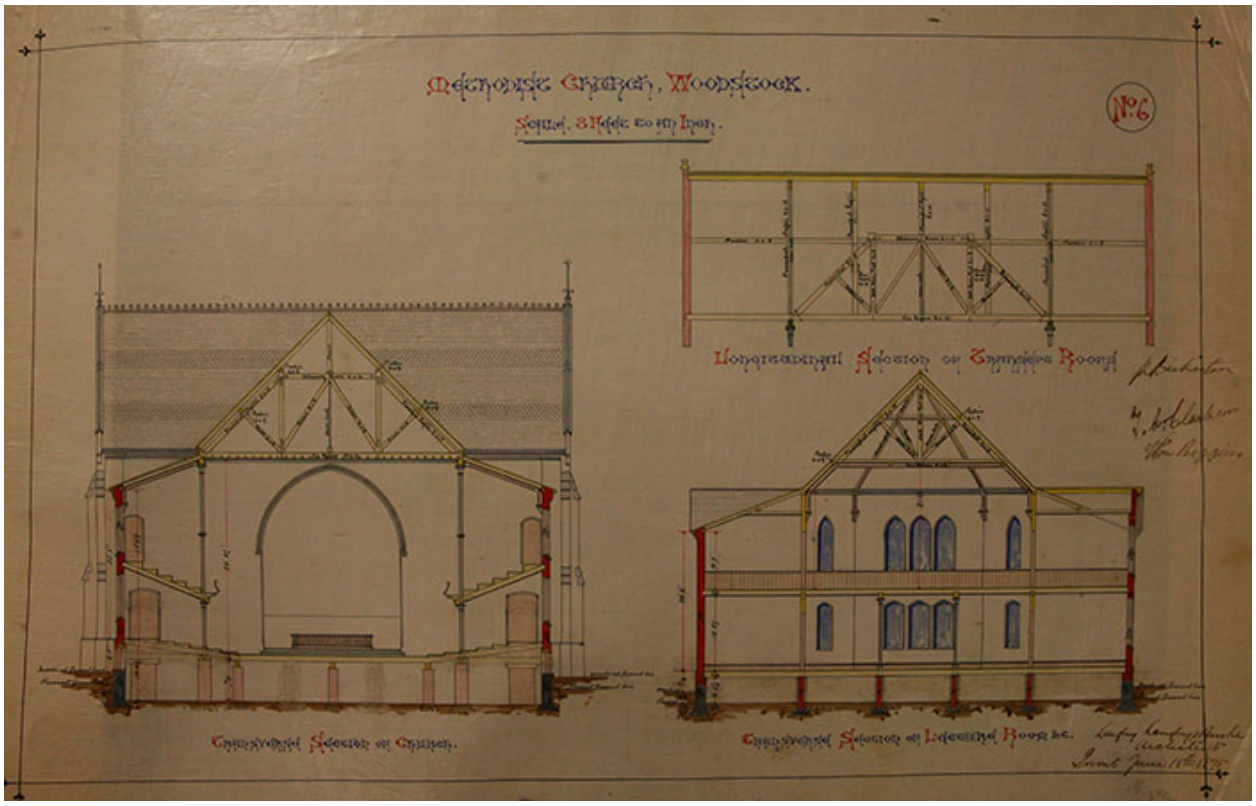


Fig. 6.146. Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario (1875); drawing.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

Fig. 6.147. Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ontario (1875); Akron plan.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Sunday School interior*. n.d. Woodstock, Ontario.

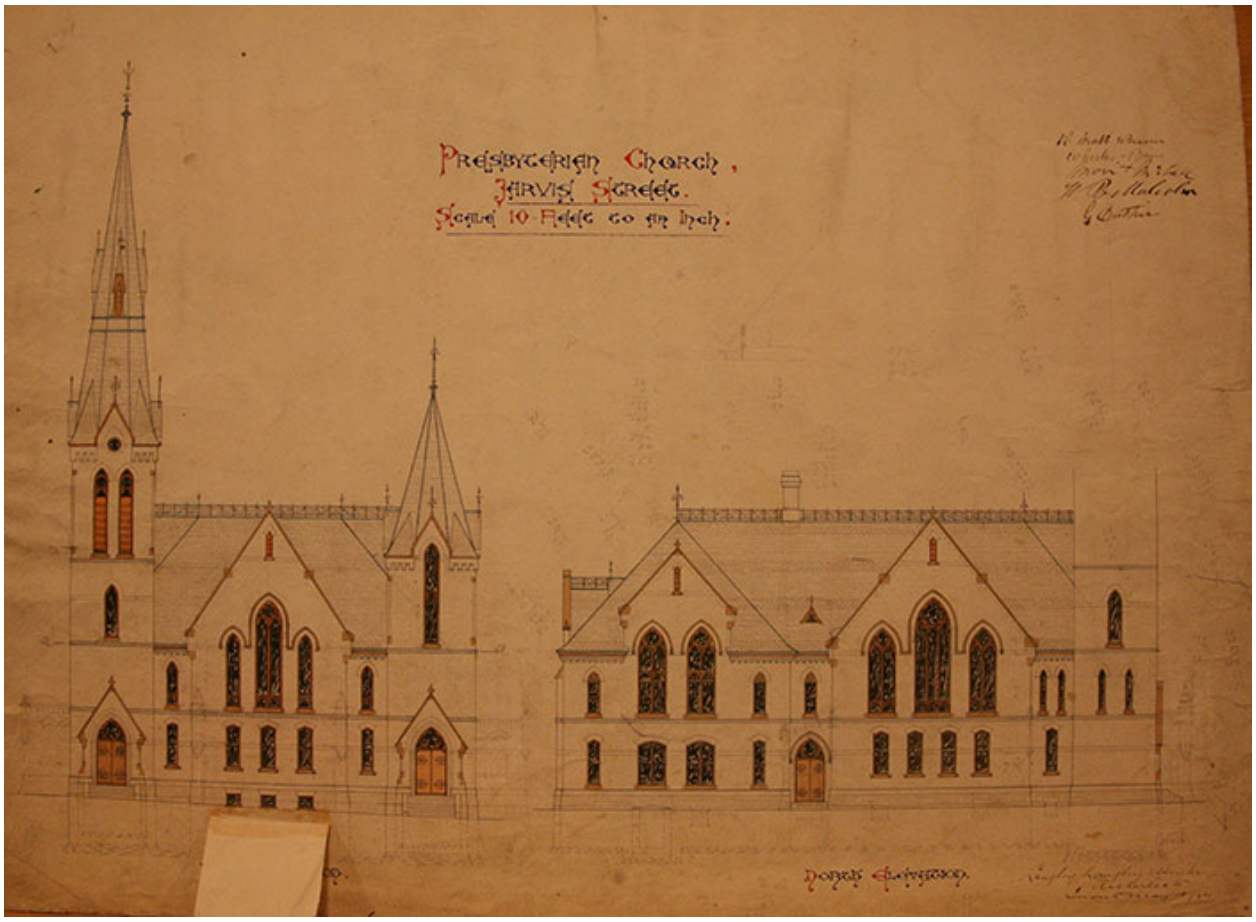


Fig. 6.148. Presbyterian Church, Jarvis Street, Toronto, Ontario (1877); drawing. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.149. St Andrew's Presbyterian (Lutheran) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1877); exterior. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Lutheran Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

Fig. 6.150. St Andrew's Presbyterian (Lutheran) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1877); gallery level. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Lutheran Church, Toronto; gallery*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

Fig. 6.151. St Andrew's Presbyterian (Lutheran) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1877); gallery and organ.
Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Lutheran Church, Toronto; gallery*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

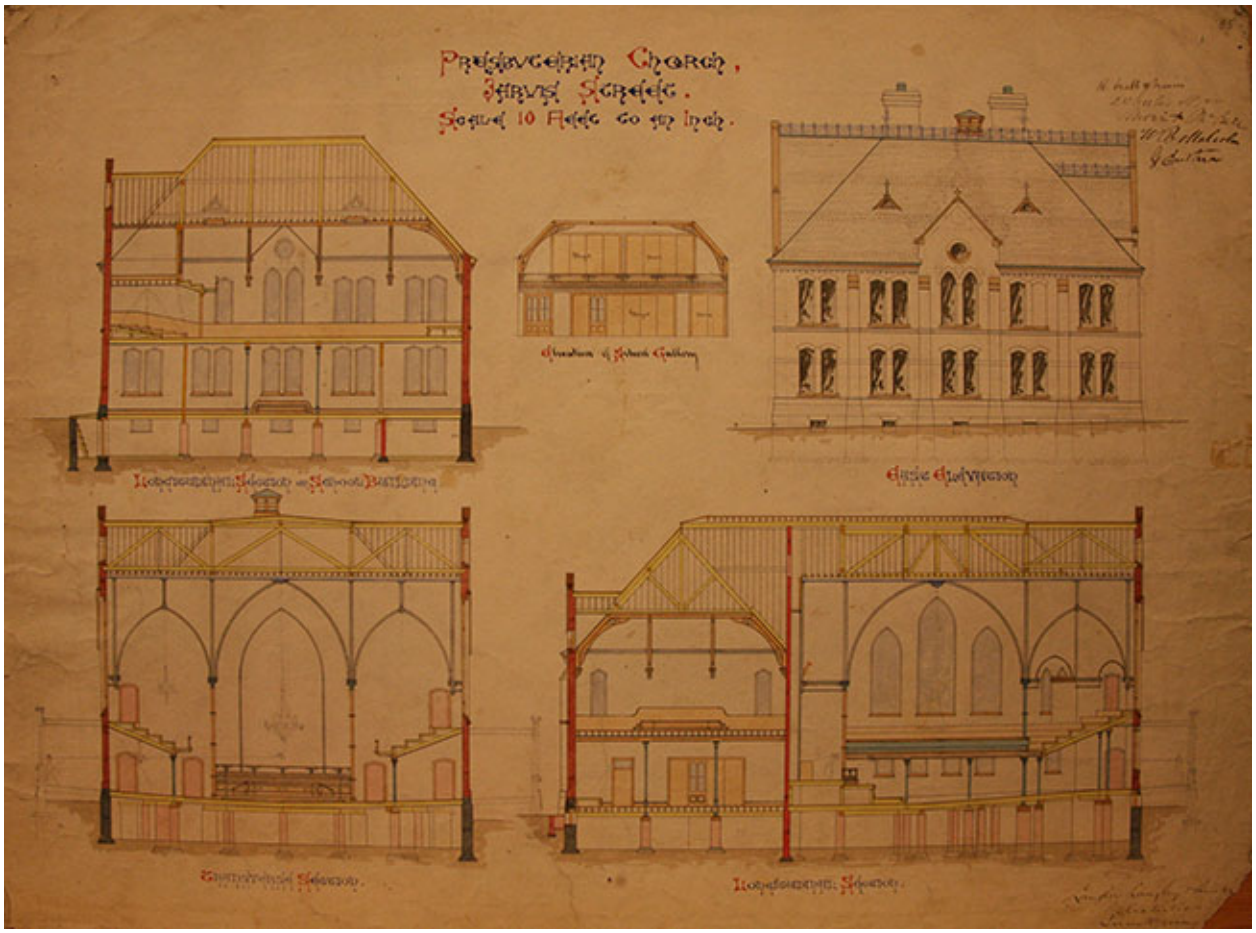


Fig. 6.152. Presbyterian Church, Jarvis Street, Toronto, Ontario (1877); drawing. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects

Drawing courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room

Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

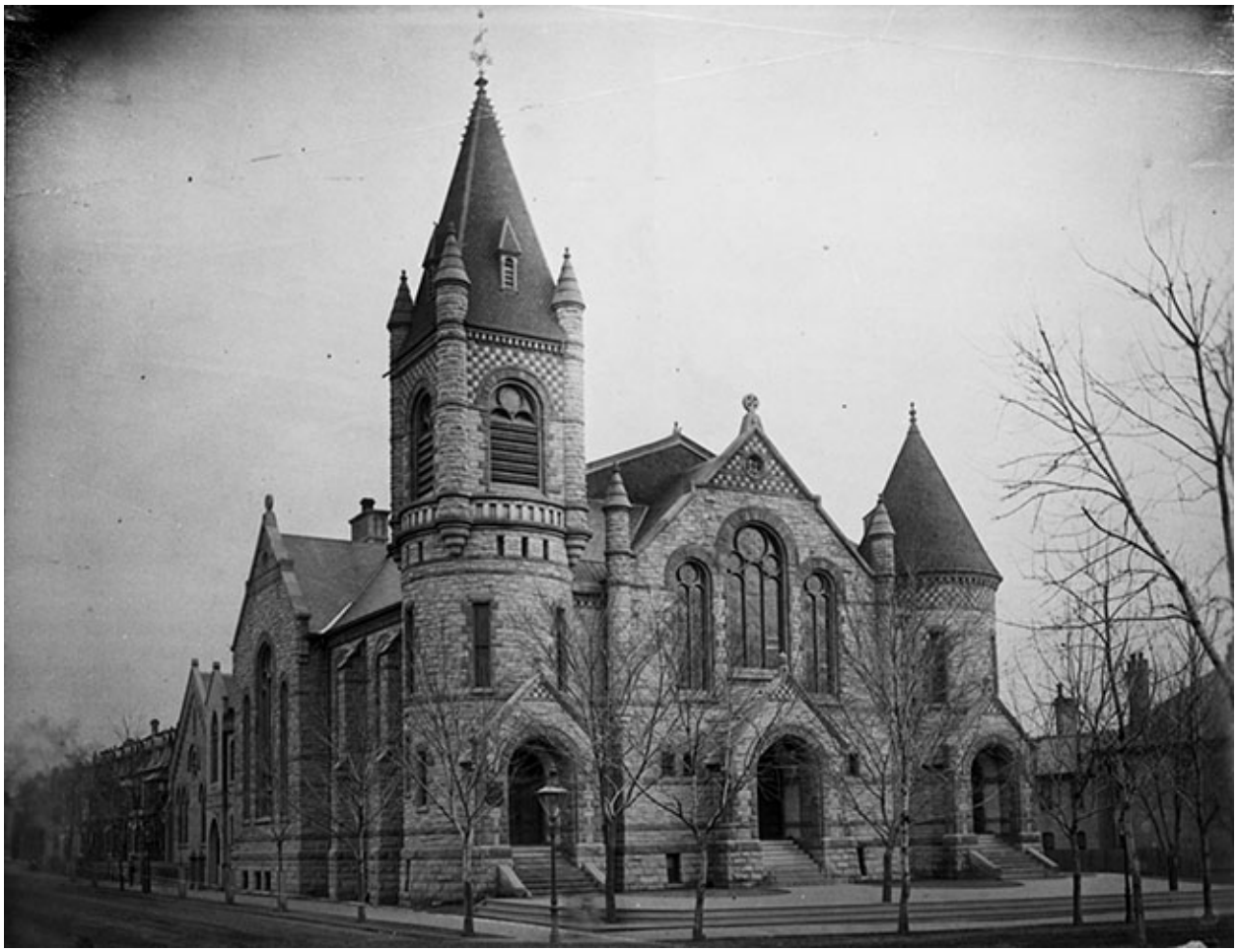


Fig. 6.153. Sherbourne Street Methodist (United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1886-87); archival photograph.

Image courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Sherbourne St. Methodist Church, Sherbourne St. s.e. cor. Carlton St. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

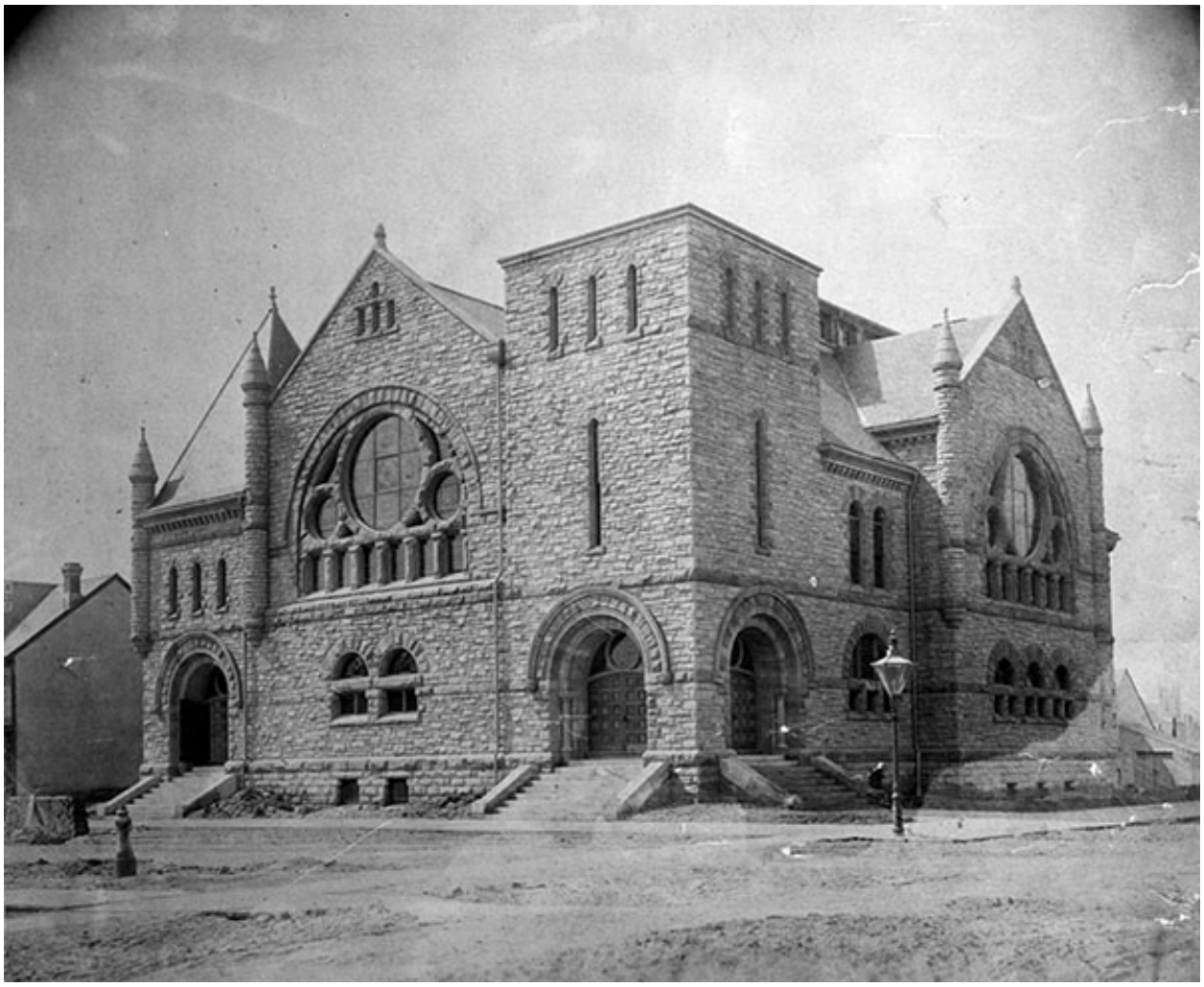


Fig. 6.154. Trinity Methodist (Trinity-St Paul's United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1887-89); archival photograph.

Image courtesy of Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room.

Trinity Methodist (United) Church, Bloor St W., s.w. cor. Robert St. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

Fig. 6.155. Trinity Methodist (Trinity-St Paul's United) Church, Toronto, Ontario (1887-89); interior.
Langley and Burke, architects

Photo: Candace Iron

Iron, Candace. *Trinity-St Paul's Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

Works Cited: Figures

2.1 "The Late Mr. Henry Langley." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 20.1 (1907): 14.

2.2 Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.3 Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.4 Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.5 Hay, William. *Town Hall Yorkville*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.6 Hay, William. *Town Hall Yorkville*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.7 Gundry and Langley. *Hellmuth Ladies College, London, Ont*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.8 Gundry and Langley. *Lieutenant Governor's Residence, Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.9 Gundry and Langley. *Post Office, Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.10 Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

2.11 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church: Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.12 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church: Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.13 Gundry and Langley. *Design for St Stephen's Parsonage Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.14 Gundry and Langley. *Restoration of Saint Stephen's Church Toronto*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.15 Williams, Charles A. *Holy Trinity Anglican Church, parsonage, Trinity Square*. 1930. Silver gelatin glass transparency. Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ontario.

2.16 "The Proposed New General Hospital." *Anglo-American Magazine* 4 (1854): n.p.

2.17 Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.18 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Completion of Christ Church Hamilton*. 1874. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

2.19 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Completion of Christ Church, Hamilton*. 1874. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

2.20 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Christ Church, Hamilton*. 1874. Architectural Drawing. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario.

2.21 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church Jarvis Street Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.22 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church Jarvis Street Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

2.23 *Allen Gardens*. 1890. Copy Negative. Toronto Public Library.

2.24 Timperlake, J. "Thos May & Co. Importers." *Illustrated Toronto: Past and Present, being an Historical and Descriptive Guide-Book: comprising Its Architecture, Manufacture, Trade; its Social, Literary, Scientific, and Charitable Institutions; its Churches, Schools, and Colleges; and other Principal Points of Interest to the Visitor and Resident, together with A Key to the Publisher's Bird's-Eye View of the City*. Toronto: Peter A. Gross, 1877, n.p.

2.25 "Architectural Offices." *Canadian Architect and Builder* 3.11 (1890): 123.

2.26 Langley, Henry. *Chapel, Superintendent Lodge Toronto Necropolis*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library

2.27 Gregg, William R. *Toronto Architectural Guild, at Long Branch (Toronto, Ontario)*. 1888. Albumen Print. Toronto Public Library.

3.1 "254: William Hay." Edinburgh Architectural Association Exhibition Catalogue. Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Architectural Association, 1907.

3.2 Iron, Candace. *St James Church, Cruden Bay*. 2012. Cruden Bay, Scotland.

3.3 Iron, Candace. *St James Church, Cruden Bay; southeast elevation*. 2012. Cruden Bay, Scotland.

3.4 Thurlby, Malcolm. St James Church, Cruden Bay. n.d. Cruden Bay, Scotland.

3.5 Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Church, Coupar Angus, exterior*. 2012. Coupar Angus.

3.6 Iron, Candace. *St Lawrence, Tubney; exterior*. 2013. Tubney, England.

3.7 Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Church, Coupar Angus, interior*. 2012. Coupar Angus.

3.8 "Church of England Cathedral, St. Johns N.F." *Canadian Illustrated News* 3.13 (n.d.): 204. *Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News*. Web. 30 July 2012.

3.9 *Mission Church, St. Francis Harbour, Labrador*. n.d. Lithograph. Toronto Public Library.

3.10 *New Church of Lammuline*. n.d. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House.

3.11 Iron, Candace. St George Anglican Church, Pickering Village. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

3.12 Iron, Candace. *St. John's Episcopal Church, Longside*. 2012. Longside, Scotland.

3.13 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

3.14 Hay, William. "Log Hut." "Architecture for the Meridian of Canada." *Anglo-American Magazine* 2 (1853): 253-55.

3.15 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls; detail*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

3.16 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls; NE*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

3.17 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls; interior*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

3.18 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls; timber roof*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

3.19 Hay, William. "New Church at Brampton." *Anglo-American Magazine* 4 (1854): n.p.

3.20 Iron, Candace. *St. John's Episcopal Church, Longside; detail*. 2012. Longside, Scotland.

3.21 "Church Roofing." *The Ecclesiologist* 4 (1844): 104.

3.22 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls; interior*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

3.23 Brandon, J. Arthur, and Raphael Brandon. "Interior of Long Stanton Church." *Parish Churches: Being Perspective Views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions*. London: W. Kent &, 1851.

3.24 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Niagara Falls; SE*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

3.25 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Warwick Bridge; interior*. n.d. Warwick Bridge, England.

3.26 Iron, Candace. *St Barnabas Cathedral, Nottingham*. 2013. Nottingham, England.

3.27 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; original chancel*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

3.28 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

3.29 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; detail*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

3.30 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; interior*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

3.31 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Wellington; interior*. n.d. Wellington, Ontario.

3.32 *St James Church - Erected 1857*. Digital image. *St Andrew's - St James Cemetery*. N.p., n.d. Web. 31 May 2012. <http://www.stastjcemetery.com/history.html>.

3.33 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering, NE exterior*. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

3.34 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering, NE exterior*. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

3.35 Iron, Candace. *St Mary's Church, Brewood*. 2013. Brewood, Staffordshire.

3.36 Iron, Candace. *St Marie's, Rugby*. 2013. Derby, England.

3.37 Thurlby, Malcolm. *St Giles, Cheadle*. n.d. Cheadle, England.

3.38 Fuller and Bencke. *Church of St, John the Evangelist, Toronto*. 1859. Lithograph. 942-3 Cab II. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library.

3.39 Steel, Trish. *St Paul's Church, Chudleigh Knighton*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 17 Aug 2008. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e4/St_Paul%27s_Church%2C_Chudleigh_Knighton_-_geograph.org.uk_-_930908.jpg

3.40 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering Village, interior*. n.d. Pickering Village, Ontario.

3.41 Iron, Candace. *St Luke's, Vienna, exterior*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

3.42 Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

3.44 Iron, Candace. *St Luke's, Vienna, tower*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

3.45 Thurlby, Malcolm. *St Luke's, Vienna*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

3.46 Iron, Candace. *St Luke's, Vienna; interior*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

3.47 Thurlby, Malcolm. St Peter's, Newboyne. n.d. Newboyne, Ontario.

3.48 Iron, Candace. *Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, exterior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

3.49 Iron, Candace. *St Basil Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

3.50 "St. Paul's Church, Southampton, Ont." *Canadian Illustrated News* 5.14 (n.d.): 213. *Images in the News: Canadian Illustrated News*. Web. 30 July 2012.

3.51 Iron, Candace. *Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah, west exterior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

3.52 Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah; interior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

3.53 P, Simon. *St. Basil's Church*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 19 Sept 2009. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1e/St._Basil%27s_Church.J PG>.

3.54 Hay, William. S Michael's College. 1855. E 8-130 Small. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library, Toronto, ON.

3.55 St. Basil's Church. n.d. St Michael's University Archives. University of Toronto, Toronto, ON.

3.56 Robertson, John Ross. "St Basil's Church." *Sketches in City Churches, reprinted from The Evening Telegram, with the original illustrations*. Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1883.

3.57 Drawing of interior of chapel towards the altar. n.d. Balloil College Archives. University of Oxford, Oxford, England.

3.58 Iron, Candace. *Grace Anglican Church, Brantford; exterior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

3.59 *Grace Anglican Church*. n.d. Photograph. Grace Anglican Church, Brantford, Ontario.

3.60 Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

3.61 Thurbly, Malcolm. *Grace Anglican Church; interior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

3.62 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Newcastle*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

3.63 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Newcastle, north*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

3.64 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Newcastle, southeast*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

3.65 Hay, William. *New Church Newcastle*.1855. Architectural Drawing. St George Church Newcastle.

3.66 Iron, Candace. *All Saints, Margaret Street*. 2012. London, England.

3.67 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Church, Guelph; facade*. 2014. Guelph, Ontario.

4.1 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Santa Maria Sopra Minerva*. N.d. Rome.

4.2 Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto*. N.d. Toronto.

4.3 Gundry and Langley. *New Sacristy Saint Michaels Cathedral Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.4 Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto; sacristy*. n.d. Toronto.

4.5 Gundry and Langley. *New Sacristy Saint Michaels Cathedral Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.6 Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto; sacristy interior*. n.d. Toronto.

4.7 Gundry and Langley. *Completion of Pinnacles on Saint Michael's Cathedral*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.8 Gundry and Langley. *Plan for Completion of Tower and Spire Saint Michael's Cathedral, Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.9 *Pinnacles*. 1841. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. London: John Weale, 1841. 9. Print.

4.10 Iron, Candace. *St Michael's Cathedral, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

4.11 Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.12 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

4.13 Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

4.14 Iron, Candace. *St Michael's, Longstanton*. n.d. Whitby. Longstanton, Cambridgeshire.

4.15 Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario; Detail of Door*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.16 *Fig 11*. 1857. *St. Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building*. By George J. Wigley. London: C. Dolman, 1857. N. pag. Print.

4.17 Gundry and Langley. *New R.C. Church Whitby Ontario; Bell Cote*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.18 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.19 Iron, Candace. St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, Toronto. n.d. Toronto.

4.20 Iron, Candace. *St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham*. 2014. Birmingham.

4.21 *St. Wilfrid's, Manchester*. 1844. *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.* By Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. London: Charles Dolman, 1844. Pl. VII. Print.

4.22 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street, North Elevation*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.23 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's, Guelph*. 2014. Guelph.
4.24 Iron, Candace. *St James Church, Cruden Bay*. 2012. Cruden Bay.

4.25 *St. Giles', Cheadle*. 1844. *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.* By Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. London: Charles Dolman, 1844. Pl. IV.

4.26 Iron, Candace. *St Giles, Cheadle*. 2014. Cheadle, Stoke-on-Trent.

4.27 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.28 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street, Longitudinal Section*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.29 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church Dummer Street, Transverse Section*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.30 Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) Catholic Church, interior*, Toronto. 2000. Toronto.

4.31 Hay, William. S Michael's College. 1855. E 8-130 Small. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library, Toronto, ON.

4.32 Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Dufferin's Creek, Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.33 Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Dufferin's Creek, Ontario*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.34 Iron, Candace. *St Frances de Sales Church, Pickering*. n.d. Pickering, Ontario.

4.35 Iron, Candace. *St Frances de Sales Church, Pickering, interior*. n.d. Pickering, Ontario.

4.36 Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Stayner*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.37 Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Stayner*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.38 Iron, Candace. *St St Patrick's Church, Stayner*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

4.39 Langley, Henry. *RC Church, Stayner, Front Eleveation*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.40 Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Stayner; tower*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

4.41 Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Stayner; facade entrance*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

4.42 Iron, Candace. *St Patrick's Church, Stayner; interior*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

4.43 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Pickering Village; interior*. n.d. Ajax, Ontario.

4.44 Langley, Henry. *Saint Patrick's Church, Orillia*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.45 Church of Angel's Guardian, Orillia, Ont. n.d. Guardian Angels Church, Orillia, ON. 2009.

4.46 Crisco 1492. *Exterior (main Church), Our Lady of the Assumption, Windsor, Ontario*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 9 Jan. 2015. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Exterior_(main_church),_Our_Lady_of_the_Assumption,_Windsor,_Ontario.jpg>.

4.47 Iron, Candace. *The Church of Our Lady, Guelph; facade*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

4.48 Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Catholic Church, Penetanguishene; exterior*. n.d. Penetanguishene, Ontario.

4.49 Iron, Candace. *St Mary's, Wilno; exterior*. n.d. Wilno, Ontario.

4.50 Langley, Henry. *Saint Thomas' Church, St. Thomas, Ont*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.51 Church of the Holy Angels. n.d. St. Thomas Public Library, St. Thomas, ON. n.d.

4.52 Langley, Henry. *Saint Thomas' Church, St. Thomas, Ont*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

4.53 Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster*. 2007. Ancaster, Ontario.

4.54 St. Basil's Church. n.d. St Michael's University Archives. University of Toronto, Toronto, ON.

4.55 St John Chrysostom, Newmarket. n.d. St. John Chrysostom Church Archives, Newmarket, ON.

4.56 Iron, Candace. *Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste Marie*. 2007-8. Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

4.57 Iron, Candace. *Lafontaine Church*. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

4.58 Iron, Candace. *Lafontaine Church; spire*. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

4.59 Iron, Candace. Lafontaine Church; tympanum. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

4.60 Iron, Candace. *Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste Marie*. 2007-8. Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

4.61 Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Front Elevation*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

4.62 Iron, Candace. *Lafontaine Church; interior*. 2014. Lafontaine, Ontario.

5.1 *Notre Dame Roman Catholic Church, Montreal, Quebec*. n.d. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

5.2 *Georgetown - Trinity Church*. n.d. Photograph. PEI Public Archives and Records Office.

5.3 Iron, Candace. *Old St Thomas Church, St Thomas, ON*. 2013. St Thomas, Ontario.

5.4 Iron, Candace. *Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids*. 2012. Burritt's Rapids, Ontario.

5.5 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Oldridge Chapel, Devon*. n.d. Whitestone, Devon.

5.6 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Oldridge Chapel, Devon*. n.d. Whitestone, Devon.

5.7 Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Chapel, Fredericton - west end*. 2015. Fredericton, New Brunswick.

5.8 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

5.9 Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto.

5.10 Iron, Candace. *St Michael's, Longstanton*. 2013. Longstanton, Ontario.

5.11 Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto; southeast elevation*. n.d. Toronto.

5.12 Iron, Candace. *St Michael's, Longstanton; southwest elevation*. 2013. Longstanton, Ontario.

5.13 Iron, Candace. *St Anne's Church, Coupar Angus*. 2012. Coupar Angus, Scotland.

5.14 "St Paul's Church, Southampton, Ont." *Canadian Illustrated News* 5.13 (1872): 213. Rpt. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. < http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06230>.

5.15 Iron, Candace. *Trinity Anglican Church, East Zorrah; southwest elevation*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

5.16 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering Village; south elevation*. n.d. Ajax, Ontario.

5.17 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Margaret Street, London*. 2012. London, England.

5.18 Iron, Candace. *St James the Less, Pimlico*. 2013. London, England.

5.19 Iron, Candace. *St Barnabas Church, Horton-cum-Studley*. 2013. Horton-cum-Studley, England.

5.20 Bates, Colin. *Christ Church, Smannell*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 13 March 2006. Web. 17 June 2015. < https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smannell#/media/File:Christ_Church,_Smannell_-_geograph.org.uk_-_156691.jpg>.

5.21 Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Toronto; interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

5.22 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

5.23 Iron, Candace. *St Barnabas Church, Horton-cum-Studley; interior*. 2013. Horton-cum-Studley, England.

5.24 Iron, Candace. *St Mary Magdalene Church, Paddington, London*. 2013. London, England.

5.25 *St Peter's Church, Toronto - archival photo*. n.d. Photograph. St Peter's Anglican Church Archives.

5.26 Iron, Candace. *St Lawrence, Tubney; chancel*. 2013. Tubney, England.

5.27 Iron, Candace. *St Giles, Cheadle; chancel*. 2013. Cheadle, England.

5.28 Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. "Interior of Long Stanton Church Cambridgeshire." *Parish Churches: being perspective views of English Ecclesiastical*

Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Descriptions. London: George Bell (1848), n.p.

5.29 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls*. n.d. Niagara Falls, Ontario.

5.30 Iron, Candace. *St George Church, Pickering Village; southeast elevation*. n.d. Ajax, Ontario.

5.31 Iron, Candace. *St Luke's Church, Vienna; interior*. n.d. Vienna, Ontario.

5.32 Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah; northeast*. East Zorrah, Ontario.

5.33 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1865. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

5.34 *St Peter's Church, Toronto - archival photo*. n.d. Photograph. St Peter's Anglican Church Archives.

5.35 Iron, Candace. *Old St Thomas Anglican Church*. 2013. St. Thomas, Ontario.

5.36 Langley, Henry. *Proposed Addition to St Peter's Church Carleton St Toronto*. 1872. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

5.37 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Proposed Additions to Saint Peter's Church Carleton Street Toronto*. 1880. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

5.38 Langley and Burke. *Brooklin Ch*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.39 Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church, Brooklin*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

5.40 Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church Brooklin; northeast*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

5.41 Fuller and Bencke. *Church of St, John the Evangelist, Toronto*. 1859. Lithograph. 942-3 Cab II. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library.

5.42 Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church, Brooklin; interior*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

5.43 Iron, Candace. *St Thomas Church, Brooklin; interior looking west*. n.d. Brooklin, Ontario.

5.44 Iron, Candace. *Trinity Church, East Zorrah; interior*. n.d. East Zorrah, Ontario.

5.45 Langley and Burke. *Church to be Built at Stayner, Ont*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.46 Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

5.47 *St Mary Magdalene, Flaunden*. Digital image. *Hertfordshire Churches in Photographs*. Word Press, 10 May 2015. Web. 22 July 2015. <https://hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/flaunden_st_mary_magdalene090514_22.jpg>.

5.48 Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; northeast elevation*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

5.49 Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner; interior*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

5.50 Langley, Henry. *RC Church Dufferins Creek, Ont*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.51 Langley and Burke. *Church to be Built at Sand Hill, Ont.* n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.52 Iron, Candace. *Sandhill Church*. n.d. Sandhill, Ontario.

5.53 Iron, Candace. *Sandhill Church; interior*. n.d. Sandhill, Ontario.

5.54 Iron, Candace. *Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London; facade*. n.d. London, Ontario.

5.55 Iron, Candace. *Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church, London; exterior*. n.d. London, Ontario.

5.56 Truefitt, George. "Design No. XVIII." *Designs for Country Churches*. London: Joseph Masters (1850), n.p.

5.57 Langley and Burke. *Cronyn Memorial Church London Ont.* n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.58 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby; facade*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

5.59 Gundry and Langley. *All Saints Church, Whitby*. 1865. Architectural Presentation Sketch. Whitby Archives, Whitby, Ontario.

5.60 Pugin, AWN. "Contrasted Towns." *Contrasts: or, a parallel between the noble edifices of the Middle Ages, and corresponding buildings of the present day: shewing the present decay of Taste. Accompanied by appropriate Text. Contrasts and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. Ed. Timothy Brittain-Catlin. Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2003. Print.

5.61 Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1855. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

5.62 *St Marks Church B.ham*. Digital image. *Old Ladywood*. Mac Joseph, n.d. Web. 20 June 2015. <http://www.oldladywood.co.uk/stmarkschurch.htm>.

5.63 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby; interior*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

5.64 *All Saints Church, Whitby - archival photo*. n.d. Photograph. Whitby Archives, Whitby, Ontario.

5.65 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Port Hope CW*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

5.66 Iron, Candace. *St John the Evangelist Church, Port Hope; northwest exterior*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

5.67 "New Church at Swindon, on the Great Western Railway." *The Illustrated London News* 11 Oct. 1854, 180th ed.: 229.

5.68 *The Old Church at Bowes*. Digital image. *St. Michael's at Bowes, London UK*. St. Michael's at Bowes, London UK, n.d. Web. 22 June 2015. <http://www.woodgreenparish.com/SMAB%202006.htm>.

5.69 Langley, Henry. *St John's Church, Elora, Ont*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.70 Iron, Candace. *St John the Evangelist Church, Port Hope; interior*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

5.71 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Port Hope CW*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.72 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Port Hope CW*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

5.73 Iron, Candace. *St Giles Cheadle; screen*. 2013. Cheadle, Staffordshire.

5.74 Iron, Candace. *St Giles Cheadle; Chancel*. 2013. Cheadle, Staffordshire.

5.75 Iron, Candace. *St Giles Cheadle; detail of stained glass.* 2013. Cheadle, Staffordshire.

5.76 Cordeiro, Rick. Cathedral Place, Anglican Church of Canada, downtown Hamilton, Ontario. Digital image. *Christ's Church Cathedral (Hamilton, Ontario)*. Wikimedia Commons, 1 Nov. 2007. Web. 23 July 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8f/CathedralPlaceAnglicanChurchCanada.JPG>.

5.77 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Christ Church Hamilton Plan of Changel Fittings*. 1875. Architectural Drawing. Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ontario.

5.78 "Hinges." *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*. Ed. The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society. London: John Van Voorst, 1847. *Google Books*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. < http://books.google.ca/books?id=B9w-AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

5.79 Brandon, J. Arthur, and Raphael Brandon. "Glapthorne Church." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: Illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of Doorways, Windows, etc. and accompanied with Remarks on the Several Details of an Ecclesiastical Edifice*. London: W. Kent & Co., 1847. Print.

5.80 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Ancaster; Front Elevation*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Archives of St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario.

5.81 Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster, facade*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

5.82 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Ancaster*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Archives of St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario.

5.83 "Litany Desks." *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, second series*. Ed. The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society. London: John Van Voorst, 1856. *Google Books*. Web. 08 Aug. 2013. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=p_knAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

5.84 *St John's Church, Ancaster*. n.d. Watercolour. St John's Church Hall, Ancaster, Ontario.

5.85 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Long Reach (NB), St James's Anglican Church, interior to E, 1841-43*. n.d. Long Reach, New Brunswick.

5.86 Iron, Candace. *Covenanter's Church; interior*. 2010. Grand Pre, Nova Scotia.

5.87 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Paris (ON), St James's Anglican Church, exterior from S*. n.d. Picton, Ontario.

5.88 Thurlby, Malcolm. Picton (ON), St Mary's Anglican Church, exterior from S; nave 1823; chancel, vestry and tower, 1863-65. n.d. Paris, Ontario.

5.89 Iron, Candace. *The Consecon Library (former Holy Trinity Church)*. n.d. Consecon, Ontario.

5.90 Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster, SE exterior*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

5.91 Birchall, Eugene. *Shaftesbury, Holy Trinity Church*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 23 July 2009. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/76/Shaftesbury%2C_Holy_Trinity_Church_-_geograph.org.uk_-_1751115.jpg>.

5.92 Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster, south exterior*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

5.93 Pugin, AWN. "Plate II." “The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture.” *Contrasts and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. Ed. Timothy Brittain-Catlin. Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2003. Print.

5.94 Iron, Candace. *St John's Church, Ancaster, interior*. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

5.95 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario

5.96 Langley, Henry. *Saint George's Church Guelph*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

5.97 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, southeast*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

5.98 P.g.Champion. *St mary hanwell 38*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 8 July 2007. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4e/St_mary_hanwell_38.jpg>.

5.99 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, tower*. 2013. Guelph, Ontario.

5.100 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, northeast*. 2013. Guelph, Ontario.

5.101 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Newcastle; northeast*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

5.102 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Newcastle; southeast*. n.d. Newcastle, Ontario.

5.103 Coffman, Peter. *St Giles, Camberwell; north elevation*. n.d. London, England.

5.104 Coffman, Peter. *St Giles, Camberwell; south elevation*. n.d. London, England.

5.105 Iron, Candace. *Grace Anglican Church, Brantford; general exterior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

5.106 Oaktree. *Hartshill War Memorial, Stoke-on-Trent Staffs*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 11 March 2011. Web. 17 June 2015. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c6/Hartshill_War_Memorial%2C_Stoke-on-Trent_Staffs.JPG>.

5.107 Iron, Candace. *St George's Church, Guelph, interior*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

5.108 Iron, Candace. *Grace Anglican Church, Brantford; interior*. n.d. Brantford, Ontario.

5.109 P.g.Champion. *The east window. St Mary's Church, Hanwell*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 23 May 2010. Web. 17 June 2015.

<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4d/St_mary_hanwell_east_window_3435.jpg>.

6.1 Jobson, F. J. "Usual Style, Gothic Style." *Chapel and School Architecture, as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-houses*. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1850, n.p.

6.2 Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.3 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Carleton Street*. 1864. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.4 Iron, Candace. *All Saints Church, Whitby*. n.d. Whitby, Ontario.

6.5 Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1856. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.6 Emma7stern. *Hamburg StNikolai Panorama*. Digital Image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 31 August 2004. Web. 20 July 2016. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/55/Hamburg_StNikolai_Panorama.jpg>.

6.7 "St. James Church, Westminster." *The Illustrated London News* 2 May 1846, 209th ed.: 293.

6.8 Iron, Candace. *St Martin-in-the-Fields, London*. 2012. London, England.

6.9 Iron, Candace. *St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, interior*. 2012. London, England.

6.10 Iron, Candace. *Greenock Presbyterian Church, St Andrew's NB, interior*. 2014. St Andrew's, New Brunswick.

6.11 Thurlby, Malcolm. *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake, interior to the east*. n.d. Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.

6.12 Gundry and Langley. *New Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.13 Bowler, Revd George. "Design No 6." *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, pl. 11.

6.14 Bowler, Revd George. "Design No 6." *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, pl. 14.

6.15 Hay, William. *United Presbyterian Church Toronto*.1856. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.16 Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.17 Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street, Plan of Basement*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.18 Iron, Candace. *First Baptist Church, Port Hope, facade*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

6.19 Iron, Candace. *First Baptist Church, Port Hope, interior*. n.d. Port Hope, Ontario.

6.20 Iron, Candace. *Georgetown Baptist Church, facade*. n.d. Georgetown, Ontario.

6.21 Iron, Candace. *Georgetown Baptist Church, facade*. n.d. Georgetown, Ontario.

6.22 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Presbyterian, Guelph, facade*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

6.23 Iron, Candace. St John's Church, Ancaster, exterior. n.d. Ancaster, Ontario.

6.24 Langley, Henry. *Baptist Church Georgetown*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.25 Gundry and Langley. *New Church Ancaster; Front Elevation*. 1868. Architectural Drawing. Archives of St John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, Ontario.

6.26 Gundry and Langley. *Saint Patrick's Church: Dummer Street*. 1869. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.27 Iron, Candace. *Ebenezer Primitive Methodist Church, Brampton, exterior*. n.d. Brampton, Ontario.

6.28 Langley, Henry. *Primitive Methodist Chapel, Barrie*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.29 Langley, Henry. *Primitive Methodist Chapel, Barrie*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.30 Channey, Arvinder. *UnionVille MainStreet*. Digital Image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 7 August 2010. Web. 20 July 2016. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/UnionVille_MainStreet_Church.jpg>.

6.31 Iron, Candace. *Central PM, Unionville*. n.d. Unionville, Ontario.

6.32 Gundry and Langley. *New Wesleyan Methodist Church Oshawa CW*. 1867. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.33 Iron, Candace. *Simcoe Street Methodist (United) Church, Oshawa, exterior*. n.d. Oshawa, Ontario.

6.34 Gundry and Langley. *Design for New Wesleyan Methodist Church Oshawa CW*. 1867. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.35 Gundry and Langley. *Design for New Wesleyan Methodist Church Oshawa CW*. 1867. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.36 Iron, Candace. *The Barrington Meetinghouse, exterior*. n.d. Barrington, Nova Scotia.

6.37 Iron, Candace. *The Hay Bay Church*. n.d. Adolphustown, Ontario.

6.38 The White Chapel, Picton, Ontario (1809); exterior.

6.39 Benjamin, Asher. "Pl 27." *The Country Builder's Assistant: containing a collection of new designs of carpentry and architecture, which will be particularly useful, to country workmen in general*. Greenfield (Mass): Thomas Dickman, 1797.

6.40 Jobson, F. J. "The Model Wesleyan Chapel." *Chapel and School Architecture, as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-houses*. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1850, n.p.

6.41 "A Neat Country Church." *The Canada Farmer* 3.2 (1866): 20-21. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. 27 July 2016. <http://eco.canadiana.ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/oocihm.8_04206_49/6?r=0&s=1>

6.42 Bidlake, George. "No. VII." *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.p.

6.43 Bidlake, George. "No. 10." *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.p.

6.44 *Interior of Simcoe Street United Church, Floral Service - Early 1900's*. n.d. Photograph. Simcoe Street United Church.

6.45 Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.46 *Metropolitan Methodist (United) CHURCH, Queen St. E., n, side, between Bond & Church Sts*. 1870. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

6.47 Rotatebot. *Church of St George*. Digital image. *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Commons, 9 December 2009. Web. 17 June 2016. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/df/St_Georges_Doncaster_2.jpg>.

6.48 *Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Queen St. E., n, side, between Bond & Church Sts*.; INTERIOR. 1899. Plate glass copy negative. Toronto Public Library.

6.49 Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Section of School House*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.50 Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Section of School House*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.51 Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Elevation of Seat Ends*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.52 Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. "Plate 4." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice*. London: Pelham Richardson, 1847.

6.53 Langley, Henry. *Design for Proposed McGill Square Methodist Church; Plaster Details*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.54 Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. "Plate 36." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice*. London: Pelham Richardson, 1847.

6.55 Langley, Henry. *Proposed New Organ - McGill Square Methodist Church: Toronto*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.56 Langley, Henry. *Metropolitan W. M. Church. Detail of Organ Case*. n.d. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.57 Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. "Plate 9." *An Analysis of Gothick Architecture: illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows, etc., and accompanied with remarks on the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice*. London: Pelham Richardson, 1847.

6.58 Langley, Henry. *Presbyterian Church Ottawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.59 *Little Trinity Church, Toronto, Can.* 1910. Printed Ephemera. PC 269. Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. Toronto Public Library.

6.60 Bidlake, George. "No. 10A." Bidlake, George. *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1866.

6.61 Bidlake, George. "No. 10B." Bidlake, George. *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1866.

6.62 Langley, Henry. *Presbyterian Church Ottawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.63 Langley, Henry. *Presbyterian Church Ottawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.64 Langley, Henry. *Sketch of Proposed Wesleyan Methodist Church Peterboro Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.65 Langley, Henry. *Sketch of Proposed Wesleyan Methodist Church Peterboro Ont Design No. 2*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.66 Langley, Henry. *Tower for Wesleyan Methodist Ch Peterboro Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.67 Iron, Candace. *George Street Methodist (United) Church, Peterborough*. n.d. Peterborough, Ontario.

6.68 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Design for Methodist Church Milliken's Corners*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.69 Iron, Candace. *Ebenezer United Church, Markham*. n.d. Markham, Ontario.

6.70 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Design for Methodist Church Milliken's Corners*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.71 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.72 Iron, Candace. *Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church*. n.d. Richmond Hill, Ontario.

6.73 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill; Elevation of Pew*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.74 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill; Section thro Gallery Front*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.75 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church Richmond Hill; Basement Plan*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.76 Iron, Candace. *Tavistock Lutheran Church*. n.d. Tavistock, Ontario.

6.77 *Tavistock Lutheran Church, interior*. n.d. Photograph. Tavistock Lutheran Church.

6.78 Iron, Candace. *First Baptist Church, Guelph*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

6.79 Iron, Candace. *King Street United Church, Trenton*. n.d. Trenton, Ontario.

6.80 *King Street United Church*. n.d. Photograph. King Street United Church.

6.81 Iron, Candace. *King Street United Church, Trenton, interior*. n.d. Trenton, Ontario.

6.82 Iron, Candace. *King Street United Church, Trenton, gallery*. n.d. Trenton, Ontario.

6.83 Gundry and Langley. *Baptist Church Alexander Street*. 1866. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.84 Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Aylmer*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.85 Iron, Candace. *St Paul's Church, Aylmer*. n.d. Aylmer, Ontario.

6.86 Bidlake, George. "No. 4." *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.p.

6.87 Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Aylmer*. Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.88 *St Paul's United Church*. n.d. Photograph. St Paul's United Church, Aylmer, Ontario.

6.89 Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Aylmer*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.90 Langley, Langley and Burke. *St Peters Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.91 Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Madoc, exterior*. n.d. Madoc, Ontario.

6.92 Iron, Candace. *Church of the Good Shepherd, Stayner*. n.d. Stayner, Ontario.

6.93 Bowler, Revd George. "Front Elevation No. 17." *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, pl. 26.

6.94 Bowler, Revd George. "Front Elevation No. 17." *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, n. pag.

6.95 Iron, Candace. *St Peter's Church, Madoc, interior*. n.d. Madoc, Ontario.

6.96 Langley, Langley and Burke. *St Peters Presbyterian Church, Madoc, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.97 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Ridgetown*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.98 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, exterior*. n.d. Ridgetown, Ontario.

6.99 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Ridgetown*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.100 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Erie Street Methodist (United) Church, Ridgetown, interior*. n.d. Ridgetown, Ontario.

6.101 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Newmarket*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.102 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Newmarket*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.103 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church, Beaverton, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.104 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Parry Sound*. 1877. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.105 Iron, Candace. *Cookstown United Church*. n.d. Cookstown, Ontario.

6.106 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Aurora*. 1878. Architectural Drawing. Aurora United Church.

6.107 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's United Baptist Church*. 2014. St Andrew's, New Brunswick.

6.108 Thurlby, Malcolm. *Knox Presbyterian Church, Dundas*. n.d. Dundas, Ontario.

6.109 Gundry and Langley. *Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.110 Iron, Candace. *Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Guelph*. n.d. Guelph, Ontario.

6.111 "Knox Church, Dorchester St, Montreal." *Canadian Illustrated News* 6.2 (1872): 21. Rpt. *Early Canadiana Online*. Web. <http://eco.canadiana.ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/oocihm.8_06230_115/6?r=0&s=1>.

6.112 Gundry and Langley. *Chalmer's Church, Guelph*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.113 Langley, Langley and Burke. *W.M. Church, Tara, Ont*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.114 Iron, Candace. *Tara Methodist (United) Church*. n.d. Tara, Ontario.

6.115 Langley, Langley and Burke. *C.W. Church, Tara, Ont.* Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.116 Langley, Langley and Burke. *C.W. Church, Tara, Ont.* Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.117 Iron, Candace. *Tara Methodist (United) Church, basement*. n.d. Tara, Ontario.

6.118 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church Kincardine*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.119 Iron, Candace. *Kincardine United Church*. n.d. Kincardine, Ontario.

6.120 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church Kincardine*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.121 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church Kincardine*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.122 *Kincardine United Church*. n.d. Photograph. Kincardine United Church, Kincardine, Ontario.

6.123 "Design III." *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages. published under the direction of the Central Committee, appointed by the General Congregational Convention, October 1852. Comprising Designs by Upjohn, Downing, Renwick, Wheeler, Wells, Austin, Stone,Cleveland, Backus, and Reeve.* New York: Daniel Burgess & Company, 1853. n.p.

6.124 "Design V." *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages. published under the direction of the Central Committee, appointed by the General Congregational Convention, October 1852. Comprising Designs by Upjohn, Downing, Renwick, Wheeler, Wells, Austin, Stone,Cleveland, Backus, and Reeve.* New York: Daniel Burgess & Company, 1853. n.p.

6.125 Bowler, Revd George. "Front Elevation No. 10." *Chapel and Church Architecture with designs for Parsonages*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856, n. pag.

6.126 Henry Langley. *Baptist Church Aylmer*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.127 Henry Langley. *Baptist Chapel, Oshawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.128 Henry Langley. *Baptist Chapel, Oshawa*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.129 Bidlake, George. "No. 6." *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists*. Birmingham: S. Birbeck, 1865, n.p.

6.130 Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. "Tab. II." *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung*. n.p., 1712. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2016. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=vuRQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

6.131 Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. "Tab. V." *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung*. n.p., 1712. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2016. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=vuRQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

6.132 Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. "Tab. VI." *Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur Und Einrichtung*. n.p., 1712. *Google Books*. Web. 28 July 2016. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=vuRQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

6.133 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.134 Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

6.135 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.136 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.137 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Baptist Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.138 Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church, interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

6.139 Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church, interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

6.140 Iron, Candace. *Jarvis Street Baptist Church, interior*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

6.141 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.142 Iron, Candace. *Central Methodist Church, Woodstock*. n.d. Woodstock, Ontario.

6.143 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.144 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.145 Iron, Candace. *Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, interior*. n.d. Woodstock, Ontario.

6.146 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Methodist Church, Woodstock*. Architectural Drawing. Archives of Ontario.

6.147 Iron, Candace. *Central Methodist Church, Woodstock, Sunday School interior*. n.d. Woodstock, Ontario.

6.148 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.149 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Lutheran Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

6.150 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Lutheran Church, Toronto; gallery*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

6.151 Iron, Candace. *St Andrew's Lutheran Church, Toronto; gallery*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.

6.152 Langley, Langley and Burke. *Presbyterian Church, Jarvis Street Toronto*. Architectural Drawing. Toronto Public Library.

6.153 *Sherbourne St. Methodist Church, Sherbourne St. s.e. cor. Carlton St*. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

6.154 *Trinity Methodist (United) Church, Bloor St W., s.w. cor. Robert St*. Photograph. Toronto Public Library.

6.155 Iron, Candace. *Trinity-St Paul's Church, Toronto*. n.d. Toronto, Ontario.